

**Annex 4:**  
**Information sources and media access in Baluchistan and NWFP**

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## Information sources and media access in Baluchistan and NWFP

### Introduction

The sources for this section of the Feasibility Study come primarily from two reports commissioned by DfID/ FCO in Islamabad:

- Research Study Report on social and governance indicators of FATA by Community Appraisal and Motivation Programme (CAMP) in Peshawar (draft 2007)
- An analysis of Afghan Refugees' Information Sources in Pakistani Camps and Settlements in Baluchistan and NWFP (also conducted by CAMP, 2007)

Two further reports, Needs Assessment for the Afghan Refugees Affected Areas in NWFP and Baluchistan Provinces of Pakistan (UNDP, 2006), and Pashtu Language Media in Pakistan by Imtiaz Ali (DFID, 2008) were also consulted.

The FATA Development Programme- Government to community has been planning a large scale Media and Efficacy survey of 3000 individuals plus focus groups in all seven of the tribal agencies. Due to various problems this has been delayed but is now being taken forward by PACT Radio as the research contractor, reporting in July. The results will be shared with MSS then.

A recent book - "Frontier of Faith: Islam in the Indo-Afghan borderland" by Sana Haroon (2007) was also consulted for a historical perspective of Islam in FATA.

For an up to date survey of the media use and opinion influencing in Baluchistan, MSS commissioned a well-respected and very well connected Afghan journalist to undertake eight days research. His report is attached below.

These reports were supplemented by a number of interviews among journalists, radio broadcasters and other informed individuals carried out by the research Team Leader in Peshawar in January 2008.

### **An analysis of Afghan Refugees' Information Sources in Pakistani camps and settlements (CAMP, 2007)**

This is the most detailed recent report on media use in NWFP and Baluchistan. It is confined to interviews with 1300 Afghan refugees with a reasonable spread of ages, about one third of whom are women. The results are confused by the incorrect labelling of some radio stations, but once allowances have been made for that, the trends in information sources become clear:

- Communal gatherings are the most important information source (544 responses), over 40% of whom attend such gatherings daily. Friends and family are the most influential (939), followed by mentions of community leaders (587), and Friday sermon (513)
- Television is next (300 responses, with the vast majority watching Pakistani TV in Urdu rather than Afghan TV in Dari or Pashto. Entertainment is most popular (491) followed by international news (291) and local news (262), followed by religion (199). About one third of the sample watch TV every day, while over a half never watch it.

- Radio is the next most important (226), with the most important radio channel cited as Azadi with 159 responses (Radio Free Afghanistan, part of RFE/RL), Radio Buraq with 97 (a Peshawar based private station mainly in English and Urdu) BBC (86), Kabul Radio with 15 (Afghan Government) and Radio Pakistan with 9. Favourite radio programmes have been listed in a misleading way, but after scrutiny it is clear that news (mostly Pashto, but also Dari and Urdu) comes out top (198) with songs (mostly Pashto) coming second (135). The Hujra programme (Phone in from Radio Deewa/ VOA) gets 24 mentions.
- Magazines and newspapers (81), with the Pakistani Daily Press by far the most popular, the single most mentioned newspaper being Wahdat, a Pashto daily.
- Only 11 responses mentioned the Internet as the most important information source. 7% of those asked had access to the Internet, most of them in an Internet café.
- Among the 332 young males aged between 16 and 25, radio and TV listening is roughly equally spread, with almost half each listening/ viewing every day, and the other half never listening or viewing. Very few read newspapers or use the internet regularly. 16% said they had access to the internet. More than half attend communal gatherings daily; TV is cited as the most important information source (122) with substantial numbers also opting for radio (79) and communal gatherings (75). But a large majority rely on Pakistan TV for their information, with only 41 out of 332 mentioning Afghan TV channels. Most important of the radio channels in Radio Azadi (RFE/RL), followed by Buraq FM (Peshawar) and the BBC.
- Among the 135 madrassa educated males, only 33% listen to radio daily, and 13% watch TV daily. Readership of newspapers and access to the internet is minimal, but about half attend communal gathering daily or weekly. At communal gatherings, the most important information sources were family/ friends and community leaders with slightly fewer citing the Friday sermon.

