

INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTERS' ROLE IN FORMULATION OF PUBLIC OPINION ON WAR AGAINST TERRORISM: A CASE STUDY OF VoA AND BBC SEVERICES FOR AFGHANISTAN AND PAKISTAN

Syed Inamur Rahman *
Syed Naeem Badshah **

Abstract

The study evaluated opinion of the listeners of international radio services – British Broadcast Corporation (BBC) and Voice of America (VOA) – for Pakistan and Afghanistan listeners in their regional language i.e. Pushto. It analyzed the listening trends of local to understand the agenda setting role of international broadcaster. The data has been collected quantitatively through survey research from large aggregate of direct consumers of radio. The results of the study showed that majority of population living in border areas of Pakistan and Afghanistan do not appreciate the involvement of outsiders in their matter. But still, there is a great scope for international broadcasters to shape the opinion of locals as less than fifty percent population is still in the favor of West. It was also revealed that radio listeners of BBC and VOA in Pakistan and Afghanistan are in favor of using force against terrorism and militant groups. Contrary to that, they do believe the content of the BBC and VOA radio is leading them astray because the ground realities are different and these channels are portraying it differently.

Key Words

War against Terror, BBC, VOA, Afghanistan, Pakistan

Introduction

The literature on war and media suggests that states often resort to propaganda to maximize their strategic interests and influence public

* Assistant Professor department of media and communication studies international Islamic university, Islamabad, e-mail: syed.inamrahman@iiu.edu.pk

** Chairman Department of Islamic Studies and Pakistan Studies Agriculture University Peshawar

opinion during wars and conflicts (Carruthers, 2011; Hallin, 1986; Herman & Chomsky, 1988; Knightley, 1975; Lasswell, 1927; Lynch & Mc Goldrick, 2005). From the First World War to the Iraqi invasion in 2003, these and other researchers have found that media openly supported the cause of their respective governments and compromised their editorial independence. According to Lynch and Mc Goldrick (2005), in all these major wars, journalists have happily surrendered the professional ethos of journalism and became propagandist and nationalistic.

Consistent with the above, after the attacks on the U.S. by Al-Qaeda in 2001, a global coalition was formed to defeat Al-Qaeda and Taliban fighters in Afghanistan (Grad, 2009). Alongside the military operation that dislodged the Taliban government in Afghanistan, a substantial media promotion was launched by the UK and US governments to win support for their cause (Michael, 2007). As the Pakistan tribal areas bordering Afghanistan were also suspected to have got Taliban sympathizers, these areas are also getting a huge media attention.

This study investigates the perceptions and opinions about the international broadcasters among the people living on the Pakistan-Afghanistan border. The researcher endeavors to find answers to a number of pertinent questions in this regard like how the people on the border areas perceive the roles of BBC and VOA, and do they regard these channels providing them accurate information.

Border Region of Pakistan and Afghanistan

While the borderland amongst Afghanistan and Pakistan has increased worldwide noteworthiness since the terrorist assaults of 9/11, it is excessively slender a methodology, making it impossible to view this district exclusively through the perspective of the "war on terror". To comprehend this fringe area, one needs to take the intricate web of contentions into thought. To start with, there is the ideological challenge between militant activist and the West (Talibanistan), which goes back just to the most recent decade – despite the fact that the bases of this hostility lie in the Afghan Wars that started in 1979. Second, there is the longstanding clash amongst tribe and state (Tribalistan), which Afghanistan and Pakistan have attempted to manage in complex routes (Kaplan, 2000).

Afghanistan's unfaltering refusal to perceive the Durand Line and the way that neither Afghanistan nor Pakistan has succeeded in setting up a state nearness in the tribal zones, have achieved a circumstance in which this worldwide outskirts remains amazingly permeable even today. It is crossed by a large number of tribe individuals without papers regularly, and it is not under state control (Kaplan, 2000).

Various fringe intersections exist, and numerous tenants of the outskirts locale have two international IDs. In addition, the outskirts winds through a scarcely open maze of mountain edges, which does not support the foundation of a fringe, control administration. Henceforth, the outskirts district around the Durand Line is one of only a handful

couple of areas on earth where fringes are still boondocks as opposed to simply geodetically-reviewed lines.

