

# Extremism and Radicalization

A Study on The State of Governance in The Federally Administered Tribal Areas



A Research Project of FATA Research Centre

House No.23-A Street 28 F10/1 Islamabad Pakistan  
T: 0092 51 2112853-4, F: 0092 51 2112857  
[www.frc.com.pk](http://www.frc.com.pk)

**FRC**  
FATA RESEARCH CENTRE

[www.frc.com.pk](http://www.frc.com.pk)

A Report by

FATA Research Centre

on

Extremism and Radicalization

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Dedicated to a peaceful future in FATA

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## Contributors

Lead Researcher:

Mansur Khan Mehsud

Research Associates:

Sharafat Ali Chaudhary, Zakia Rubab Mohsin, Mehran Ali Khan

Assistant Researchers:

Nawaf Khan, Fatima A. Zeb

Data Tabulation:

Taimur Ali Khan

Editor:

Sharafat Ali Chaudhary

Consulting Editor:

Dr Ashraf Ali

Project Manager:

Muhammad Zaheer Khan

# About FATA Research Centre

FRC is a non-partisan, non-political and non-governmental research organization based in Islamabad. It is the first ever think-tank of its kind that focuses solely on The Federally Administrated Tribal Areas (FATA) in its entirety. FRC's main aim is to help concerned stake holders better understand this war-ravaged area of Pakistan with independent, impartial and objective research and analysis. People at FRC think, write and speak to encourage all segments of Pakistani society and the government to join their strengths for a peaceful, tolerant, progressive and integrated FATA.

## FRC Research Initiatives

The absence of valid and reliable data collection, analysis and dissemination among relevant stakeholders on the problem of extremism, coupled with the threat of growing radicalization in FATA and the inability of its inhabitants to fully comprehend the nature of the menace in their midst, calls for conducting specific studies, periodic seminars and conferences to be undertaken.

There is also a dire need of training and capacity building of young professionals in the latest techniques of reporting and publications for the relevant stakeholders and people of FATA that might enable them to better understand and tackle the problems facing FATA. This project, in partnership with The Royal Danish Embassy Islamabad intends to address these issues confronting peace building in FATA.

This study is second out of the five planned research activities to be completed by the end of year 2013. In addition, FRC is publishing two research journals per year, each consisting of approximately eight to ten research papers, and the publishing of a quarterly security reports.

FRC is committed to promoting the cause of peace through advocacy, capacity building and objective research on the issues confronting FATA and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

# Preface

Pakistan is amongst the world's most diverse nations with people from different ethnicities and subordinate cultures. Geographically it draws people from mountain ranges, deserts and beaches, while politically different levels of governance structures are in place in different areas. Often it is difficult to assess what holds the nation together, yet it has survived many tests. The latest test the nation faces is the global War on Terror, a war that has left no area in Pakistan untouched. The Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) is no exception.

FATA is a unique area in Pakistan as far as its governance structure is concerned. Its administration is divided between formal state actors and informal societal traditions. For centuries, this system was lauded as a success, for the nation managed to have a governance structure in place that supplemented tribal traditions. However, as war ravaged the area, the Achilles heel of the system was exploited by militants and at times by foreign actors; that made the people of FATA suffer enormously. With no peace and stability in the region coupled with the debatable system of governance, the development of society is at stake.

This report aims at putting forward recommendations for governance reform in FATA that align with what the people of the region want, as well as what relevant stakeholders deem feasible. The report is the result of intensive field research based on opinions of the people. It is a collective effort of a team that has dedicatedly worked for several months in order to understand how war on terror has deeply influenced the people of FATA.

FRC makes sure that the voices of people of FATA would be heard and such conclusive studies will emerge from the land of the mountains, in order to understand and root out the causes of the prevailing extremism and radicalization in FATA. FRC will continue to raise the voice which could help bring peace, stability and development in the area.

We at FRC offer our heartfelt thanks to all those who made this report possible. We would also like to acknowledge the help and support offered to FRC at every step by The Royal Danish Embassy in Islamabad for the execution of this report.

Dr. Ashraf Ali  
President  
FATA Research Centre

# Executive Summary

## Introduction

This study on “The State of Governance in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas” by FRC revolves around the main argument of Governance structure in FATA because this is the primary area to address for its smooth, conflict-free and just running. The study briefly illustrates its objectives and methodology through which the cause and effect factors are discussed during the course of this research study. The in-depth correlation between the socio-cultural, politico-economic factors and the governance are studied thoroughly to highlight the areas of hindrance in the way.

## Rationale for the Study

Previous studies by FRC on the overall situation of FATA uncovered many issues and the issue of governance was a prominent among them. The literature available on the issue found the governance in FATA structurally ineffective against militancy, because the writ of the government can be measured through structural efficiency of the governance system. Structurally efficient system can better deliver services to the people which are unfortunately absent in FATA governed through FCR.

Many of the studies on the issue concluded that it is the FCR, an obsolete and incomplete law, which provided space for the penetration of militants in tribal society. The improper adjustment of tribal customs and traditions in the FCR is one of the reasons of the emergence of militants and powerlessness of the locals in FATA. The traditions, providing an informal governance structure, have later on been exploited by the militants. The tribal authorities, who were practicing these traditions, were either eliminated or suppressed which has shocked the overall governance system in FATA. Therefore the governance system in FATA has widely been criticized at various forums on the basis of its structural inefficiency, incompetency and inhumanity which are now existent in both formal and informal practices<sup>1</sup>.

Thus the existing studies on FATA highlight the need to find public and expert opinion regarding existing governance structure and the ways to improve it. Once the problem is identified, it becomes easier to solve it. Therefore, this study identifies the governance related issues and recommends possible solutions to solve the issue of peace and stability in FATA in the long run.

## Methodology

The study is based on primary and secondary data. The existing literature on the topic was thoroughly reviewed and analyzed. To know the public and expert opinion on the subject, conferences, focus group discussions (FGDs) and a survey was conducted. The general public, policy makers and those who are involved in governance related activities, either formally or informally, were interviewed. The opinions are sought from all the agencies of FATA and Frontier Regions, through intensive field work. The field observations and notes are also included in the study.

## Research Findings

- a) Exclusion from Political Process and its Implications

<sup>1</sup>The inherited faults in formal governance structure were covered by informal structure (customary laws) but the customs were also exploited by non-state actors, i.e. militants, to have their own axe to grind.

The study digs out different dimensions of current governance structure and practices along with its effectiveness in FATA. It finds reasons of exclusion of people of FATA from the main stream political arena prevalent in other parts of the country. The study finds that indicators of 'voice and accountability' portrays bleak situation on the ground. Freedom of expression among women is absent and political administration/ authorities enjoy immunity from all sorts of accountability. People seem not to be given the space to practice their right of expression and choose their options, if there are any. The concepts of Pushtunwali, Jarga, Hujra and Masjid are however influencing the on ground affairs of governance since the informal political systems allow them to express their feeling more freely than the formal structures or public places. Women on the other hand are not having the access even to such informal forums to articulate their views by themselves. The public opinion on impartiality and fair play of media in reporting was divided. In general, people are of the view that journalism is not about reporting incidents of violence, it is also about unearthing corrupt practices which it fails to report.

The role of civil society in policy making is quite limited, but non-governmental organizations' role in service delivery is comparatively appreciated; though their method and manners are somewhat socially unacceptable. Political Agent being the head of the administration and the judiciary enjoys unbridled powers. It was also found that the political agent acts as the 'King of the agency' and makes all the important decisions sans security. However, Military is making all the important decisions when it comes to the law and order. The study revealed the facts about decision making powers in FATA that the individuals are limited or not allowed to participate in activities of decision making, mostly the military and the political agents takes the decision. By and large the cases are taken to the Jargas for resolution and on a massive scale, the study witnessed the respondents to prefer Jarga over court yet at the same time they claim the powerful parties like Maliks and Taliban take law into their hands. At large, respondents from FATA unveiled the fact of persistence of corrupt practices in the public sector.