**Research Study Report on social and governance indicators of FATA**

This draft study due to be published in March/ April 2008 is based on both qualitative and quantitative primary and secondary data, using individual questionnaires and focus group discussions. The survey was of 1050 individuals (22% of them women), and the focus groups were conducted with a total of 277 people in groups of about 40. Virtually all respondents were local Pakistani Pashtuns. A total of 114 questions were asked in the survey. Conditions were hard for the researchers because of local sensitivities, and some surveys had to be conducted in Peshawar at bus stops amongst people returning to Bajaur agency, following the bombing of the madrassa there in 2006 that killed 82 people.

**Information Sources and media access**

Results of the survey indicate that radio, followed by TV, the printed press and friends and family were by far the most important information sources. Multiple responses were allowed:

Radio:	703
Pakistan TV:	557
Pakistan Press:	540
Friends, family, work colleagues:	514
Internet:	58

Young people (read young men) were seen as spending most of their time gossiping in the hujra (guest-quarters), with rather fewer spaying games and only a small minority attending “tablighi” (missionary Islamic activities). The same smalolo minority are perceived as watch videos regularly. Unemployed youth are perceived by respondents to be prone to drug abuse (454 responses), domestic violence (441), crime (232), but by very few (56) in “extremism”.

### **Non-media influences on the population**

Much of the interest in this report is contained in the social attitudes that underpin public opinion and very possibly people's loyalties and actions. The overall impression is that traditional values and structures retain paramount influence. Asked if they believed that religious political parties would create a more just and peaceful society if they ran the government, only one third replied “yes”. On the other hand, more than half said that the introduction of Sharia law had had brought peace to North and south Waziristan, though another 25% refused to answer such a sensitive question. Interestingly 44% felt that lack of education was the prime cause of religious extremism, with about a quarter each attributing it to the Afghan conflict poverty and bad government. Asked to define what “Jihad” meant, 57% opted for the study of the Koran and modern science, another quarter for “peaceful resistance and only 17% for armed conflict.

Asked “you feel secure because.....” 61% said tribal customs, and only a quarter replied “possessing weapons, a result which is contradicted by another question asking them to justify carrying of weapons - by far the majority said it was to “provide security”. Over three quarters believed that better security would reduce the need to possess firearms.

The Afghan form of “wolesi jirgah” is the clear favourite in terms of procedures to settle disputes - 80% said it provided justice. What's more, about two thirds of respondents believed that local customs influenced the outcome of the jirgah rather than Islamic law (12%). 882 people believed that the response to murder should be “badal” (revenge) - just 5 people said the matter should be settled by a sharia law trial. An overwhelming nine out of ten respondents believed that women should not take part in jirgahs. The respect for the jirgah system is related to its delivery of speedy, cheap justice, an attitude that is mirrored in Afghanistan<sup>1</sup>.

This perception of the marginal influence of Islam is not entirely consistent throughout the report, which could have been influenced by the fact that only 1% of the 1050 respondents were educated in madrassas. It is also contrary to the long history of religious leaders from FATA exercising considerable influence over the population at times of political crises<sup>2</sup>.

### **Participation in media**

Evidence from interviews shows that programmes involving participation of listeners are very popular in FATA. Radio Deewa, the Voice of America programme for Pakistani Pashtuns, has been given a new lease of life by its daily one hour phone-in programme. Despite being hosted from Washington, the formula of local guests hooked into the programme by phone discussing a wide range of issues, not confined to politics, has been a winning formula. Literary issues are featured and the discussion is frequently light hearted, with singing, shouting and clapping “like in a hujra” according to one informant.

This formula has also worked with at least one of the four community radio stations set up in the last couple of years in FATA. They are based at Jamrud, Miranshah, Wana and Razmak. According to Sayed Nasir Afridi, Manager of Radio Khyber (based at Jamrud), up to seventy calls are received per day, mostly asking for music. He believes they include sharia party sympathisers who make requests

<sup>1</sup>Afghanistan Human Development Report (UNDP, 2008) <sup>2</sup> Frontier of Faith (Haroon, S. 2007)

but ask for their names to be withheld! Sayed Nasir, himself a mullah, strongly believes in the power of radio programming to promote peace. His recipe is a mixture of music, moderate Islam, including simple Pashto translations of the Koran, and discussion of religion. He edits the political bits out, believing the threshold of toleration is low. Broadcasting in the local Pashto accent is also a reason for the station's popularity, he believes. His vision is to create a dialogue with his listeners, broaden tolerance and promote "love and peace". But news gathering or current affairs, particularly discussion of the Pakistani Army's role, is not allowed. However, he alone out of the four local radio stations in FATA carry the "Da Pulay Poray" programme of PACT (see below). The others, he believes, are concerned that its social commentary might be too radical for conservative opinion in these areas, though it is all firmly based on the Deobandi interpretation of Islam.