In addition, this porosity likewise holds monetary focal points. Afghanistan finished up the Afghanistan Transit Trade Agreement (ATTA) with Pakistan in 1950s, in order to relieve the detriments of its geography as bolted area state. The agreement qualified Afghanistan for import merchandise from Pakistan without paying traditions obligation. From the 1970s onward, the penetrability of the border shaped the premise for an exuberant exchange snuck products, which proceeded even in war. Goods were foreign made from Pakistan to Afghanistan and after that promptly pirated once again into Pakistan (Schetter, 2002). Under the Taliban administration in the second half of the 1990s, specifically, the Afghan-Pakistan border locale turned into a veritable Eldorado for dealers (Rashid, 2000): autos, for instance, were pirated from the Gulf States by means of Iran and Afghanistan to Pakistan, and auto parts and customer products were sourced in Central Asia. The exchange poppy derivatives beginning from development in territories near the outskirt, for example, Hilmand or Kandahar and Nangrahar opened up sensational new exchanging operation opportunities. Subsequently, posts in the Pakistani managerial and security mechanical assembly in the outskirt regions or erstwhile FATA got to be lucrative, since nominees could hope to take an interest in the runners' benefits. The characteristic rationale of the organization of Pakistan implied that being presented on the fringe ranges spoke to a circuitous advancement (Rashid, 2000).

Nowadays, the area along the Pakistan-Afghanistan fringe collects global features for the most part with pictures of war,

devastation, and brutality. From the rough and bumpy Waziristan tribal district to the pleasant Swat Valley, the contention between Pakistani security powers and Taliban aggressors has dislodged a huge number of individuals, left thousands dead or injured, and obliterated wellbeing and instructive base in the area.

Numerous outside observers in the West do not have the foggiest idea about that peace-adoring Pashtuns living in the brutality defaced outskirts locales once battled under the flag of an age making peaceful development. In the 1930s, Khan (1890-1988), otherwise called Bacha Khan (King Khan), propelled his peaceful development to change the stagnant Pashtun society and to activate Pashtuns to battle for their rights against British supreme guideline in the Indian subcontinent through serene fomentation (Rashid, 2000).

Literature Review

Media's role in war times has been extensively studied in the context of propaganda research after the First World War (Lasswell, 1927; Bernays, 1928). After the Second World War, there was some academic shift but the Vietnam invasion reignited the interest in the area (Hallin, 1986; Strobel, 1996). The invasions of certain Latin and Asian countries provided new impetus to the scholarly investigations (Chomsky & Herman 1988; Taylor, 1995). Most studies that investigate the relationship between war and media concentrate on the abuse of media for war advancement.

There are a variety of courses in which international communication can control information so as to bend the message or spread misinformation, disturbing the musings and responses of the message saver. One clear approach to twist the facts is to just present

one side of the story, and oppress or overlook information in fact. Be that as it may, with an end goal to be reasonable or fair in their reporting, news reports will regularly give equal broadcast time to the individuals who object to or deny inevitabilities. Such reporting can advance authenticity to the objector's argument and act to viewers as though the issue is still being mocked about, when most specialists have acknowledged a specific point as reality (Drescher, 2009).

International media frameworks have presented promulgation and open tact as critical elements in international relations. Along these lines international communication is profoundly rethinking the way of both hard and delicate force in international relations. Hence investigations of international communication have customarily been connected with between state and between administrative communications, for example, strategy and government propaganda in which capable states direct the communication motivation.

Mowlana (1997) subsequently proposes a movement from the established perspective of international communication to a dream of international communication to mirror the full extent of communication between country states, foundations, gatherings and people crosswise over national, geological and social fringes. The expression "international communication" is likewise reflected in the titles of books, for example, *International Communication in the 21st Century* (Stevenson, 1994), and *International Communication and World Politics* (Tehrani, 1999). Hamelink (1994) likes to utilize the expression "world communication" as more comprehensive of both state and non-state on-screen characters.

As contended by Philip that if learning is power then dissemination of information must result in a dispersion of force, and the control of this procedure is, in itself, a type of force. While it is not really shocking that those legislatures which fear the force of the media to shape the impression of their local populaces, to the point that they practice strict state control over those media, ought to likewise fear the force of international interchanges to undermine that very control, we do need to advise ourselves that the critical component here is undoubtedly control, not TV. All things considered, charge and control of communications has truly been seen to be a key to the upkeep of political force as it has to the accomplishment of military achievement. Internationalization and the commercialization of the media can consequently have all the earmarks of being the most recent dangers to the continuation of that control (Philip, 2002).