There is a general consensus that the area suffers lack of security, insufficient provision of basic facilities, unemployment, corruption and vices of FCR. According to the statistical analysis the majority of the people belonging to FATA do not feel secure in the prevailing situation yet they also do not know who is to blame for the target killings, kidnapping, bomb explosions, suicide attacks and insurgency in the region. Yet the research argues that there is no or restricted ways to escape the situation of political volatility and violence. The study further continues to explore the adequate measures the government took in obliteration of militancy, violence and conflict from the FATA, moreover it points out the effectiveness of governance through services delivery in the region.

Public opinion on the role of FCR and its impacts on society are also explored in the study. This further gives rise to the argument about actual worth of FCR and the existent administrative system where the prime beneficiaries are the Maliks and the Political Agents. According to the statistics, FCR is considered as violent and vicious towards the basic human rights, hence there is a need to replace it with some other democratic, just and receptive system to accomplish the demands of ordinary tribal people across FATA.

People are either unsatisfied with the provision of basic public services such as clean drinking water, health care centers, education and transport or dejected at the quality of these basic services. Hence the role of development sectors in promotion of the community services was viewed as more efficient than the government. The study also states that the role of political elites is inevitable in fostering political participation and legislation for FATA to improve the governance structure and practices.

#### b) Improving Governance Structure: Political Elite's Point of View

The study also aimed to identify the view of political elites and authorities on the current status, functionality and effectiveness of the governance structure in FATA. In speaking to individuals responsible from the formal and informal structures (e.g. bureaucrats and maliks) as well as experts in the field (e.g. professors and retired civil servants etc.), the study finds both confirming and contrasting point of views.

Generally, expressed by the said groups, absence of check and balance, lack or absence of monitoring mechanism, accountability, and meritocracy gave free hand to unbridled corrupt practices in the public sector. More so, lack of public ownership of the developmental projects, unawareness among people about their rights, limited access of common man to political administration offices and lack of feedback mechanism for beneficiaries were considered some of the major reasons of corruption in FATA.

Though respondents were of the view that FCR is an unjust law yet they conceded that FCR is not the only reason for all the miseries of FATA. There were certain voices which claimed that FCR is a very useful and important document. There were others who were of the opinion that currently FCR is not workable and instead of abolishing it altogether it shall be reformed. However, those classes of tribal society which are more progressive and have more exposure to outside world such as students, lawyers etc were of the opinion that FCR is inhuman in nature and it shall be abolished and replaced by a more democratic, transparent and responsive system.

People of FATA prefer democracy over authoritarian governance structure and eager to participate in political process but at the same time they consider establishment of 'peace' as a prerequisite for political activism. They believe that until and unless peace is restored to the region the dream of political activism at gross root level could not see light of the day.

#### c) The Future: Divergent Views

Thus the study finds, to general public, the current public administration system is devoid of any inbuilt effective institutionalized arrangement for ensuring rule of law/even-handed justice, transparency, accountability, responsiveness and common's man participation in decision making process. In contrast, those respondents which were representing public sector were quite satisfied with the governance structure.

Though it is clear from the study that the current governance structure needs to be either reformed or replaced, yet there is a little consensus among the people of FATA as to what the new structure should be. Opinions are not just divided along agency lines, but even within the same agency opinions vary to such a degree that it is difficult to draw generalizations.

### Recommendations

The study recommends that policies should be in place to remove the structural inefficiency in the governance of FATA which often provided space for militancy. The demands of the public can be articulated as the empowerment of tribesmen and the restoration of traditional institutions in FATA. Structural efficiency of the government can assure the process of accountability and can provide constitutionally guaranteed fundamental rights as freedom of expression, freedom of assembly, freedom of choice. The deprivation of the tribesmen can be removed by flourishing political culture, positive role played by media and civil society. The governance in FATA should level ground for media and civil society to play their roles in educating people and catering their input in policy making respectively.

## Study Objectives and Methodology

### Project Description

FRC's previous research project "Extremism and Radicalization: An Overview of the Social, Political, Cultural and Economic Landscape of FATA" exposed issues of governance in the region. The study, whose conclusions were drawn primarily from public opinion polls revealed about deteriorating security situation, emergence of new influential individuals and groups, marginalization of Maliks, and a general dissatisfaction with the administration in the region. People from the region expressed discontentment with the Frontier Crimes Regulations Act (The statute that outlines the administrative structure in FATA), rampant corruption and unmonitored activities by Political Agents in the region. Based on these findings, FRC has focused on issues relating to governance in this research project.

Governance has three essential components, making rules, enforcing rules, and delivering services (Fukuyama 2012). This research project will analyze governance in FATA, focusing on both the formal<sup>2</sup> and informal<sup>3</sup> actors involved in the decision-making and implementation processes as well as the formal<sup>4</sup> and informal<sup>5</sup> administrative structures in place in the region. This focus on formal and informal structures is essential because FATA is governed semi-autonomously<sup>6</sup>, and other administrative concerns are handled by informal structures.

This study aims at bringing into lime light and mainstream public opinion regarding existing governance structure in FATA while suggesting the ways to improve it. The specific objectives of this study are outlined as under:

Objective 1: To understand why the people of FATA are excluded from the political process and its implications.

Objective 2: To identify the role of political elites in fostering political participation and legislation for FATA, inevitable for improving governance structure and practices.

Objective 3: To identify people's views on the future administrative status of FATA.

<sup>2</sup> Formal actors consist of government officials including political administration, political representatives, members of law enforcing agencies etc

<sup>3</sup> All the other stakeholder out of the government institutions including Maliks, tribal elders, Lashkars' members and other influential individuals and groups in the area

<sup>4</sup> It includes the whole institutional set up of the State in FATA i.e. Political Administration, law enforcing agencies etc.

<sup>5</sup> The informal set up consists of the institution of tribal Maliks, local Jargas, local committees which are able to influence policy-making process

<sup>6</sup> FATA is governed through FCR which is the mixture of legal codes and local codes and traditions. Some of the affairs have been dealt through local customs and traditions of the people. It is, therefore, called semi-autonomous.

### Research Design and Methodology

In obtaining data including public and expert opinions, this study used a mixed methodology approach. FRC conducted a total of 134 in-depth interviews from relevant stakeholders (identified as common people, students, maliks, individuals involved in the administrative set-up, policy formulators and experts). Every Agency and FR (North Waziristan, South Waziristan, Orakzai, Kurram, Khyber, Mohmand, Bajaur, FR D.I Khan, FR Tank, FR Bannu, FR Lakki, FR Kohat and FR Peshawar) was represented, with 14 interviews being conducted from each agency and 6 from each FR. In addition, 8 group discussions (each with 10-12 participants) were held with students, Maliks, professors and individuals involved in policy making. Along with conducting in-depth interviews and group discussions with relevant stakeholders FRC also disseminated 2000 quantitative questionnaires (at 200 per Agency, and 100 per each FR) to garner the general public's perception on the current state of governance as well as to gather public opinion on the direction of administrative reforms in FATA.

Although under represented, there was a specific effort to include females from each agency and FR. The quantitative questionnaire was disseminated to the public at large and as such was a random sample from different strata's in society.

The Project Manager and specially trained field staff conducted the interviews and group discussions. The questionnaires were designed in English, and translated into Urdu/Pashto for understanding of respondents.

