

Relevance of Radio in Social Construction in FATA: A Case of Bajaur Agency

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This research elaborates the impact of three divergent FM radio channels in Bajaur Agency on its people. These three channels, a seminary-run channel, Taliban radios, and a channel installed by military ; namely, *Sadai* Bajaur (voice of Bajaur), Taliban Radio and Radio *Amn* (Peace Radio) respectively, came one after another in Bajaur agency in the wake of militancy and the need to curtail them. Social Scientists are of the view that the information injected in the minds of audience like a gun bullet and the audience quickly response to these information without any thinking or conscious. This qualitative research, comprising of direct interviews of radio jockeys (RJs) and focus group discussions (FGDs) with radio jockeys, listeners, and other observers of these channels, conclude that all these channels, offering different narratives of good and bad, ended up putting doubts over indigenous cultures.

Keywords: *Civil society, radio, FM, FATA*

The peculiar governance mechanism of Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) keeps this region behind of rest of the country, in several spheres of national developments; including, growth of electronic media. Recent spells of militancy squeezed even the incipient growth. FATA's only television booster was blown up by militants in 2008 which was installed in 1998 in Bajaur Agency. Recently, the significance of radio stations, popularly known as FM radios, was not lost upon both diverse actors including religious figures, militants, and military. The first step was taken in Bajaur Agency where a religious seminary had launched *Sadai* Bajaur (Voice of Bajaur) in 2006; a year later, militants launched, Radio Taliban Bajaur. As military started operation in the agency, it came with its own radio channel Radio *Amn* (Peace Radio) in 2009 as well. The political administration also took part in this run and launched its own FM radio, *Shamaal* in 2015.

Arguably, all these FM radio channels intended at divergent goals, contributed in radicalization and hollowing social values endeared by many locales. In first phase the seminary-run channel preached religious teachings and emphasized over culture within religious parameters. The militants, in their stress over extreme religiosity and their own interpretations of religion, the two radio channels used religion put doubts over the centuries-old *Pakhtun* code or *Pakhtunwali*¹, resulted in extremism and radicalization. To count the day to day influence of the two radios, military get in and installed their own radio in 2009. The radio under security forces counted the militant narratives at one side but also urging youth and women to question the existing centuries old social setup; targeted the youngsters and women of the society to break the patriarchal chain.

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¹ *Pakhtunwali* is the Pakhtuns' way of life. It is an umbrella term; covering all norms, values and tradition of Pakhtuns.

The scope of this research is, it contributes to the discipline of Peace and Conflict Studies as FM radio channels have been exploited by the militants and then by the security forces in Bajaur Agency in promoting conflict and, then, its resolution; respectively.

Introduction of the Region

Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), situated at the North-West frontier of Pakistan; shares almost 1200 km border with Afghanistan, known as 'Durand Line', demarcated between the then British India and Afghanistan in 1893 (Khan, 2014). It consists of seven administrative units, known as 'agencies' and six Frontier Regions (FRs). FATA is governed directly from the center through the governor, executive head of FATA and Khyber Pakhtukhwa. Each agency is governed by a civil servant, known as, Political Agent, the agent of the governor. The Political Agent is assisted by Additional and Assistant Political Agents who further assisted by political Tehseeldars who control single tehseel in an agency (Security, 2014). The state's common law has not been extended to FATA. The region is governed through special law, Frontier Crimes Regulations (FCR), implemented by the British in 1902 which depriving locals of constitutionally guaranteed civil and political rights and formal court jurisdiction and legislation. Bajaur Agency is one of the seven agencies of FATA, situated at North of FATA (Khan, 2014).

Introducing the Conflict

The conflict in Bajaur Agency is traced back to 1980s when the US fought a proxy war to contain communism with the help of Pakistan's intelligent agencies. The then *Mujahideen* are, now, known as Taliban, started their activities in FATA after the incident of 9/11. They organized in FATA under the umbrella of *tehreek-i-taliban* Pakistan (TTP) or Taliban's Movement of Pakistan in 2007 (Wazir, Fictions in Taliban, 2015). In Bajaur Agency, the movement openly started its activities when US drone hit a seminary and killed 80 persons; including Taliban personnel and young students of the seminary. The incident feds propagation of Taliban's ideology who exaggerated it; resulting in extensive increase in number of Taliban recruits (Guardian, 2006). Gradually, they started challenging government writ, targeting government officials, blown up the government installations; especially, schools and security check posts; the security agencies were reduced to their cantonments. Till the military offensive in 2008, TTP was ruling the area. After months of fighting, the government announced its victory over Taliban in February 2009 (Kumar, 2010). But the militants were not vanished and were carrying guerilla activities against Pakistani security forces. They were finally defeated with the help of local tribal militia in June 2013 (Haider, 2013).