Researchers Junhao Hong examined and ShaojungWang stated that Voice of America's (VOA) services established that the use of new information scenes has caused VOA to develop from a pure propaganda machine to an idea of informational soft power. However, they opine that not only is there a gap between VOA's target audiences and its actual website visitors but its website attracts more American and western users than users in the societies it intends to influence the most. The role of informational soft power in uttering attractive ideas, standards, customs and ethics through all manners of media and new information and communication technology to create the insight that United States hegemony is gentle postures challenges for its information strategy.

Research Hypotheses

- Hypothesis 1: Listeners prefer VOA over BBC as far as the provision of facts on war on terror is concerned.
- Hypothesis 2: Listeners agree that the two radio services reflect ground realities in the war-torn areas.
- Hypothesis 3: Listeners believe that both BBC and VOA positively frame the Afghanistan in this conflict as compared to the other actors.
- Hypothesis 4: Listeners support the war on terror launched against Al Qaeda and Taliban both in Pakistan and Afghanistan
- Hypothesis 5: Listeners of the two services blame ISI for sponsoring terrorism in region.
- Hypothesis 6: Listeners believe that force against terrorist groups will ensure peace and stability in the region as compared to other means.
- Hypothesis 7: Listeners of both BBC and VOA hold similar views about the important problems faced by the internally displaced people.

Research Methodology

The given research is quantitative. The primary data has been collected directly from the BBC and VOA radio services' listeners residing in border areas of Pakistan and Afghanistan.

The limitation of budget and time restricts the researcher to cover a small but representative sample for this study as it was difficult to widen the scope of this research to entire Afghanistan and Pakistan within given time so the researcher has chosen targeted areas in both countries to fulfill the requirement of the study.

Sample

The order to select the respondent, border areas of Afghanistan and Pakistan have been selected for this purpose where most of the population has no direct access to print, electronic and social media and still relying on radio service for information and current affairs.

The scholar selected up to 700 radio listeners (audience) living in different areas each in border areas of Pakistan and Afghanistan by using conditional simple sampling method. In the selected areas the questioners were distributed on equal basis. There is no systematic and authentic list of radio listeners, so the scholar selected equal respondents from each district to ensure that results can be generalized to all areas.

Dynamics of Sample

| Sr. | Pakistan | | Afghanistan | |
|-------|----------------|--------|-------------|--------|
| | Area | Sample | Area | Sample |
| 1. | Mohmand Agency | 50 | Khost | 50 |
| 2. | Bajaur Agency | 50 | Paktia | 50 |
| 3. | Swat | 50 | Laghman | 50 |
| 4. | Buner | 50 | Nangarhar | 50 |
| 5. | Charsadda | 50 | Kunar | 50 |
| 6. | Bunnu | 50 | Kabul | 50 |
| 7. | Taank | 50 | Paktika | 50 |
| Total | | 350 | | 350 |

N=700

The distribution plan of sample prepared for this research was carefully made by taking into consideration the cultural, socio-economic and demographic factors of the population residing in the border areas of Pakistan and Afghanistan. From Pakistan districts of Mohmand Agency, Bajaur Agency, Swat, Buner, Charsadda, Bunu and Taank have been selected while areas of Khost, Paktia, Laghman, Nangarhar, Kunar, Kabul and Paktika provinces have been selected from Afghanistan. Equal number of sample size, 50, for all the fourteen regions (total of 700 respondents).

In the towns, urban areas of both Pakistan and Afghanistan people have access to print media and electronic media and internet (social media) but in rural areas they have to rely on radio. They listen to government- run, private FM and International Radio Services in regional language i.e. BBC, and VOA.

According to BBC Website (www.bbc.co.uk), the BBC Pushto Service has almost 40-million listenership in areas of Pakistan and Afghanistan. Around half of this population lives in Pakistan which included 1.7 million Afghan refugees and the Tribal Areas (FATA) of Pakistan along the Afghan border. BBC Pushto Service broadcasts programs on different themes with different duration for these regions. It offers programs for 15 hours on daily basis on FM from transmitters in parts of Afghanistan. Moreover, the BBC Pashto service also broadcasts the most popular radio dramas to get attention of listeners. Similarly, the Pashto services of US-government led Voice of America broadcast a great variety of content with aim of disseminating news and information to its listeners in both short and medium waves.