### Methodological Challenges

The field staff reported several difficulties they faced when conducting interviews. The most common complaint was the respondent asking for a monetary stipend, citing that other researchers in the area had paid individuals to give interviews, FRC however refused to do so on the grounds that it would amount to unethical research practices, with a possibility that monetary benefits promised before during or after an interview can disturb the objectivity, reliability and validity of the interview.

Another hurdle that field staff reported was related to interviewing females, not only was it difficult to gain access to women to interview, those who were interviewed had little input in regards to governance and administrative issues, holding that their role in society does not allow them to know or be allowed to have a say in such matters.

Many interviews were deemed void as respondents abruptly left the setting or did not feel secure discussing questions regarding militant activities in the region. Many other respondents did not wish to explain or expand on replies regarding the security situation in FATA. Many did not want to mention the role militants played or their opinion on militant activity in the region. Many referred to the "current situation" when asked to expand the respondents were hesitant to do so and replied vaguely.

# Contextual Background

## Overview

The study, *Extremism and Radicalization: An Overview of the Social, Political, Cultural and Economic Landscape of FATA* brought to light several issues pertaining to the rise of militancy in Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA); one of the main issues uncovered was the need for governance reform in the region (FRC, 2012). Issues of governance in a region creates space for non-state actors<sup>7</sup> to execute their will upon people and practices such as nepotism, favoritism, warlordism and corruption run rampant in areas where the administrative structure is ineffective (Aziz, 2010). This study will attempt to work on what effect bad governance is having in FATA and to what extent, if, it contributes to the existing extremism and radicalization. The administrative set-up in FATA is seen both as a 'cause' and as a 'victim' of the ongoing militancy in the region, because, while loop holes in the system may have made the area more accessible to militants, the militants have abused and corrupted the system structurally and it is now suffering (Samdani, 2011). This corrupt and inefficient system needs reform today to benefit the people of FATA.

This study analyzes whether the administrative set up in FATA is fully functional in all three areas of effective governance, as laid down by Francis Fukuyama, making rules, enforcing rules, and delivering services (Fukuyama 2012). The extent of the deliverance of these three functions determines how strong the writ of the government is in the area (Obaidullah, 2001). The strength of the writ of the government is inversely proportional to the extent of non state actors in the region, because as previously stated, the lack of visible presence of governance gives non-state actors space to carry out their plans (Clark, 2004) A particular area this study focuses on is the effectiveness of Frontier Crimes Regulation 1901 (FCR), the act that lays out the governance and administrative structure in FATA. Pakistan inherited the FCR upon independence from the British in 1947, many of its clauses remained unchanged till today (Wazir M. M., 2009). Some experts hold that clauses in the FCR made it easier for militants to make the Pak-Afghan border the hub for their activities (Abbas, 2009). The study explores the system of governance, its pitfalls, the actors involved and the impediment it has had on the development of FATA.

## Governance in FATA

FATA is governed differently to the rest of Pakistan. This federally administered area is governed with a mix of both formal state law and informal local codes<sup>8</sup> (Ghafoor, 2009). As mentioned, the

<sup>7</sup>An individual or organization that has significant political influence but is not allied to any particular country or state

<sup>8</sup>The local codes, known as *Pashtunwali*, cover all affairs of Pashtun life. The traditional institutions (Jarga, Hujra, Lashkar etc) run through these codes. Truth, Hospitality, Cooperation, Appeal for forgiveness and Revenge are the basic codes.

FCR is one of major formal laws that govern the area. The FCR is a law created by the British, which essentially attempted to codify local customs of the area. The FCR allows for local *Jargas*<sup>9</sup> and *Lashkars*<sup>10</sup> to enforce local customs in the area (Ghafoor, 2009). *Lashkars* and *Jargas* use a mixture of Islamic principles and local traditions to do their duty (Nawaz, 2009). This system of formal structures being supported by informal structures functioned effectively till the onslaught of militancy<sup>11</sup> in the region (Kerr, 2010) and there are two schools of thought in regards to analyzing the failure of the informal systems of governance in FATA. One holds that the informal institutions and codes of conducts have not been adjusted effectively over time, and the other holds that they have been rendered defunct by non-state actors in the region (Kerr, 2010). There may be two reasons; one, the codes and institutions have not been adjusted properly; two, these have been eliminated by the non-state actors in the area (Kerr, 2010). The improper adjustment with the artificial intentions, of the local codes and institutions can be derived by the public division of Jarga into *Hakumati Jarga* (Political Administration sponsored council of Maliks) and *Qaumi Jarga* (traditional council of elders). (Khosro, 2010). While the elimination of these codes and institutions can be calculated by the statistics of target killing of more than 1500 tribal elders and Maliks including *Lashkar* leaders in FATA (Ali, 2012). Although the validity of *Jarga* decisions may be debatable today, their legitimacy rarely is questioned, with over 98% of FATA's population holding that they use and abide by decisions declared by *Jargas* (FRC 2012).

The FCR outlines a system of governance under which a federally appointed Political Agent (PA)<sup>12</sup> is given the authority to administer any one tribal agency. The Political Agent is a representative of the federal government; the FCR designates him the most senior bureaucrat in the region, granting him executive and judicial powers in the region (Fiaz, 2012). The FCR holds that the Governor of Khyber Pukhtonkhwa province appoints the PA for each agency; it also outlines the process whereby the tribal Malik is appointed (Nawaz, 2009). Today, a man in favor of the political administration needs to do little more than express his interest and be in the PA's good books to be declared a Malik, however previously, the criteria to become a Malik was stringent, with those intending to be part of the *maliki system*<sup>13</sup> undergoing a pupilage with a Malik for up to ten years (Asmat, 2012).

The British leveraged the institutions of tribal authority that existed in a comparatively egalitarian Pashtun society (White, 2008) to invent a system that was extremely mediated and discretionary. The system adopted in the Pashtun Tribal belt was different to that of the Balauch Tribal belt because Balauch tribes were already hierarchically organized and as such easy to rule by proxy, but Pashtun tribes were so egalitarian in nature that their elders were first among equals (Wilcox,

<sup>9</sup>Tribal dispute resolution method- elders of the tribe come together to discuss and reach a compromise on any raised issue.

<sup>10</sup>Pashto name for 'Local civil Militia'-armed against militants in the tribal areas of Pakistan. Forming Lashkar is tribal customs in which Pashtun tribal rise together temporarily to counter the issue in a violent way though it is the last stage after negation and mediation.

<sup>11</sup>It has widely been considered that FCR remained effective in managing the administrative affairs of FATA before the emergence of the current militancy in the area.

<sup>12</sup>Political Agent is the part of Pakistan civil bureaucracy-looks after the administrative affairs in tribal agency, appointed by the Governor of KPK

<sup>13</sup>Maliki system is the mechanism in which tribal Maliks function



1967). Although elders did exist in Pashtun tribes and that British used; and ultimately redefined this group, and formed a class of 'tribal Maliks', to be used as 'intermediate authorities' (Wilcox, 1967), who could control by providing discretionary funds to help them bolstering their local influence.

Maliks are the bridge connecting the state to society in FATA. The concept of Maliks is derived from traditional authoritative figures in tribal society. A Malik is a tribal elder that receives a stipend from the government for which in return he pledges allegiance to the state. Under the FCR, a Malik is given several privileges<sup>14</sup> for which in return the Maliks represents the side of the government in Jargas. They also have additional powers like executing decrees laid down by the PA and forming Lashkars. The maliki system has suffered the most at the hands of the militant emergence in the region. Before 9/11, a tribal Malik was not only an official designation carrying with it responsibilities, but also a term highly honored in the society and one that was carefully chosen. Many tribes had the same Maliks for decades, new ones being included only once the elders had trained individuals on how to handle a post that required honesty, dedication and humbleness. However, as Operation Enduring Freedom<sup>15</sup> continued in Afghanistan, infiltration of militants from across the border realizing the potential safe heaven they could have in FATA (Haider, 2008), affected the entire administration scenario.