Post-Conflict Scenario

The peculiar structure of governance prevented the world-wide known conflict management or post conflict rehabilitation to be extended to the region, which include; advice and support for political transition, strengthening of rule of law's institutions, humanitarian response, security sector reforms, promotion of human rights and economic recovery in close relationship with other actors (Muggah, 2009). The civil servant is ruling the area as *de facto* king and is not countable to elected representatives or could be questioned in any court. The state common law; or constitution, including; human right laws, the legislation and courts are not extended to the region. The political administrator (or Political Agent) vested all executive, legislative and judiciary powers in it which do not allow national or international media or humanitarian organizations to address the post-conflict situation. Although, the state has drawn policy in 2010, called, post crisis need assessment (PCNA) with the help of the United Nations (UN), European Union (EU), World Bank (WB) and Asian Development Bank (ADB). It spots out the causes of the militancy and extremism and ways to count

them in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) and the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) (Pakhtunkhwa, 2010). But an observer criticizes PCNA as it is limited to documents and it serves only KP and nothing is there for FATA (FGD, 2015). FATA, nowadays, is administered by two authorities; the Political agent and Pakistan army who follow “3Ds” strategy, introduced in 2009. When the strategy introduced - we were told that the 3Ds stand for "Development", "Dialogue" and "Deterrence". But after implementation it appeared as "Deterrence", "Dishonor" and "Disgrace". The army dishonored the tribal elders at check posts and other places when interacted and discouraged the local values (Wazir, Fictions in Taliban, 2015).

Introducing FM radios in Pakistan

FM, stands for Frequency Modulation, means the “encoding of carrier waves, such as the sound waves or audio signals of a radio or TV stations, by the variation-modulating-of its frequency resulting in little or no static and high fidelity of original sound in reception” (Weine, 2006). FM radio is a device carrying sound waves in various directions. Radios operating on FM waves are known for their enhanced sound quality. Relatively low-cost, radio has been an effective tool of social change, positive or negative. The influence of a radio increases in conflict spells when there are rare other sources of information; at that time, radios are often taken as primary medium of information and propaganda, partly because of its ability to go beyond boundaries and penetrate into enemy lines (Sajjad, 2010). In a distance and low-literate areas like Bajaur Agency, many residents may rely on heard information like radio. Operating in the country since mid-1990s, but FM radios demand dramatically grown in the recent media boom. In Bajaur Agency too; several FM channels had emerged for a short period but automatically died (PEMRA, 2010). In the midst of conflict, militants too started on their own channels only to be count by the military which launched its own channel. Though very little is known about the impact of some of the recent channels on people of the area. Media strongly influence the behavior of audience: yet, some evidences of the impact can be found by the magic bullet theory, which states that when the media play, the audience remains passive. The theory further argues that information is penetrated into the minds of audience like a gun bullet to which the audience quickly responds without any thinking or conscious (Thompson, 2014).

Media in Bajaur Agency; a Brief History

With its increasing impact on day to day happening, more and more people turned to electronic and print media for their daily knowledge of news and current affairs. Traditionally, residents of Bajaur Agency had little access to media. The only source of transmission with select local channels, a TV booster set up in 1998, waving its broadcastings in few parts of the area. Dish antennas were installed by limited people who were criticized by the common locals and drew the rage of clerics for Dish antennas spreading immorality. Newspapers was one of the two sustained sources of information in Bajaur, were studied by the agency’s minority literate residents. Newspapers were available only at the main bazaar, Khar, the administrative headquarter of Bajaur agency. But majority of the population was illiterate and could not read a newspaper. Resultantly, radio remained the sole source of information for the people of the area who eagerly tuned to Medium and Short-waves channels. The popular radio channels were radio Pakistan, transmitting from Peshawar and BBC Pashto and Urdu services as they were broadcasting in local and national languages. Mehran Wazir quoted in his article, published in FATA Communication Strategy which states that 80% of male and 70% of female are listening radio, 5% read Newspapers and 2% use internet for their daily knowledge and information in FATA (Wazir, 2013).