Data Collection

The researcher has used a well-designed questionnaire to collect data about the opinion of the radio listeners living on Pak-Afghan border. Keeping in mind the literacy rate of respondents and language barriers, the researcher asked questions based on questionnaire with the help of enumerators to facilitate the respondents in filling responses.

The questionnaire was also pre tested on some respondents randomly selected from the targeted areas that pointed some ambiguous information and weak areas in the instrument, so it was modified by the researcher before heading to final survey.

Access to Respondents

Finding audience who were regular listeners of the radio was one of the challenging tasks during this research. The local offices of international radios (British Broadcasting Corporation and Voice of America) were contacted in Afghanistan and Pakistan in this regard. They only shared details of the area from where they get maximum feedback and the DJ's, moderators, anchors and producers in USA and England were also contacted for this connection. They could only help identify the names and locations of the regular listeners who called them during their programs. Similarly, local journalists (correspondents mostly) and members of the literacy organizations like writers and poets were also contacted to find out the regular listeners of these two radio services. This method was very useful and they helped identify a good number of listeners. Teachers and shopkeepers also helped the researcher to reach to the listeners of these two broadcasts. Local universities students of mass communication hailing from these tribal

regions also played a very important role in this process whose services were for this part in the project both in Pakistan and Afghanistan.

Challenges Faced

The residents of the targeted areas selected for this study are fed up with continuous fighting among Taliban, military and local warlords and the ‘suspicious activities of various international spying agencies’ therefore, it was very difficult for the researcher to convince them that this questionnaire is for academic purpose and a sizeable majority refused to cooperate but the researcher being a Pashtoon and the local tradition of hospitality pressured the targeted respondents to cooperate to a greater extent but to some extent the less educated people were not found flexible. The total sample size of 700 radio listeners from the seven remote areas of each Pakistan and Afghanistan was considered for this research hence was a crucial test of temperament of both respondents and the researcher. The data was collected in two phases from the selected areas within six months from October 2015 to March 2016 which was difficult to maintain in order while the questionnaire was formulated in four different languages including Urdu, Pashto, English and Dari which was also a daring job and challenging for the researcher.

Hypothesis 1: Listeners prefer VOA over BBC as far as the provision of information on war on terror is concerned.

Table 1: Opinion on BBC and VOA on provision of information

| Themes | Opinion | BBC | VOA | Both | Total | Chi-Square |
|-------------|------------|-----|-----|------|-------|------------------|
| Preferences | Approve | 214 | 193 | 15 | 422 | 7.723 |
| | Disapprove | 42 | 35 | 9 | 86 | P value 0.102 |
| | Don't Know | 66 | 57 | 6 | 129 | |
| Relevance | Approve | 225 | 224 | 16 | 465 | 17.315 |
| | Disapprove | 45 | 34 | 10 | 89 | P value 0.002 |
| | Don't Know | 52 | 27 | 4 | 83 | |
| Likeness | Approve | 170 | 152 | 17 | 339 | 2.642 |
| | Disapprove | 100 | 83 | 11 | 194 | P value 0.619 |
| | Don't Know | 52 | 50 | 2 | 104 | |
| Hopefulness | Approve | 142 | 109 | 10 | 216 | 14.12 |
| | Disapprove | 121 | 141 | 11 | 273 | P Value 0.007 |
| | Don't Know | 59 | 35 | 9 | 103 | |

*df= 4

As shown in the above table, the first hypothesis was concerned about the preference of listeners regarding the source of information in terms of war on terror. There were certain determinants that helped researcher to understand whether listeners prefer VOA upon BBC or not. The findings suggest that respondents keep both the sources of information as equal and there is no difference in terms of people giving importance to them. The four different questions that audiences were asked for this hypothesis are: do the listeners prefer BBC or VOA over local media? Are these services providing relevance information? Do they like them because they provide quality information? And are they given hope that situation is improving? In aggregate, there has been no difference among these determinants except relevance. The comparatively higher value of p in these four themes suggests that the hypothesis is not supported. The people across border in Pakistan and Afghanistan share the same perspective on these two radio broadcasts. As the media dependency theory suggests, people dependence increases if there is tension in the social system. Owing to the local and contextual factors, the people in these regions really do not differentiate between these two broadcasts and cast them in the same category of being ‘foreign’. During FGD, eminent journalist Rahimullah Yousafzai said that people consider these channels as belonging to the US and hence no real understanding exist. This may be attributed to the same agendas and monotony of programs on these two broadcasts.