Maliks were respected elders in society who worked to bridge the gap between the administration and the people and work as the middle men in negotiations. However, today Maliks are viewed as a parallel authority to tribal elders, serving solely as agents of the state (Students, 2012), as such their role in the system has eroded and there is an unbridgeable gap between the administration and society.

Pakistan has historically been a place where several different levels and systems of governance have been running simultaneously, but that in recent history it was largely home to two systems of governance, one for settled areas and one for tribal areas (Fair, 2008). Panjabi Sindhi and Balochi (except some areas) are also traditional societies with rich culture and traditions but the demography of Pashtun society living in FATA is comparatively different than the aforementioned. There is no existence of non-state actors in rest of Pakistani areas which could create problem for both state and society. The visibility of State machinery, which is lacking in FATA, may be one of the main reasons of peace and stability in the rest of Pakistan. On the other hand a very limited visibility of the state machinery indicates absence of good governance in FATA (International Crisis Group, 2009).

### The Critique of Governance Structure in FATA:

The FCR is often rejected on the basis of human rights violations. Many critics of the FCR believe it goes against international accepted human rights as it also contradicts the fundamental rights envisaged in the chapter 2<sup>nd</sup> of Constitutional of Pakistan and it must be repealed (Anwarullah, 2012, Dawn, 2012), or at least amended to bring about peace, stability, and development to the region (HRC, 2005, Wazir, 2009, PDSA, 2012, IRESK, 2012.). The recent amendments in the FRC re

<sup>14</sup>Maliks receive various privileges in shape of stipend, government construction contracts and other projects etc

<sup>15</sup>U.S led NATO war against Taliban and Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan

also being considered as insufficient (Dawn, 2012). Critics argue that foreign agencies should link the funding available for development in FATA with reforms to the administrative set up of FATA and that these funds should be used through elected representatives and not through the Political Agents who were already involved in plundering the resources of the tribal areas. International funding would go down the drain if it were not linked with reforms in FATA.

Issues regarding governance in FATA have been in the limelight for quite some time and several reform ideas have been considered, with the United States taking the lead and offering financial support to Pakistan to strengthen and reform the administration in FATA. The draconian nature of the FCR as well as the harshness of tribal culture are real impediments to development in the region, however, the main issue is the neglect the region faced in the years prior to 9/11. There is a need for both political and legal reform in the region, although attempting both at the same time will cause an upheaval the tribal culture will not be able to handle and advocates the need to first attempt either political reforms, or legal reforms (Fair 2008).

After 9/11 and the subsequent Taliban insurgency into FATA caused collapse of the systems of both formal and informal governance in FATA that had precariously been built over centuries (Innocent, 2008). Behind the every reality of insurgency and radicalization lies 'a growing crisis of local governance' (White 2008). Accountability is one indicator one can use to assess the effectiveness of governance in the region (Fukuyama, 2012). In FATA, one of the main reasons given for the eroding writ of the government in the recent past has been the lack of accountability of those responsible (i.e. the political agent, the Maliks and other stakeholders) and the loss of voice on behalf of the population. Being federally administered, there is no legislative structure for FATA and within FATA; there is no local assembly, as each dispute is treated individually through the convening of a Jarga (Shah, 2008). There are however representatives of FATA in the national assembly, who though cannot legislate for their area but they can advocate the concerns of the areas in the national assembly and can speed up the process of allocating funds to the region (FRC, 2012). Electing MNAs is the only political link FATA has with the rest of the nation, and it is important to make this link central to the political and bureaucratic relationship between FATA and Pakistan, rather than keeping it on the periphery as it is now. Despite having a minimally effective role, the election process in FATA is still marred with a lack of legitimacy (Haider, 2009), an area this study aims to explore further.

Going hand in hand with the idea of accountability, is the concept of voice, something the people of FATA have little of. Although bona-fide citizens of Pakistan, the nation's constitution does not allow a tribal matter to be adjudicated in line with the nation's judicial court system (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2004). A citizen of FATA does not have a local legislature to create parliamentary acts for the region. Having no formal means of having their demands heard, people of the tribal belt rely on informal methods such as the Jarga, the Hujra, the mosque or the market place to express themselves while these platforms have been targeted by the militant in the area (Wardak, 2007, Wazir, 2009, Rehman, 2012). It is through statements made at public gatherings that people can showcase to their Maliks and their political agents what events they need to be looked in to etc. However, in recent years, largely due to hands on militant control in public areas, the tribal people have lost their voice, and today matters of governance are negotiated between militants and political administration, leaving the bona fide citizens of the area neglected (Haider, 2008). The FCR, along with the now militant fueled maliki system has flaws in it that have distanced the common man from people in charge to such an extent that the writ of the government is openly

# Data Analysis

being challenged yet there is no checking power, fueling both corruption and militancy in the region.

The main hurdle in establishing control in the region and garnering public support was a system of loyal Maliks who had dedicated their lives to serve both the tribal people and the government to maintain peace and order in their area (Wilcox, 1967). The militants knew that to establish control in the region, and to take advantage of the holes in the FCR, it was essential to create a power vacuum in the region. The easiest way to do so was to eliminate the bridge (Maliks) that connected the tribal people to the government enforced bureaucracy (Shah, 2009). Post 9/11 militants entered in FATA and beheaded over 1500 Maliks in the span of 2 years. New Maliks were thus required, and only influential elders left were those with militant leanings or backgrounds. Thus the bridge between the government and the people now comprised of militant sympathizers, and the flaws in the administrative system in FATA began to reveal themselves. Additionally, the government has also been contributed in the degradation of the maliki system by bypassing them and directly negotiating with militants (Tajik, 2011). Thus the intrusion of militants or militant-supported elders in the informal governance structure slackened the overall government structure of FATA.

There are several approaches when looking at administrative reforms in FATA and one of the more popular ones is the approach that advocates mainstreaming FATA into Pakistan (Haider, 2008). More so, Pakistan will have to gear up for an intelligence war in the region as well to curb the militancy (Abbas, 2009). Additionally, the administrative structure in FATA needs to be made strong to handle the post-conflict scenario in the region, as experts note that in most regions, 50% of the conflict returns within five years into the post-conflict stage if the situation is not handled properly (Brinkerhoff, 2007).

Pakistan's fight against militancy in FATA, whether looked at from a security or development aspect, can only be won if the policy makers change the way they perceives FATA (Wirsing 2008). The problem of militancy is partly to do with a lack of training in insurgency warfare, and partly to do with a disregard for development in the region and failing to understand that the attitude towards administrating FATA needs change. Fostering development activities in the region is one of the ardent needs of the area but development cannot flourish or sustain itself without administrative, legal and political reforms in the region (Wirsing 2008).

One of the key impediments to development in the region has been Pakistan's attitude towards militancy, i.e. the aims of the government and military hold to contain militancy rather than eliminate it, as such there is little commitment on Pakistan's behalf, and development in the region has taken a back seat. Additionally, the Pakistani government's failure to understand FATA's evolving socioeconomic landscape has further impeded any socioeconomic development in the region (Khan 2008). If there have been any developments, they have only favored a small segment of the tribal population and scholars hold that efforts have to be made to ensure that development reaches and benefits all people in the region, equally (Khan 2008). Today, areas that were already headed towards development, neighboring settled areas, are being concentrated on and portrayed as success stories. However the failure of current development efforts is visible when you move inwards into FATA and are exposed to the predominantly illiterate, impoverished and isolated population. Thereby it goes hand in hand that development in FATA can only be successful and sustained if there are governance reforms in the region (Khan 2008).