Another reason for Khyber Radio's popularity - it broadcasts just six hours a day from 8-11am and 5-8pm, is, he believes, the banning of TV and video by the sharia parties in some areas, though this is an edict that is often ignored, according to a prominent journalist (see Media Mapping Report for details of Radio Khyber's schedule).

A notable event occurred in February 2008 during Pakistan's General Election:

*"Khyber Radio made a history in the last general election of February 18, 2008 that for the first time it gave a platform to candidates of Khyber Agency contesting elections. This is by all account a historic movement to listen to the contesting candidates from the tribal areas on a local radio station explaining their manifestos. It's the first step towards community empowerment in a society which has been under strict rules of centuries-old Frontier Crimes Regulations (FCR) and tribal traditions. These radio stations have given voice to the voiceless local people. I believe these radios are alive and thriving because Interactive Radio Pashtu programs are loved by the people. It is their language and they want to get news, entertainments and information in their own native language.....It's time to extend this network of radio stations to other tribal regions. It is one way of taming the rising tide of militancy and winning the hearts and minds of the disgruntled Pashtun Tribesmen."*<sup>3</sup>

In Khyber Agency alone there are five jihadi radio stations, and possibly as many as another 30 throughout FATA, according to Sayed Nasir. They are believed to be mobile, very low powered and rarely on the air for longer than an hour at a time. Most broadcasting is devoted to their interpretation of the Koran, broadcast in simple Pashto. The other element is jihadi songs which have promoted a counter reaction of protest songs by anti-jihadi elements. The most successful radio mullah was Maulana Fazlullah of Swat, who cut a deal with the Government of Pakistan in May 2007 whereby he was allowed to keep broadcasting on his illegal radio station in return for not running militant training camps<sup>4</sup>. He had used the radio to broadcast the Koran in simple Pashto, but also to denounce the education of girls and polio vaccination campaigns.

### **Pan Afghan Cross Border Radio Production and Training (PACT)**

The most innovative peace-oriented broadcasts in the FATA areas, shortly to be extended to Baluchistan, have been radio programmes from PACT. Taking as a reference point a moderate interpretation of Islam that finds favour with many in Pakistan, the programmes deal with audience driven issues with an emphasis on putting forward practical solutions. Some typical programme items are:

- Should a jirga consist of selected - or elected members? (Aya da jirga ghari pakar dee chi intisabi wee - yani takal shway de wee - ya de intihabi wee)?

<sup>3</sup> Ali, I "Pashto Language Media in Pakistan" (DFID Pakistan report April 2008)

<sup>4</sup>"Pakistan losing territory to radicals" Christian Science Monitor, 29th May 2007

## Potential Partner Summaries

- What time-frame, and conditions, for poppy eradication (da koknar luh mianza yauralo dapara, somra wakht, au suh sharait pakar dee)? Da Afghanistan puh shamali seema Balkh ke, au puh junubi gharbi seema Helmand ke, ba da pukhtanay luh zamindarano sakha o kroo. (We will ask these questions from Afghan farmers, in the northern district of Balkh, and Helmand in the south-west of the country).
- Why some people are not happy with the polio vaccination.
- We will look at the role of the mother, in bringing up her children.
- In song form, we will be hearing about the sadness caused to some when cross-border nomads move on.
- Later, in Da Adab Malghalary, we will be looking at someone who is an outlaw, but he still makes people laugh
- How can civilians protect themselves from the ravages of war?
- A cross-border jirga is to take place, but have the cross-border masses been taken into confidence?
- A man gets into debt, and gives a girl to pay off his debt (saray qarzdar shi, au da qarz khlasawalo dapara djinai war kawee).
- Our young people have talent but it is difficult for them to progress in the field of sport (zamong zwanan salahiyat laree, kho duiy da lobo puh maidan ke par makh nuh shee talalay).
- In song form, we will hear about the decline in human values (mung ba da insani arzakhuna da kamwalay puh hakla auroo).
- And later, in Da Adab Malghalary, we will talk to a poet who missed out on schooling - Akmal Lewanay.
- When calamity strikes, people help each other (kala chi afat razee, no khalq da yau bal imdad kawee).
- Can smoking be eradicated by smoking bans?
- In cross-border areas, what jobs are women allowed to perform outside the home, and which are they not allowed to perform
- A livelihood is available for some in Waziristan, with the construction of a new fruit mandi (puh Waziristan ke da mewajato manday jor shway day, au zine kisano dapara kar-rozgar tar lasa shway day).
- In pursuit of a livelihood, some have to move from villages to cities (da kar-rozgar puh talash ke, zine khalq luh kallo na khar ta hijrat kawee).
- Naswar (snuff) is the intoxicant of the cross-border region, but why do people use naswar, and what is it made of?