Hypothesis 2: Listeners agree that the two radio services reflect ground realities in the war-torn areas.

Table 2

| Question | Aggregate disapproval | % | Aggregate approval | % | Total | Chi-Square | Asy mp. Sig |
|----------------------------|------------------------------|----------|---------------------------|----------|--------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| Ground realities reflected | 321 | 50.4 | 316 | 49.6 | 637 | 0.039 | 0.843 |

*df=1

The results for Hypothesis as given in the above table suggest that the hypothesis is not supported. The higher p-value (0.843) indicates that the difference between cumulative agreement and disagreement is not statistically significant. The hypothesis stated that listeners agree that the two radio services reflect ground realities in the war-torn areas. This means that listeners don't believe the content of the two radio services i.e. BBC and VOA and think that it is leading them astray because the ground realities are different and these channels are portraying it differently. The relevant literature on the subject reveals that if people do not believe on the veracity of information, media effects are not powerful. Hence despite the efforts of US and UK officials, the desired results could not be generated among the audiences through these services. The results of Focus Group with media practitioners and experts also illustrated the same side of radio effects on listeners. According to participants of FGD, the BBC & VOA Urdu service hardly portray the image of local community and international broadcasters are more interested in highlighting the positive image of the bilateral and multilateral donor agencies. Their contents are directed at the local community who are at

the receiving end. The participants believed that multilingual radio service has the same agenda and would not differ from each other in terms of agenda setting.

Hypothesis 3

Listeners believe that both BBC and VOA positively frame the Afghanistan in this conflict as compared to the other actors.

Table 3

| Questions | Mean Rank | Chi-Square |
|--|-----------|------------------|
| BBC and VOA positively frame Afghanistan | 2.26 | 134.700 |
| BBC and VOA positively frame Pakistan | 1.79 | P value 0.000 |
| BBC and VOA positively frame USA | 1.95 | |

The people were asked evaluate which country was represented as playing positive role in the war on terror, a solid majority said Afghanistan. The higher mean rank suggest that cumulatively Afghanistan got more positive response than other both Pakistan and USA. The participants of group discussion also summarized the same gray area as in their opinionthe international broadcasters (VOA & BBC) in their Urdu and Pashto Services cover up to maximum level, the news regarding violence, but they do not suggest practical solutions to the issues like opportunities for economic development, rehabilitation of dispersed people, anti-terrorism strategies and maintaining law and order in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

In addition, the participants were of the opinion that primarily, international broadcasters promote Western agenda on the issues relating to war on terror. However, they often focus on the development issues, entertainment and problems of refugees which is a good sign because other broadcasters are unavailable in the areas they cover. Often their strategies collide with the national interests and hence doing more harm than good to states like Pakistan and Afghanistan.

Hypothesis 4

Listeners support the war on terror launched against Al Qaeda and Taliban both in Pakistan and Afghanistan.

Table 4

| Questions | Disapprove | % | Approve | % | Total | Chi-Square | Asymp. Sig |
|---------------------------------------|------------|------|---------|------|-------|------------|------------|
| Terrorism is the most important issue | 248 | 38.9 | 389 | 61.1 | 637 | 31.21 | 0 |
| Normalcy | 305 | 47.9 | 332 | 52.1 | 637 | 1.144 | 0.285 |
| Global Support | 275 | 43.2 | 362 | 56.8 | 637 | 11.882 | 0.001 |
| Use of force | 240 | 37.7 | 397 | 62.3 | 637 | 38.695 | 0.00 |
| Factual Reporting | 269 | 42.2 | 368 | 57.8 | 637 | 15.386 | 0.00 |

*df=1

According to the table given above, it is shown that hypothesis 2 is supported. Majority of people living on Pakistan and Afghanistan border support the war on terror. This hypothesis is based on 5 questions; except for question that normalcy is returning to the region, the comparatively lesser p value suggests that difference between cumulative agreements for this war is statistically significant. On the basis of table, it can be inferred that listeners of BBC and VOA in

Pakistan and Afghanistan are in favor of War on Terror going in the region.