## Data Analysis

FATA's unique constitutional status as a semi-autonomous area has several advantages and disadvantages for the area. Though people are free to practice their culture and traditions yet absence of human right has always been deplored by tribesmen. The new scenario developed after the event of 9/11 has exposed the system put in placed in FATA by British Empire. The current extraordinary situation in FATA is not what FCR was enacted for. The study discovers whether the century old governance system is responsible for the underdevelopment and turmoil in FATA or absence of peace and emergence of new actors on the horizon of FATA are actually responsible for the collapse of administrative edifice of FATA? This study also discovers why there is a perception of disconnection from the administration by the people of FATA.

The system of governance currently put in place was created to strike a balance between the tribal way of life, and conforming to structures of statehood. Overtime however, the very same society that lauded its administrative status has grown disenchanted with the system and public opinion surveys indicate that the people of FATA resent the current status quo and demand a more responsive system which delivers and leads to development in the region. This study sketches a clear picture and tries to connect all the dots which could enable us to understand the real cause of failure of the current system to deliver and why people feel disenchanted. The study also suggests structural improvements in the existing governance system derived from public opinion. Following are the findings of the study derived from both the qualitative and quantitative data analysis.

## Exclusion from Political Process and its Implications

### Voice of Accountability:

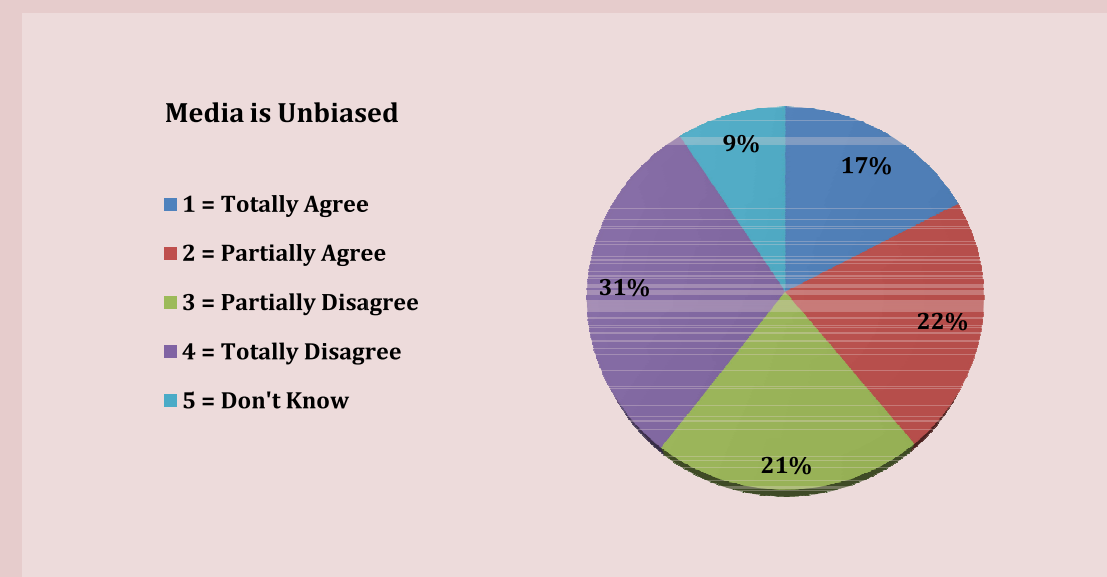
War on terror has completely changed the dynamics of FATA. Its social fabric has been ruptured and the nature of its contemporary issues are different to the one tribesman was up against some ten years back. Though people talk about corruption, load shedding and other issues in the public places yet they generally avoid speaking or commenting on those topics which can offend any of the actors involved in the conflict.

Survey respondents, 53%, are generally fearful of being expressive in public places such as *Masjid*, Market, *Hujra* and *Jirga* due to the overall insecurity in the region. However, Hujra is still considered a place where tribesmen discuss thorny issues as it provides more privacy compared to the rest of the above mentioned public places. Similarly tribesmen are now availing other secure mediums for expressing themselves such as radio which is the more secure way of sharing ones thoughts. On the other hand most of the women opined that their culture does not allow them to express their thoughts freely in the public places as they don't have access to these areas.

*"Previously Masjid, Market, Hujra and Jirga were all at tribesmen disposal which is unfortunately not*

*the case now due to an array of reasons. Most of tribesmen consider that it is better for them to remain silent otherwise they might pay a heavy price for being expressive.” – A Respondent.*

Majority of the survey respondents, 52%, were generally of the view that media is biased in its reporting of the region. It does not draw the true picture of what is happening inside FATA. It takes instructions from different actors who control FATA and most of its reports get filtered. To many, journalism is not about reporting incidents of violence, it is also about unearthing corrupt practices which it fails to report. However, 39%, of the respondents considered it otherwise. According to the journalists interviewed, the present situation in FATA is not conducive for journalistic activities. They opined that the journalist community is doing its best in FATA to report objectively, however, it has its own compulsions and limitations.

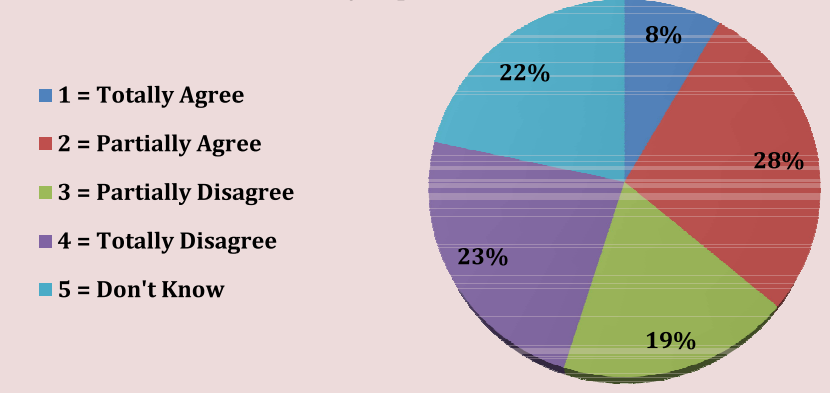


*“Isalute those journalists who are working from inside FATA for their courage and commitment”*  
– A Respondent.

Majority of survey respondents, 42%, believed that NGOs and local committees have a little say in policy input while, 36%, opined that they do have a role in policy input. Respondents were generally of the view that though occasionally NGOs and Local committees are consulted by government, yet, their feedback is only accommodated if it is in line to government policy. They are mainly involved in developmental process; however, that role is also shrinking which owes much to the incident of killing of Osama Bin Laden on May 2, 2011<sup>16</sup>. Similarly any such role being played by NGOs and Local Committees is being viewed by the people in power corridor as an encroachment on their authority. However, the governmental development agencies such as FATA Development Authority (FATA) considers them their partners and give them ample say in policy input.

<sup>16</sup>In Pakistan NGOs especially run on foreign aid are often suspected for spying and importing the un-Islamic culture to the traditional societies. Dr Shakil Afridi, then heading anti-Polio vaccination campaign was sentenced to 33 years in prison in June 2012 after a Pakistani court found him guilty of treason for conspiring against Pakistan. People linked this incident of spying with the role of NGOs.