## Potential Partner Summaries

- In song form, we will hear about a famous bazaar of the cross-border region - the Qissa Khwani Bazaar in Peshawar.
- Alcohol is prohibited for Muslims, but we will talk to some non-Muslims who have also been prevented from brewing alcoholic beverages.
- We will look at the lives of girls who have been given in marriage in exchange (chi puh badal ke waduh shaway dee).
- In song form, we will be hearing what happens when a cockrel gives the call to prayer at the wrong time (suh kegi kala chi charg puh ghalat wakht bande bhang kawee).
- we will talk to one who is keeping alive the great tradition of Khattak poetry - Raj Wali Khattak.
- Is outlaws' number up in Bajaur? (Aya da mafrurano dapara Bajaur oss da panah zai nuh shee keday?)
- Is there one law for everyone, or one law for the poor and another for the rich?
- What do people think of the work of NGOs in Chitral?
- Why do people go to taweez writers (Khalq taweez nawees ta walay zee)?
- In song form, we will be looking at changing village life.
- we will be hearing about a mulla with a difference - whose job it is to make people laugh<sup>5</sup>

“Da Pulay Poray” is intended to reflect life on both sides of the Frontier, with the people themselves identifying issues they want discussed and, where possible, resolved according to their own traditions and customs. The programme is broadcast weekly and lasts 45 minutes, but with GCPP funding there are plans to increase to three times weekly.

Another PACT programme “Din-o-Dunya”, “people look at the way religion is being practised in the world today and suggests.....how the principles of religion should more aptly be put into practice<sup>6</sup>”. Ordinary people and religious scholars take part in the programme and topics covered include Muslim unity, charity, preaching of Islam, interest and usury, fasting, marriage, inheritance, the relationship between Islamic law and national custom etc. Two series of 12 programmes, each lasting an hour, are made each year. A third programme “Qavi Mumin” is devoted to health issues, drawing on Islamic duty to ensure that families' health is a social priority, and giving practical advice on health issues.

<sup>5</sup>Da Pulay Poray programme menus provided by John Butt

<sup>6</sup>PACT publicity brochure, 2007

Underpinning PACT programmes is the notion that people both sides of the Durand line share a common language and common traditions, and can help solve each others' problems at a time when moderate Islam is being hijacked by jihadi influences. PACT programmes are broadcast by local radio stations in Nangarhar province in Afghanistan as well as by Radio Khyber. According to a survey carried out in 2006, in Nangarhar, 59% of people asked say they listen to the PACT programmes, while 42% of those asked in the Khyber area say they listen. PACT claims their surveys show the programmes attract many women listeners.

Current plans include extending the network of reporters throughout FATA, and setting up an office in Baluchistan. Programmes will be extended, including a regular feature on the environment, radio drama and a broad mix of entertainment and education into a daily programming stream to be broadcast initially over the internet for local radio stations to pick up and rebroadcast terrestrially.

### **Media use and public opinion in Baluchistan**

This section of the report was researched by an informed and well connected Afghan journalist. The Afghan diaspora in the Quetta area and in the border regions of Balochistan takes a close interest in events in Afghanistan, and many are believed to be involved in the insurgency. This study analyses how public opinion amongst the diaspora is shaped, and examines their favoured sources of information. This complements the research summarized in the paper, "Information Sources in Pakistan".

#### ***Places for the propagation of rumors among Afghans in Baluchistan:***

Afghans usually gather and talk about the news from Afghanistan while traveling in buses in Quetta. These buses move between areas such as Pashtoon Abad, Kharot Abad and Nawai Kalai and are full of passengers. Other places for the propagation of news are Hujras (village or family guest houses, weddings) and occasions when people gather for prayers, especially for the late afternoon, dusk and night prayers. Here news comprises the hot topics of discussions and so rumors are also made and propagated.

Other places for the spread of rumors are restaurants full of customers, shop front in the bazaars of Pashtoon Abad, Kharot Abad and Nawai Kalai, where local people come and organize an informal meeting called Bundars and mosques where people may stay for a friendly chat and a rumor will pass on during such chats.