Similarly, the experts participating in focus group organized for this study highlighted the same issue with the opinion that the British Broadcast Corporation (BBC) and Voice of America (VOA) in their radio services for Afghanistan and Pakistan frame the issues relevant to this society in a larger and Western context. These contexts include the Western overall perspective about the Muslims, the West perspective about the third World, The political economy of Western media perspective, the so-called War on Terror Perspective etc. The issues pertaining to Pakistan and Afghanistan are framed in either of these perspectives and certainly BBC and VOA are very much actively pursuing their policies while framing the issues and setting the agenda relevant to Afghan and Pakistani society.

Hypothesis 5

Listeners of the two services blame ISI for sponsoring terrorism in region.

Table 5

| Agency | Disagree | % | Agree | % | Total | Chi-Square |
|----------|----------|------|-------|------|-------|------------|
| CIA | 234 | 36.7 | 403 | 63.3 | 637 | 254.521 |
| ISI | 174 | 27.3 | 463 | 72.7 | 637 | P Value |
| Northern | 295 | 46.3 | 342 | 53.7 | 637 | 0.001 |

Most of the respondents who are direct consumers of BBC and VOA radio services blame spying agency of Pakistan ISI, for aiding the terrorism activities in both countries. It is evident that Pakistan has agreed the terms of USA on war against terrorism. In that context, Pakistan security forces have paid a heavy cost and lost thousands of

precious lives on the cause of war against terrorism. The locals residing on border areas are less likely aware of national plan and stance of Pakistan on war against terrorism, this very reason, to some extent, determine the perception of population living in areas included for this study. The statistical analysis approved the significance of hypothesis that audience of the two services (BBC and VOA) blame ISI for sponsoring terrorism in region. The low p value suggests the hypothesis is supported.

The group discussion in this regard confirms that Media is money consuming entities and the government would not fund media houses if it does not promote government's interest. Now as the war on terror is more complex, the media being the handmaiden of government simply follow them. If the governments concede that war on terror is unwanted, it is easy for media to chart a policy of neutrality and do good journalism. But in case of Pakistan and Afghanistan, the US and other states including Pakistan have many foreign interests which are the reasons that media simply confound the problem and forced to do negative propaganda than impartial and unbiased reporting.

Hypothesis 6

Listeners believe that force against terrorist groups will ensure peace and stability in the region as compared to other means.

Table 6

| Theme | Disagree | % | Agree | % | Total | Chi Square |
|--------------|-----------------|----------|--------------|----------|--------------|-------------------|
| Troops | | | | | | 19.3 |
| Withdrawal | 259 | 40.7 | 378 | 59.3 | 637 | P Value 0.07 |
| Force | 263 | 41.3 | 374 | 58.7 | 637 | |
| Peace | 207 | 32.5 | 430 | 67.5 | 637 | |

The analysis of Hypothesis 6 shows that use of force instead of withdrawal of troops from the conflict areas or peace dialoged is not the durable solution for peace and stability in the region. The respondents are likely reluctant to speak against the militant groups as they do know the on ground realities as well as the agenda of armed people fighting for unjustified cause. The p value of the hypothesis 6 (0.07) is insignificant. Hence, the hypothesis could not be accepted.

The idea was endorsed by focus group participants as well. They were convinced that ensuring peace and stabilities is the prime responsibility of state towards its citizens. Media is there to report what is actually happening on the ground without any exaggerations or prejudices, and of course not to aggravate any situation. Ideally, it cannot be independent if it starts taking sides or act as predictors. It can only report and get background analysis from relevant experts to pin point errors in strategies and suggest better options.

Hypothesis 7

Listeners of both BBC and VOA hold similar views about the important problems faced by the internally displaced people.