History of FM Radios in Bajaur

With the emergence of War on Terror, the activities of illegal FM radios became known and emerged in the tribal and adjacent areas of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa; including Swat in Malakand division, where Mullah Fazlullah's radio transmissions became very popular among the people. The channel was named as "*Mullah Radio*" due to Mullah Fazlullah's FM sermons, which played a fundamental role in his popularity (Sajjad, 2010). It was *Mullah Radio* which sparked militancy in Malakand division. A research study conducted by FATA Research Center in respect of *Jihadi* literature revealed that 59.6% of people surveyed felt that these radical texts were popular among the FATA youth, while 79% of respondents said that *Jihadi Tarana* (*Jihadi* poem) was the most widespread *Jihadi* literature transmitted through FM radios as well as stored as mobile-phones' videos, followed by magazines (17%). The study cites mainstream media, such as radio, as a powerful distributor of *Jihadi* ideology (Ashraf, 2014).

The well-known FM radios stations in Bajaur Agency are discussed under:

Sadai Bajaur/ (Voice of Bajaur)

The first FM radio channel started in 2006 was *Sadai Bajaur* (Voice of Bajaur) in Bajaur agency, from a religious seminary, *Ahya ul Uloom*, run by a religio-political party. Initially, the channel transmissions of *Sadai Bajaur* were in two shifts; in the morning shift, Maulana Rasheed Ahmed, the seminary organizer, was teaching the curriculum to female distance-students and in the evening session the radio transmissions were consist of recitation of Holy Quran, its translation, interpretation and *Hamd*, *Na'at*², *Nazam* and *Taranas* that caused strengthen its roots in society (Ayub, 2016). When interviewed an operator of *Sadai Bajaur*, he replied that the inspirations behind opening this channel was the FM radio channel from Salarzai area of Bajaur which by playing songs enraged Rasheed Ahmed, *Sadai Bajaur's* founder. He asked an operator and concluded that a common man have no avenue to learn about Islam in its true sense, unless he join a seminary or school. Thus it was decided to run our own radio (Ibrahim, 2014). At *Sadai Bajaur*, the organizers introduced transmitting Islamic education, focusing female students of the area. They were called at the seminary for their annual exams, after completion of specific course. With the passage of time and increasing the number of its listeners, *Sadai Bajaur* airing discussion on social issues in which a single topic was discussed for three hours in the evening. They also used to call experts as hosts with facilitation of live calls from the viewers. Like a well-established radio channel, *Sadai Bajaur* invited professionals and experts like doctors, politicians, agriculturalists businessmen etc. the radio focused the young students; male and female, of the area. Attracted them by organizing speech competitions among them; encouraged outstanding students by inviting them to the station and distribution of prizes and awards among them. The radio channel remained very influential in Bajaur (Ayub, 2016). An employee of *Sadai Bajaur* shared that we provided free services of doctors and waived fee of private schools for orphans and poor students, when the channel referred to the doctor or school administrator. He further said "a youth organization for blood donation was established at the radio station, has a list of blood donors who were called when needed." It was this channel who founded a center only for orphans, *Al-Huda Center Lil-Yataam* (Al-Huda Center for Orphans) that collected clothes, cash, foods and other commodities around Bajaur and distributed them among neediest. The radio has been banned by security forces since 2008 (Ibrahim, 2014).

² *Hamd* and *Naat* are the poetry that specifically praises Allah and the prophet Muhammad (PBUH) respectively.