Some people also take the advantage of such places, using their mobiles to pass on the news/rumors by calling his friends and talking to them over phone in a loud voice so that people in his vicinity easily hear what he says in his telephone conversation with the other side.

#### ***How rumors are made and passed on:***

In a bus full of Passengers, any rumor (besides news) would easily travel for long distances. For instance a passenger will say that he saw some one who told him in a wedding party, or in a Hujra or in the mosque, that two British soldiers laid down their weapons in Musa Qala district of Helmand and were captured by Taleban. He quotes an Afghan who the person says had just arrived from Helmand and adds that that person was an eye witness to the two British soldiers who surrendered to Taleban. He then blames NATO and Coalition forces for not allowing the media give this news. This rumor is believed by other passengers in the bus to be true, and is then passed on to other people in far away areas where the passengers have come from.

### ***Afghans in Baluchistan:***

Most Afghans in Baluchistan come from the south and southwestern provinces of Afghanistan. Most of them are poor manual and physical laborers or small retailers. Politically, the poorer a person is, the more extremist tendencies he will have. They are mostly illiterate, and they are illiterate because they are poor. One breeds the other.

### ***How their attitudes could be influenced politically?***

There are several ways to influence the extremist tendencies. The long term solution lies undoubtedly in education, but short term solution is to find job for such people inside Afghanistan, to approach their tribal leaders, intellectuals and Imams and to use their leading cadre as mediators for negotiations between the government and the Taleban. These leaders are in contact with Taleban and could prove as a good negotiating link between the two sides.

Changing people's life may be a long term task, but supplying markets with audio cassettes with good quality of music and short slots of comedy dramas could contribute to a positive change in people's attitude. Also dramatization of Afghan history and then supplying audio-cassettes could also help, as people will understand that Afghans throughout their history have always opposed extremism.

### ***Tastes in music:***

Audio cassettes have the first place in the market. The low prices of audio cassette players—that are usually available in most of the houses could be the reason. A latest look in to the music market indicates that people like audio cassettes of songs mixed with short role plays or drama slots. Most of the time these are comedy slots. But there is also a strong demand in the market for modern Pashto music and Bollywood films.

Only rarely one could get audio cassettes of Taleban songs but such cassettes are hardly ever available in the market.

### ***Afghan students in higher educational institutes:***

None of the few Afghan students that attend colleges or universities in Quetta call themselves Afghans. Most have Pakistani ID cards and call themselves Pakistanis. Most of these Afghans are activists of Pakhtoonkhwa National Party (PNA) or would have extremely close relations with the party's activists. [This is a strongly nationalist Pashtun party based in Baluchistan which works for a single Pashtun dominated province including NSFP, northern Baluchistan and parts of Punjab, but not the Pashtun areas of Afghanistan. It is headed Mahmud Khan Achekzai].

### ***Population breakdown***

Difficult to know how many Afghans are in Baluchistan, but between 6% and 10% of the province are thought to be Afghan, with the percentage rising to about 30% of those living in Quetta. Many are well established businessmen, who run amongst other enterprises Daoud Clothes Centre, Quetta City Centre, the textile and dried fruits market. Most business people in these four centres are Afghans.

The two traditional Pashtun tribes of the Quetta region, Kasian and Bazian, dominate the civil service. Noorzai, Achekzai, Tochi, Tarakki, Hotak and Kakar tribes dominate the commercial sector. They come Pakistan, but have close links with their Afghan cousins. Baluch are also involved in business.

### **Main transit routes**

- Muslim Bagh in Pakistan to Badina close to Shamulzai district of Zabul. Most smuggled foodstuffs such as ghee, flour and cooking oil are smuggled to Afghanistan, and precious stones from Afghanistan to Pakistan, use this route.
- Khuzdar in Baluchistan and Disho district of Helmand is the main route for smuggled drugs and fuel oil.
- Chaman and Spin Boldak is the main route for legal trading and population transit, Between Quetta and Chaman there are hundreds of private cars and commercial vehicles on this route each day. 95% of Afghans using this route do not have passports or visas. Many have Pakistani ID cards, or they bribe border guards. Reasons for travel include trade (shops in Kandahar and Quetta for instance), or taking people for treatment to Quetta's Gilani hospital which is owned by an Afghan. The journeys between Kandahar and Quetta are often opportunities to exchange news, which is then passed on to public meetings. For example a driver quoted a journalist in saying that the dog-fight bomb blast was the work of the government who wanted to lay the blame on the Taleban. This was also told to our correspondent by a mullah south of Quetta.