Table 7

| Channel | Theme | Disagree | % | Agree | % | Total | Chi Square | P value |
|---------|----------------|----------|------|-------|------|-------|------------|---------|
| VOA | Shelter and | 245 | 38.5 | 392 | 61.5 | 637 | 33.923 | 0.00 |
| BBC | Food | 218 | 34.2 | 419 | 65.8 | 637 | 63.424 | 0.00 |
| VOA | Education | 272 | 42.7 | 365 | 57.3 | 637 | 13.578 | 0.00 |
| BBC | | 205 | 32.2 | 432 | 67.8 | 637 | 80.893 | 0.00 |
| VOA | Rehabilitation | 196 | 30.8 | 441 | 69.2 | 637 | 94.231 | 0.00 |
| BBC | | 278 | 43.6 | 359 | 56.4 | 637 | 10.3 | 0.001 |

Internally dispersed persons or IDPs remained one of the core issues in conflict areas where the fight against terrorism was fought. The perception of local audience remained higher in terms of solving this issue by taking preemptive measures. The hypothesis 7 which was about similar views of listeners of BBC and VOA radio services about the major problems faced by IDPs was found significant in all three cases i.e. problem of shelter and food, education and rehabilitation. The p value of all cases is less than 0.005 that shows the relevance and significance of the hypothesis. Therefore, the hypothesis is approved and accepted.

The results of focus group discussion in this regard were also found similar. The participants concluded their discussion by posing the prime responsibility of promoting development issues on International broadcasters. It was maintained by the experts that international broadcasters have a huge role in regions and countries where the local media is not up to the task. It can raise issues of transparency, accountability and other elements of governance such as resource allocation more independently. It can arguably promote greater transparency and participation in government. As far as

dispersed people rehab is concerned international media can play an important role if provided with proper access to the areas from where they have been displaced. Local media though enjoys more freedom as far as this access is concerned, but international media is restrained. On anti-terrorism strategies question, the participants specified that international media can question the genuine of intentions of the rulers, their capabilities and decisions more independently. The idea always is to after talking to relevant experts suggests reforms so that it is more comprehensive and coherent. They think that compared to local media, international broadcasters have little chance to create any scare or sensationalism hence it could be more useful. Among the participants it was also agreed that the international broadcasters can play an important role in all these areas provided they project the issues objectively and give voice to the community. They can play an important role in education, health and nutritional awareness and income generating activities and peace initiatives. Their programs in Pushto can be more appropriate and effective.

Conclusion

The research questions mainly revolved around the perception of these two broadcasts among the listeners, exploring their opinions on war on terror and critical analysis of these broadcasts. The first hypothesis conjectured that owing to the long broadcasts and focusing on music and culture, listeners would prefer VOA over BBC. However, the research found no statistical significant answer for this. It seems the listeners equally rate the two radio stations. Moreover, the people perceived the two services have almost identical stance on issues happening in their areas. Such a position supports the Hall encoding

decoding model that people interpret the message according to their preferences.

The second hypothesis conjectured that people would trust these two broadcasters for providing timely information on events in the area. However, majority of people were convinced that these broadcasts had their own agendas and were making propaganda. Media dependency model says that during crisis times, people rely on media most and usually accept media messages. However, the respondents said ground realities were different and the information provided was not as accurate. To understand what people thought these broadcasts favored which party in this conflict, majority of them said that media favored Afghanistan over both Pakistan and USA. Literature suggests that people usually start supporting a party in a conflict if it reported in victimhood frame. In fact, there is a growing concern in Pakistan that though it has suffered immensely in this conflict, still it is blamed for the problem in the region. Many in Pakistan say that West has never supported Pakistan for its role in the war on terror and as revealed in this study; their media toe the same line.

One probably most interesting thing is the support for war on terror. Majority of people living on Pakistan and Afghanistan border support the war on terror. There is a debate both within Pakistan and Afghanistan that the war on terror is not successful because people on the border areas do not support it. However, this study finds that people of the area do not support the Taliban regime and want peace and development. Majority of people believe that use of force instead of withdrawal of troops from the conflict areas or peace dialoged is not the durable solution for peace and stability in the region. The

respondents are likely reluctant to speak against the militant groups as they do know the on ground realities as well as the agenda of armed people fighting for unjustified cause. Finally, the internally dispersed persons or IDPs remained one of the core issues in conflict areas where the fight against terrorism was fought. The perception of local audience remained higher in terms of solving this issue by taking preemptive measures. The hypothesis, was about similar views of listeners of BBC and VOA radio services about the major problems faced by IDPs was found significant in all three cases i.e. problem of shelter and food, education and rehabilitation.