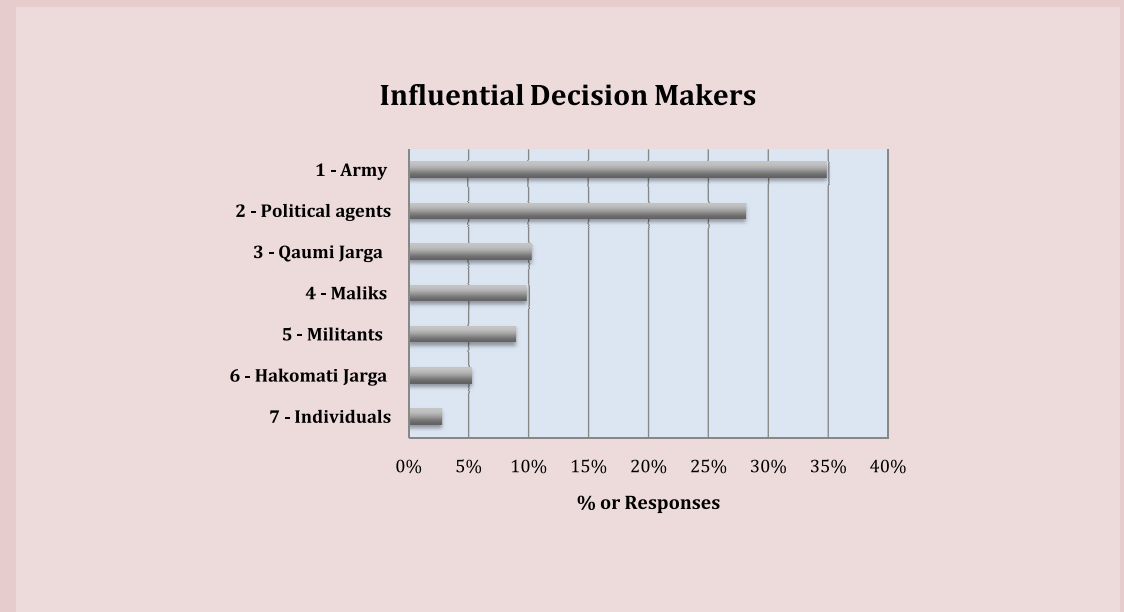
### NGOs Influence for Policy Input



Political Agent being the head of the administration and the judiciary enjoys unbridled powers. He makes all the important decisions. However, according to the majority of survey respondents, 34%, Military is making all the important decisions when it comes to the law and order while Political Agent has a strong say in developmental process. Many among the research respondents, 28%, consider PA as the most powerful while some others referring to the authority of Political Agent even termed him as *'the king of an agency'*. However, the respondents from North and South Waziristan, where militancy is on its peak, contradicted this notion. According to them militants in their respective agencies make all important decisions which affect tribesmen .i.e. militants in North Waziristan has banned the polio vaccination campaign.

*“Militant mostly makes important decisions. PA can't even travel on road in our agency so how come he can make important decision”*. – A Respondent from North Waziristan.

The following graph shows the ranking of important decision makers as enunciated by respondents. The graph presents the responses in percentages.



**Political Stability, Lack of Violence:**

In case of any administrative issue either elders are contacted to liaison with the local administration or local administration is directly contacted. Access to elders is quite easy; however, accessing the representative of the local administration is quite cumbersome.

Sense of being protected by the government is at the lowest ebb in the tribal society, reveals the survey. Quantitative data shows that a vivid majority, 62%, of the respondents do not feel themselves safe while, 38%, either partially or fully considers that they feel secure in the persisting law and order situation in FATA.

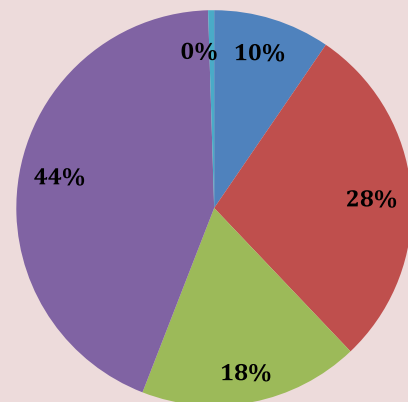
Tribesmen are generally dejected and despondent with the current fragile security situation in FATA. Situation according to the survey respondents is so fluid that tribesmen are opting out for migration from their respective agencies to safer places and most of the notable elders have already left the FATA.

People have put in place their own security arrangements, who could afford, on the face of ever eroding writ of Government in FATA. Target killings and kidnappings are norms of the day and mostly Maliks and elders are at the receiving end.

*"No one feels protected. There are so many actor involved in the conflict that one can't even figure out who was responsible for the crime."* – A Respondent opined.

**Feeling Secure**

- 1 = Totally Agree
- 2 = Partially Agree
- 3 = Partially Disagree
- 4 = Totally Disagree
- 5 = Don't Know



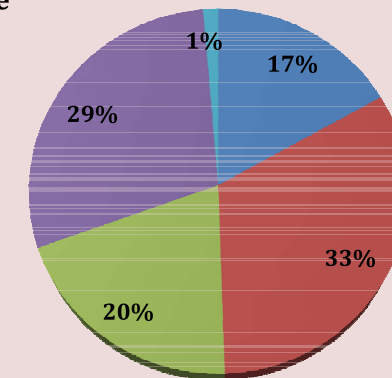
There was an agreement among tribesmen on need for the restoration and return of peace to FATA. Survey respondents were of the view that they deserve peace and they believed that it is prerequisite for any sustainable social, political, cultural and economic development.

50% of the survey respondents believed that the government has taken certain steps to control violence in FATA and situation has been remarkably improved. However, 49% of the respondents were of the view that authorities are yet to take any concrete and sincere measures to restore genuine and durable peace to the region. To them, the measures so far taken were desultory and aimless in nature. Having said that survey respondents were in favor of dialogue instead of military

action is FATA. Elders of the region were also in favor of dialogue and in that regard they were of the view that before taking any such initiative elders of the region must be taken into confidence by the government because without their consultation and involvement the exercise will bound to fail.

**Government Took Adequate Measures to Curb Violence**

- 1 = Totally Agree
- 2 = Partially Agree
- 3 = Partially Disagree
- 4 = Totally Disagree
- 5 = Don't Know



Elders were also somehow woeful about the fact that previously on many occasions the government involved Maliks and elders in dialogue process with non-state actors, however, no protection of what so ever was provided to them in the peace agreements signed between government and militants. They believed that every time after the culmination of peace agreements between government and militants, in the past elders were being persecuted for advocating peace.

It is found that overturning the decisions of political administration or Jirga is not an easy task in the tribal belt due to social and cultural compulsions and at the same time out of fear of punitive actions which could be taken by political administration under FCR. However, some interviewees were of the opinion that more recently, with the emergence of new powerful actors in the region, approval of political administration or Jirga decision is on decline. This all happened due to erosion of writ of the government in tribal belt as in the past over turning Jirga or PA decision was unthinkable. Some interviewees who belonged to areas which are control by militants were of the opinion that political administration and Maliks have no authority and people often settle their disputes under the auspices of Taliban Shura.