Taliban FM Radios

Among the seven agencies of FATA, Bajaur was the first tribal agency where militants started their broadcasting through FM. One was operating by Molvi Faqir Mohammad, a well-known head of the anti-state movement, Therik-i-taliban Pakistan (TTP), Bajaur chapter, airing from Sewai area in tehseel Mamond (FRC, 2013). Qari Zia ur Rehman, a strong commander of another faction in charmang area of tehseel Nawagai, operated his own channel. Both of these channels were anti-American, denounced presence of any international force in Afghanistan, including ISAF. They declared all those are their enemies who support the US or their ideology (Bilour, 2014) (Khan, 2015). Through these channels, militants spread their terror and strengthened their network across the agency. The Taliban regularly narrated their daily activities like attacks on public servants in Pakistan and international troops in Afghanistan and propagated their future missions (Younas, 2014). A listener recalled, "Taliban radios openly rallied the people to fight the holy war" (FGD) F. G., 2015). More and more people tuned in to Taliban radio stations. Faqir Muhammad became a household name and has been very popular among the tribesmen due to his regular and rhetoric speeches on his FM radio in Bajaur. Yet, Pakistan's security couldn't effectively trace these channels, which operated from the border area between Pakistan and Afghanistan and often made calls through the Afghanistan-based mobile networks (Din, 2014). For incoming calls they used Afghanistan mobile network that they may not check by the Pakistan security forces (Din, 2014).

Militants and their supporters in Pakistan have been utilizing these illegal FM radio stations to propagate their views and designs and provoke violence against the government and its agencies. Many religious scholars also used these illegal FM radio stations for propagating their sectarian religious versions to put down the opponents' religious thoughts (FRC, 2013).

The two sets of FM radios used religion to attract people but both of them did not go in harmony. An ex-employee at *Sadai* Bajaur revealed that initially there were little issues with Taliban radio transmissions as they were talking about "(re)construction of society"; but with the passage of time, they propagated extremism and radicalization, causing concern among everyone. They even threatening *Sadai* Bajaur staff after they refused to propagate Taliban mission (Ibrahim, 2014).

A respondent in a Focus Group Discussion (FGD) said, "Taliban radios openly called the people for *Jihad*, "*wa Jahido fi Sabilillah*" (fight in the way of Allah)" ((FGD) F. G., 2015)

Radio Amn/ (Peace Radio)

Radio *Amn* was launched by the security forces in February 2009. Like a regular radio channel, the station relays entertainment and news programs, broadcasts live sports commentaries, invite subject specialists, receive calls, letters, and text messages, and discuss listeners' problems. (Khan, 2014).

Furthermore, this radio channel also publicizes names of outstanding individuals in the field of education and sports, thereby encouraging them to perform better. One of Radio Jokey (RJ) of this channel proudly claimed that the channel comprises professionals and religious scholars" (Khan, 2014). But majority of the respondents in focus group discussion and interviews were opposing this claim, said, the operators of the radio are non-locals with less knowledge and information ((FGD) F. G., 2014). Radio *Amn* claims to raise "awareness" among the locals by informing them of their rights and duties and instilling confidence in them. The channel's RJ shared that it also aims to invoke independent thinking among Bajauris, who are suppressed by their local notables and landlords and are easily influenced by those enjoying power or popularity. That the station was launched as a

counter-insurgency instrument is not lost upon its listeners and staffers. The channel aims also reintegration of those lured by Taliban radios, said one of the channel's RJ, summarizing, "this FM station is totally anti-Taliban" (Khan, 2014).

The agenda of this FM radio is, to aware the people of their fundamental rights, to point out them their duties in society and to create confidence in audience. The people of Bajaur are under the suppression of *Khans* and *Nawab*³, this FM aims to bring freedom of thoughts and expressions. The people of the area are unstable-minded; i.e. when any person, group, organization or government when get power and popularity in the area these people follow them. Our purpose is to give them an independent way of thinking (Khan, 2014).

Many locales complain that RJs of Radio *Amn* are non-local persons who know nothing about the agency's indigenous culture and traditions, and that the channel mostly plays "immoral songs and waste discussions."

Radio Shamaal

Shamaal radio is the latest among set of four popular FM radios, started transmissions in 2015. Two out three upper discussed FM channels were run by Taliban and one is running by security forces. *Shamaal* radio is run by a journalist with the support of political administration. The radio became very popular among masses as it invites civilian; political and tribal leaders of Bajaur at radio center. A major contribution of this radio as it spreads awareness about the political processes and developments in the agency. Interaction with political leaders, academicians and experts has mainstreamed the youngsters of Bajaur who are, now, taking active part in political activities ((FGD) F. G., 2015).