References

- Bernays, E. (1928). Propaganda. New York: H. Liveright.
- Carruthers, S. L. (2011). The Media at War. London: Macmillan International Higher Education.
- Chomsky, N. & Herman, E. (1988). Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Drescher, J. (2009). When Politics Distort Science: What Mental Health Professionals Can Do. *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Mental Health*, 13(3), 213-226.
- Grad, M. (2009). Massoud: An Intimate Portrait of the Legendary Afghan Leader. Saint Louis: Webster University Press.
- Hallin, D. (1986). The Uncensored War: The Media and Vietnam. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hamelink, C. J. (1994). Trends in World Communication on Disempowerment and Self-empowerment. Montevideo: Southbound and Third World Network.
- Hong, J., & Wang, S. S. (2011). Voice of America in the Post-Cold War Era: Opportunities and Challenges to External Media Services Via New Information and Communication Technology. *International Communication Gazette*, 73 (4), 343-358.
- Kaplan, R. D. (2000). Retrieved March 03, 2016, from <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2000/09/the-lawless-frontier/305296/>
- Knightley, P. (1975). The First Casualty: The War Correspondent as Hero and Myth-maker from the Crimea to Kosovo. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

- Lasswell, H. (1927). *Propaganda Techniques in World War*. New York: Knopf.
- Lynch, J., &McGoldrick, A. (2005). *Peace Journalism: A Global Dialog for Democracy and Democratic Media. Democratizing Global Media: One World, Many Struggles*, 269-312.
- Mowlana, H. (1997). *Global Information and World Communication: New Frontiers in International Relations*. Washington: Sage Publication.
- Rashid, A. (2000). *Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia*. UK: Yale University Press.
- Schetter, C. (2002). The 'Bazaar Economy' of Afghanistan: A Comprehensive Approach . Christine Noelle-Karimi, Conrad Schetter and Reinhard Schlagintweit (eds.) , 109-128.
- Stevenson, R. L. (1994). *Global Communication in the Twenty-First Century* . New York: Longman.
- Strobel, W. P. (1996). The CNN Effect. *American Journalism Review*, 18(4), 32-38.
- Taylor, P. (2002). *Global Communications, International Affairs and the Media Since 1945*. London: Routledge.
- Taylor. (1995). *Munitions of the Mind: A History of Propaganda from the Ancient World to the Present Era*. New York: Manchester University Press.
- Tehrani, M. (1999). *Global Communications and World Politics: Domination, Development and Discourse*. Colorado, USA: Lynne Rienner Pub.
- Thussu, D. K. 2000. *International communication: continuity and change*. London: Arnold.

Tomlinson, J. (1999). *Globalization and culture*. London: Polity.

Tsagarousianou, R. (2004). Rethinking the concept of diaspora: Mobility, connectivity, and communication in globalised world. *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture* (University of Westminster, London): Vol.1 (1), 52-65. ISSN 1744-6708 (Print); 1744-6716 (Online)

Tsagarousianou, R. (2004). Rethinking the concept of diaspora: Mobility, connectivity, and communication in globalised world. *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture* (University of Westminster, London): Vol.1 (1), 52-65. ISSN 1744-6708 (Print); 1744-6716 (Online)

UNESCO, Literacy Statistics Metadata Information Table, UNESCO Institute for Statistics September 2015. Retrieved 27 April 2016 from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_countries_by_literacy_rate#cite_note-1

US Code, 22 United States Code Section 2002(b).

VOA History. Retrieved on July 25, 2016 from <http://www.insidevoa.com/p/5829.html>

Ward, K. (1989). *Mass communication and the modern world*. Chicago, IL: The Dorsey Press.

Williams, A., & Katz, L. (2001). The uses of focus group methodology in education: Some theoretical and practical considerations. *International Electronic Journal for Leadership in Learning*, accessed on May 15, 2016, from: <http://www.ucalgary.ca/~iejll/volume5/katz.html>

Wilson, James R., and Roy S. Wilson. *Mass Media, Mass Culture*, Fifth Edition. Boston. McGraw Hill, 2001.

Winkler, C. K. (2006). *In the name of terrorism: Presidents on political violence in the post-world war II era*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Wolfsfeld, Gadi. *Media and Political Conflict: News from the Middle East*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997b.

Wood, J. (2000). *History of international broadcasting (Vol. 2)*. London, UK: Institution of Electronic Engineers.