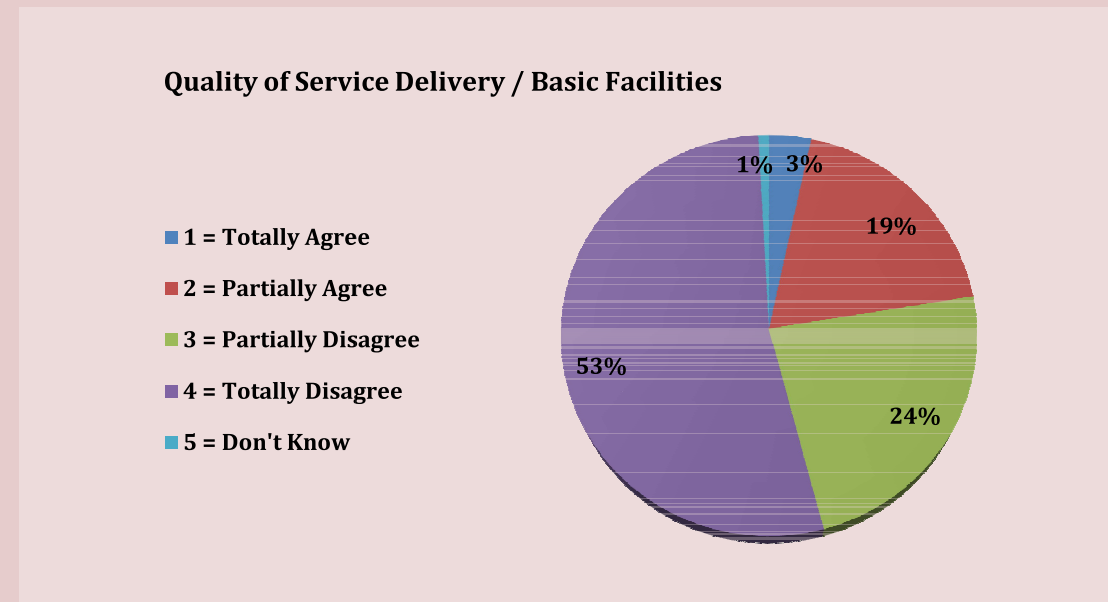
*"PA is only restricted to his office. He uses helicopter for his mobility so if such is the situation of the writ of government in FATA then I think no one is going to respect Jirga or decisions of the P.A. Now the decisions made by Taliban Shura have more authority comparing to the jirga or P.A decisions"* – A Respondent from North Waziristan

**Effectiveness of Governance: Quality of Service Delivery**

Above 3/4 of respondents, i.e. 77%, of the total opines that they are not satisfied with the provision of basic facilities and the quality of public service delivery. The survey found the people are either unsatisfied with the provision of basic public services such as clean drinking water, health care

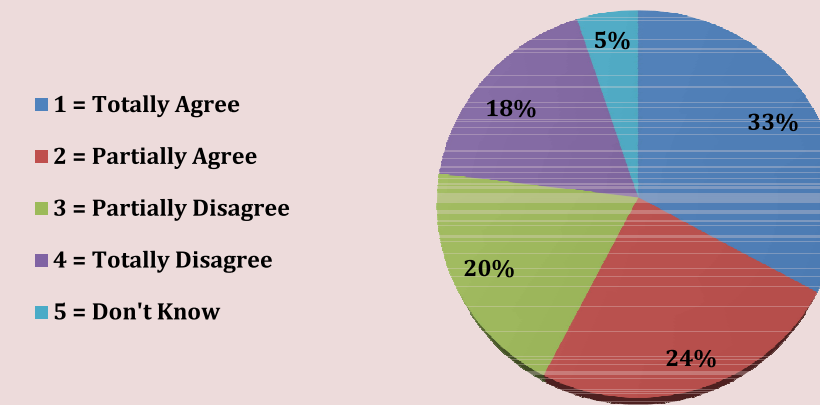
centers, education and transport or dejected at the quality of these basic services. They believed that there is a general lack of provision of basic facilities like health and education services. For the provision of basic facilities the role of NGOs is somehow appreciated as *'they work better than the government'*. *'When we were living as IDPs, NGOs helped out us a lot'*, a female respondent from Kurram Agency stated.

However, there were a few respondents, 20% mainly residents of agency headquarters, who were somehow satisfied with the basic services. 1% of the survey respondents were not in a position to chart out whether they have access to better civic facilities or not.



33% of respondents fully agree while another large number of 24% partially agree that the PA is free from external influences and he makes his own decisions. They believed that Political Agent is quite powerful in terms of authority which he enjoys under FCR albeit he is answerable to his superiors. He is the agent of Governor and takes guidance via governor secretariat. On contrary, 20% partially and 18% fully disagree that PA makes his own decisions. Prominent among them were elders and ex-servicemen (who have previously served in FATA) and journalists who opine that Political Agents were free from external pressures a decade ago, however, that is not the case now. According to them emergence of different actors on the political horizon of FATA and burgeoning corruption in the region are the main reason because of which P.A cannot exert himself the way he used to and has to remain accommodative. "External pressure can't be ruled out. Though he is considered as the king of Agency yet he is not an island on his own".-An interviewee said.

**PA Free from External Pressures**



**Role of Development Sectors / NGOs in Upgrading Community Services**

There was a dichotomy of view as far as who is more active for service delivery in FATA, government or development sector/ NGOs. Respondents representing social sector were of the view that development / NGOs sector is more active in upgrading community services; however, majority of the respondents contradicted that view. Survey respondents considered that FATA is out of bond to these sectors on account of fragile law and order situation in FATA. A few respondents even doubted their level of capacity and some respondents hold that P.A also don't want these sector to enter into the developmental arena of FATA because they fear that they will lose their vitality in the developmental process. However, there were certain voices which stressed upon more coordinated efforts among development sector/ NGOs sector and government to upgrade community services. *"It depends; because in some cases NGOs deliver in such a wonderful way that one considers that they are more active and more efficient in upgrading community services than government but in some cases one feels otherwise"*.- An interviewee expressed.

**Rule of Law and Alternatives for Dispute Resolution**

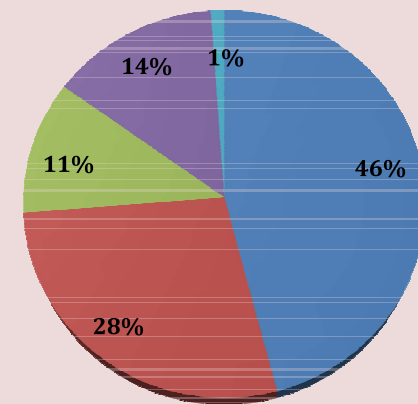
Study finds that usually people do not take law and order into their hands because they are generally peace loving. Similarly respondents also conceded that FCR provisions are very strict in FATA which are also responsible to make sure people conform to local laws and traditions. However, respondents who were representing those parts of FATA which is virtually under the control of militants were of the opinion that outsiders usually take law and order into their hands and they simply don't respect local traditions, culture and laws. *"People do take law and order into their hands, however, individually that's not possible I mean people under the banner of TTP do take law and order in to hands"*. - An interviewee expressed.

Approval of Jirga stands 74% among the survey respondents. They were of the view that people still respect and abide by Jirga decisions. On the other hand 25% among all the respondents either partially or totally disapprove it as an alternate of Courts. Despite the fact that people in general prefer Jirga over formal court system for their dispute resolution, many among them expressed that Jirga decisions have lost its traditional worth for decision making because it had been influenced by

militants in different areas. Fear of being persecuted for not confirming to Taliban Shura's decision, in areas where militants run loose, make people accept decisions of Jirga in practice if not by heart.

#### Preference of Jirga Over Court

- 1 = Totally Agree
- 2 = Partially Agree
- 3 = Partially Disagree
- 4 = Totally Disagree
- 5 = Don't Know



Generally people settle their disputes by involving elders of their respective areas. However, if elders fail to resolve the issue than the aggrieved party can approach the office of Assistant Political Agent and can launch report/FIR. After receiving application APA then forms a Jirga consisting of Maliks of integrity. It is pertinent to mention here that Jirga members can be replaced if any of the parties show reservations. The Jirga is mandated with facts finding and those findings are then presented in the court of APA. APA has the authority to give final verdict; however, the decision of APA can be challenged in the FATA tribunal. More recently people in those parts of FATA which are under militant control even launched complaints in the Markaz of militants to seek justice.

*"People used to respect Jirga decisions a lot but currently the authority of Jirga has been diluted due to the ongoing militancy and consequent military operations".* – A respondent from militancy hit Khyber Agency expressed.