Method

In this research the researcher has followed the research methodology of Peace and Conflict Studies and tried to find out how these radios contributed in conflict escalation and, then, peacemaking in the region? The Payne Fund Studies of 'Magic Bullet Theory' in 1930s, is found well in fixing FM radios and society which states that "media messages directly and measurably affect the people behaviors" (Clfisher3, 2011). The research is purely qualitative in its nature; dependent on primary data, collected from the field, consisting of in-depth, semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions (FGDs). Priority is given to primary data, because, very little secondary available on the topic. The available secondary data includes newspapers. No government document is available on FM radios channels in FATA.

The interviewees are followed carefully. Those persons have been interviewed who are part of these channels, through one way or another and were living in the area under research when conducting this research. The FGDs have been conducted in the field and the participants were chosen randomly with the simple criterion who had been listening these radio channels regularly.

Ethnographic research methodology is used in this research in which the social environment has been critically interpreted in its natural setting. The researcher lived, observed and interprets the day to day developments in society by these radios. All the interviews, FGDs and environment have been interpreted through interpretivist approach, which is an epistemological position, contrast to positivism who believe in the scientific study of social world. In contrast, interpretivists hold that

³ *Khan* and *Nawabs* are the influential and landlords of the area.

people and their institutions are fundamentally different from the object of natural sciences and hence should be studied different by social scientist and to give subjective meanings to human actions (Brayman 2012, p30).

A key weakness of this research is the small number of interviews and interviewees that make it difficult to find biases as well as to allow this research for generalization, being a student, I could not manage time and resources to do a quality research.

Results

Mass Media has become an integral part of our day to day lives. From newspapers in the morning to watch TV for entertainment and news in the evening, researchers relate to media. Many spheres of knowledge are now under the reach of many people which was once considered a specialization. A person or even a child connected with media knows more about life than a person a few hundred years ago.

The locked and inaccessible areas, like FATA, are more prone to be affected by any belief and, so, militants did not lose the opportunity in FATA. Militants and their supporters have been manipulating these illegal FM radio channels to propagate their views, thoughts and designs and provoke violence against state, its institutions and its touts. Most of the religious scholars also used these radios for publicizing their sectarian religious versions to disparage rivals' religious views ((FRC), 2013). The dynamics of the people in Bajaur were greatly shaped by penetrating radio stations, much like by other developments following war on terror (Khan, 2014).

Following are the researcher's findings from interviews and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs): The first blow came from *Sadai* Bajaur upon Bajaur society that paved the way for other channels into the area. One of the defender of *Sadai* Bajaur said that they conducted programs on every aspect of the indigenous society; like, *Hujra* (center of social gathering), local poetry, *Melmastia* (hospitality) and so on. He claimed that they had given maximum attention to the local dormant poets, encouraging and bringing them in-forth and organized a number of poetry programs at radio station. All these programs were conducted within Islamic way. We supported *Pakhtunwali* (*Pakhtuns* way of life) but discouraged those norms which were against Islam. It is true that we did not play music but we did not exclude it, we only discouraged music of immoral songs (Ibrahim, 2014).

In a Focus Group Discussion, the participants were agreed that Radio Jockeys (RJs) were valued persons and the channel only propagated the Islamic way of life and never went against the law of the land. But it is also true that they propagated the *Jihad* (holy war) ideology that eventually paved the way for Taliban to penetrate easily into the society. One of the participants credited *Sadai* Bajaur that they curbed the immoral activities and drug spread out (FGD) F. G., 2014). For the people of the area the immoral activities are; listening songs, watching movies, having smart mobile phones full of songs, possession of mobile phones by female etc (as these things are not considered immoral in other societies). While interviewing a female student of *Sadai* Bajaur, she criticized the ban on it, saying that she has completed translation of Quran but *madrassa* curriculum stopped in amid when the ban was put. She protested, 'the ban smashed my studies, there are enough number of female students like me'. It was the only source where we could get education (Confidential-I, 2014).