### **Media Sources and Consumption (see also Pakistan Media Sources paper)**

There is no Afghan run news agency run by Afghans in Baluchistan. Some monthly and quarterly magazines with Taleb sympathies are printed in Quetta because of the availability of presses.

- One casual magazine published by Afghans is called "Tawakal" edited by a mullah from Zabul province, called Mullah Mohammed Hussein Mustasaad. The magazine is pro Taleban and the address is given as Mirwais Mena, Kandahar City (this is a fake address).
- S'rak magazine (46 pages, monthly) is edited by the literary Islamic Association of Afghanistan. It is also pro-Taleban
- Shahamat magazine (monthly) is published by the cultural Islamic Association of Afghanistan. Address of office is Karteparwan, close to cinema Baharistan, Kabul. Most of the magazine articles are pro-Pashtun.
- Morchal, quarterly, is jihadi in content, published by the Taleban. Address is Kabul
- The weekly "Surghar" has some readers, but is not trusted by many
- Internet users are few. The most popular Pashto web sites are "Lur au Bur Afghanistan" and the "Benawa Web page". BBC web page is mostly used for listening to BBC radio programmes online. However, very few well educated Afghans with some kind of political vision would have access to internet in Quetta.
- BBC evening transmissions do not have good reception. But BBC still has the reputation of being a reliable news organization, and they are still seen as the benchmark of what has and what has not happened.

## Potential Partner Summaries

- People have responded well to the BBC Pashto phone-in programme "Staso Jakh" (your voice), which is political in nature
- Older people tend to listen to Radio Azadi during the day - those in shops or in their homes
- RTA (Afghan TV) can be accessed on cable by the wealthy few
- Radio Deewa (VOA) is listened to by only a few people
- Afghans generally access Pakistani TV and newspapers, few listen to RTA, and it is generally distrusted
- Young people understand Urdu and even English - focus on entertainment. Indian and English films popular, Indian music preferred to new Pashtoon music.
- Better off Afghans tend to be more interested in Afghan affairs, and discuss politics - eg: who will be the next President, Parliamentary decisions etc. This group also accesses political discussions on AVT Khyber, a Pakistani Pashtun TV channel. This group is proud of the Pashto language, and see themselves as defenders of Afghan Pashtun culture. This group generally oppose the Taleban and their allies. They are a network who share similar opinions. They often read Leequal magazine, a nationalistic publication from Peshawar
- Poor Afghans, small shopkeepers, manual labourers, follow the reports of the Afghan fighting, keen radio listeners, generally live in rented houses in three areas of Quetta - Pashtunabad, Kharotabad and Niwi Kaili. Generally discuss politics in their hujras, or at dusk in the front of shops. Most are pro Taleban and are pleased when the Afghan government faces problems. Eg: they like news about suicide attacks and bomb blasts. They are critical of radio news - believes they are not reporting accurately, especially Voice of America. Most of these people listen to Radio Azadi, and they call their friends if they hear about a big incident. They judge the authenticity of the news through the BBC. these people pray in groups, and the Tablighi (missionary) party gather after prayers to discuss the news and interpret current events in their own way. They claim to be impartial but their sympathies tend to be with the Taleban. Their relatives live in the refugee camps. The younger members of this section of the population like modern Pashto music broadcast on AVT Khyber, and download tunes to be ringtones on their mobiles.

### Provisional Conclusions

Overall the evidence of media trends is broadly consistent, with radio and TV access varying according to topography and reception. Phone-in programmes, local accents and the broadcasting of religious programmes in simple Pashto are popular. Radio is how people access these kind of programmes. TV access is mostly in Urdu, and is largely viewed for entertainment. Internet access is low, with some on-line listening to the BBC in Baluchistan.

The influence of traditional institutions such as jirgahs and community meetings is important for both Pakistani Pashtuns in FATA and Afghan refugees. In FATA there is a clear reverence for past traditions and institutions as well as impatience with the GoP (this was reflected in the recent elections). On the face of it, there is surprisingly little jihadi influence on the majority of the population, though the FATA survey and interviews with informed individuals indicate that a small minority hold views very strongly indeed and their actions cause a good deal of local controversy. Amongst Afghan refugees, those who oppose the Afghan government are those who have benefited least from international support in Afghanistan.