Participants of a Focus Group Discussion agreed upon that majority of the people loved *sadai* Bajaur, but the issue they were unaware of the proliferation of *Jihadi* ideology within society which pushed the young people of the area towards talibanization. The strategy of distance

education for female was very much successful of the channel. It had created enthusiasm among the teenagers for seeking education, but the staff at the station could not utilize the opportunity and missed their basic theme for spreading education. Inversely, the transmissions of this channel pushed them towards radicalization ((FGD) F. G., 2014).

There was a moderate era, where two ideologies, right and left, were floating freely in the society when *Sadai* Bajaur started broadcasting its transmissions. Lecturer Jehangir Khan also observed that Rightists, *Sadai* Bajaur, got an upper hand in influencing the locales. He recalled that even one of his cousins was ready for *Jihad* after he was listening *Jihadi* taranas (poems) on this channel (Khan, 2015).

Subsequently, Taliban jumped into the society with their self-made interpretations of Islamic law, poking flaws in the local norms and national polity. They discouraged *jirga*⁴, a *Pakhtun* assembly of conflict resolution, and threatened, kidnapped and even killed the supporters and members of *lashkars*⁵, a tribal militia sanctioned by *Pakhtun* code. A step further, Taliban replaced *jirga* with Islamic *shura*⁶, a religious council; the *Shura* even resolved several enmities among the tribes, winning hearts and minds of the tribesmen in the process (Khan, 2014).

The main reasons which made Taliban strengthened were their war against extravagance, interest and immorality in society, they questioned the *Maliks*, *Khans* and targeted corrupt teachers and physicians of Bajaur agency (Hafizullah, 2014). A focus group discussion revealed that Taliban banned women while leaving their homes, ordered for proper veil and they were banned for possessing mobile phones. They even broke memory cards from males having songs and 'immoral' videos ((FGD) F. G., 2015). Yet, Taliban denounced local norms but still they relied on Pashto language as, their transmissions and other messages were in Pashto. A tagline of Taliban radio read: "*Jihad o Dazz*", meaning "Holy War and Firing" ((FGD) F. G., 2014).

An example of their poems transmitted by radio Taliban that enticing the youngsters for suicide bombing, read;

Khair ka de Khawry shwal hadoona, Pa dukhmananu de bal kri sra orona, Zaar fidaai, Zaar fidaai.

(It is no worry if your boons are blown up. Actually you have lit the fire to on enemies I am ready to sacrifice upon you, O' the self-sacrificing one) (Din, 2014).

The local anthems and songs were replaced with dark war poems and *Jihadi* taranas, with same composition but different lyrics; those were very much enticing for the youngsters of Bajaur (Dr. Ashraf Ali, 2014).

Taliba khaowry ba mula she, Pa kitab prot ye,yadavy shenki khaloona

(O' talib (student), how will you become into a mullah (master)? Lying on your book, you muse over your beloved).

This has been changed like:

Stargay de drone na kamy na di, WrtatolibTalib kedam Aeera ye krama

(Your eyes are no less than a drone. I looked at them like a Taliban, They completely obliterated me).

⁴ *Jirga* is the group of tribal elders made for the solution of various disputes and conflicts and struggle for reconciliations; its composition varies according to the nature of disputes.

⁵ *Lashkar* or Tribal Militia is traditional based force composed of the volunteer tribesmen.

⁶ *Shura* is a religious council that serves many of the same purposes of the modern parliament (Assembly).

These radios, Taliban and *Sadai* Bajaur, influenced the society, who had no access to any other source of information. Obviously, some of the listeners had joined Taliban ranks, who fight within and outside Pakistan. During a limited time, Taliban conveyed their message around the globe in general and, particularly, within the region ((FRC), 2013).

The sermons of Molvi Faqir and his partners can be heard for almost two hours at the evening daily, starting from 8pm. Their focus was to inspire the people; especially, youngsters, for *Jihad* against US-led forces in Afghanistan as well as against military of Pakistan who assist US and international forces in Afghanistan. In the station, other like-minded persons were invited by Molvi Faqir to express their views through his channel, to attract maximum of people and to accept their cause and join their ranks against US, to push them out from Afghanistan to make it a sovereign Islamic entity.

Now, the military stepped in, banned all illegal FM channels and, after sometimes, realizing the need of radio station, they set up their own station, Radio *Amn* (Peace Radio), at military fort Khar in 2009. The purpose of the radio is to count Taliban influence on airwaves which were penetrated in the society. It is found that radio *Amn* encouraged the youngsters for education, especially who were out of schools. It also encouraged and supported women of the area to educate and express their views freely as men do (Khan K. , 2014). The radio *Amn* found a successful counter-insurgency and de-radicalization tool. The youngsters who were once the strong supporters and listeners of Taliban radios are now among the eager listeners of radio *Amn*. These young people, once supported Taliban are now turned towards security forces and struggling for nation building (Khan, 2015).

However, at the same time, some interviewers complained that radio *Amn* negatively affecting the society. The staff sitting in station is non-local and presents wrong picture of the local norms and values. The channel is very secular in its nature and doesn't pay attention towards the development of the conflict-affected society. Most of the participants objected that the channel is extensively focuses on women and their freedom ((FGD) F. G., 2014) ((FGD) F. G., 2015).

The radios *Amn* and *Shamaal* successfully integrated the youngsters into national politics. The airing of talks and sharing experiences of politicians inspired the people for political change. The century old administrative law, FCR, is now among their first demands to be changed (Ayub, 2016). The policy could be more successful if government give serious attention, as, ironically, 141 licenses have been issued by PEMRA up till now but radios *Amn* and *Shamaal* do not have any license; means, they are illegal too ((PEMRA), 2010).

It is worth mentioning that an unknown radio is still broadcasting its transmissions from an unknown place in Bajaur agency. The transmissions theme is same as were had by the then Taliban radios. The government or, more specifically, security forces have not adopted any strategy to contain these transmissions. If it continues, the youngsters might re-join their ranks, as there is no any satisfactory alternative in the area. To count militant's radios, the government needs to be a step forward; by installation of TV boosters in the area (Confidential-II, 2015).

Conclusion

Mass media, like Radio and other medium, TV, influences cultural values, morals, life styles and even attitudes. Radio is considered the most powerful tool and may impact the perceptions of

the whole population, as, newspapers are only for literate persons and TV is out of access of the poor.

While interviewing the locales and other persons related to radios, the commonalities in answers were found: majority viewed that *Sadai* Bajaur was a positive initiative, could contributed in education of the society but at the same time they agreed that it was this channel which paved the way for Taliban radios who proliferated militancy, smashed our values, make the youngsters rebellious against the state. The interviewees were agreed that Radio *Amn* and *Mashaal* played a successful counter-insurgency and de-radicalization role.

But at the same time, the listeners criticized all the four-type radios on the grounds that they smashed the centuries-old society that came first under the attack of religious forces and now under the secular ones, injecting borrowed definitions into indigenous society. Lastly, it is argue that the road to peace, prosperity, and development in any society should tread through indigenous landscape.

List of Interviewees

Serial No	Name of Interviewee	Designation	Organization	Station	Subject
1	Mehran Wazir	Program Manager	FATA Research Center	Islamabad	Post-Conflict Rehabilitation
2	Confidential-I	Student		Bajaur	FM radios in Bajaur
3	Confidential-II	Self-employed		Bajaur	Taliban radios in Bajaur
4	Dr. Mohammad Ayub	Self-employed		Bajaur	FM radios in Bajaur
5	Ibrahim	Radio Jokey (RJ)	Sadai Bajaur	Bajaur	FM radios in Bajaur
6	Jehangir Khan	Lecturer	GPGC Khar	Bajaur	FM radios and their impact on society
7	Kamran Khan	Radio Jokey (RJ)	Radio Amn	Bajaur	Radio Amn and its impact
8	Muhammad Younas	Self-employed		Bajaur	Taliban radios agenda

List of Focus Group Discussions

S. No	Number of Participants	Station	Subject
1	08	Bajaur	Impact of FM radios on civil society
2	10	Bajaur	Role of FM radios in politics
3	08	Bajaur	Role of FM radios in promoting militancy
4	12	Bajaur	Impact of FM radios on civil society
5	06	Bajaur	Counter-insurgency Strategies of Government

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