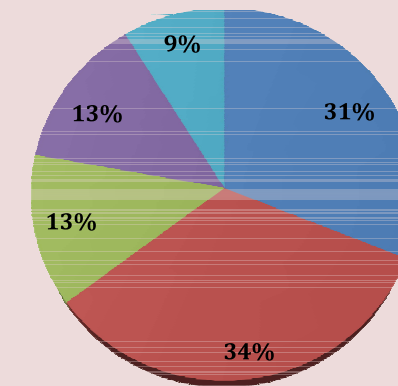
Public also abide by decisions made by local authorities; however, there is a segment within FATA which does not care much about it. Similarly people from areas where government has lost its writ seldom abide by decisions made by local authorities. *"It depends because in areas where there is no government writ people don't care about government decisions".* – A respondent expressed

#### Corruptions and Its Causes

The survey indicates clearly that the public sector functionaries are involved in corrupt practices in the pretext of service delivery. The rent seeking behavior of the public officials is observed almost as 'common practice'. 65% of the respondents agree that public sector officials are involved in corrupt practices.

#### Persistence of Corrupt Practices in Public Sector

- 1 = Totally Agree
- 2 = Partially Agree
- 3 = Partially Disagree
- 4 = Totally Disagree
- 5 = Don't Know



Generally absence of check and balance, lack or absence of accountability laws (NAB Ordinance is yet to be extended to FATA), lack of monitoring mechanism, lack of audit, absence of meritocracy, lack of public ownership of the developmental projects, lack of awareness among people about their rights, lack of access of common man to PA office and lack of feedback mechanism for beneficiaries were considered some of the major reasons of corruption in FATA. Besides that respondents were of the view that P.A is vested upon enormous powers which breeds corrupt practices and same is true with officers working in the different institutions of FATA such as FDMA, FDA, Governor Secretariat and FATA Secretariat. Most of the survey respondents were of the view that the system based on separation of power can only help combat corruption in the region. They were of the view that posting and transfers shall be made merit based. Similarly they were of the view that accountability and monitoring mechanisms shall be institutionalized in current system to get rid of corrupt practices in the region.

*"I think corruption is not only specific to this region it is in fact common in all the developing nations. It is therefore important to create an institution, which is independent, and can keep check on all institutions of FATA".* – An elder opined

#### Role of Political Elites & Other Stakeholders to Foster Political Participation and Improve Governance Structure

This study aimed to identify all options currently available for reforms in FATA, and to gather those responsible and assess the feasibility of each option. In speaking to individuals responsible from both the formal and informal structure (e.g. bureaucrats and maliks) as well as experts in the field (e.g. professors and retired civil servants), the study aimed to create a clearer picture for each stakeholder, to illustrate to them, with their input what their individual and collective responsibility is for the administrative future of FATA. After gathering information on what the people want, this study identified those stakeholders who can put to action the will of the people and question those stakeholders as to a) if they believe they have failed so far, b) what they believe is best for the future, and c) the roll they intend to play for FATA in the future. By carrying out in-depth interviews asking these elites and stakeholders questions on how they instill public opinion into their decisions, their plans for the future of FATA, and their individual role in FATAs struggle,

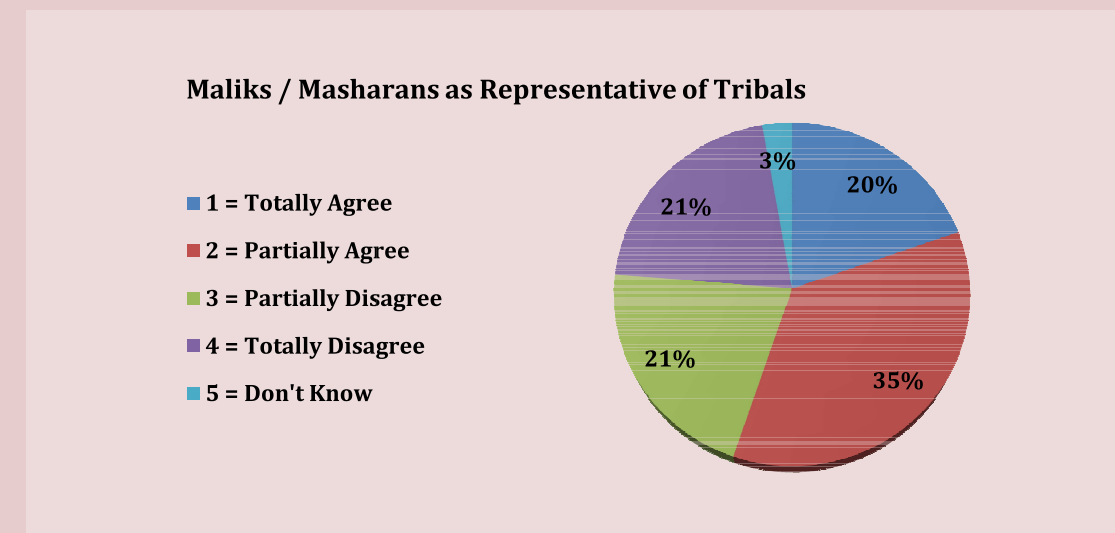
the study derived results to bring an effective governance reforms package for FATA.

**Political Activism is Inevitable:**

For political activism peace was considered vital, crucial and momentous by the survey respondents. They believed that until and unless peace is restored to the region the dream of political activism at gross root level could not see light of the day. Survey respondents claim that despite of the fragile law and order situation in the tribal region if all political parties open their offices in every agency of FATA role of people can be boosted at grass roots level.

*“All parties shall open offices in FATA because it is important to break the political Monopoly of JUI in FATA”* – An elder expressed.

People representing various political parties responded that they communicate with all elders coming from FATA and update their respective Political Parties head about their aspirations and demands. Most of them were of the view that they are quite accessible to general public and most of the time they are busy in solving people issues ranging from administrative to inter tribal issues. On the other hand common people expressed mixed view on Maliks / Masharan as being their true representatives. Among respondents 20% totally and another 35% partially agree that Maliks and Masharan (tribal elders) represents tribal people's interests while 42% among respondents either partially or totally disagree with this notion.



**FCR and Its Impacts on Society**

Though respondents were of the view that FCR is an unjust law yet they conceded that FCR is not the only reason for all the miseries of FATA. There were certain voices which claimed that FCR is a very useful and important document. There were others who were of the opinion that currently FCR is not workable and instead of abolishing it altogether it shall be reformed. However, those classes of tribal society which are more progressive and have more exposure to outside world such as students, lawyers etc were of the opinion that FCR is inhuman in nature and it shall be abolished and replaced by a more democratic, transparent and responsive system.

*“FATA is not suffering only because of FCR but because of corrupt government officers at agency, provincial and federal level. They misuse FCR for promoting their self interests. P.A makes huge money through permits and fines and there is no record of it and even if they are maintaining the record again that record is not auditable as P.A has been given this liberty to use that money in anyway and it will*

*not be even audited”*. –An interviewee expressed.

**Improvement in Governance Structure and Practices in Recent Past: Contradiction in view**  
 Those respondents which were representing public sector were quite satisfied with the governance structure. They believed that the quality of services has been improved after establishment of Fata Secretariat, Governor Secretariat, FDMA, and FDA. They believed that before FATA affairs were overseen by the Ministry SAFRON which is Islamabad based but now the newly established institutions are now based quite close and reachable to the tribesmen and this has indeed improved the governance structure. However their views were contradicted by rest of the survey respondents who were of the opinion that things have gone from bad to worse since the establishment of these institutions. They believed that all these entities are working in isolation and there is lack of coordination between them. Similarly governance is now made more centralized rather than devolving powers at grass root levels.

*“Before the establishment of FATA secretariat, Governor used to run the affairs of FATA through provincial bureaucracy. However, with the establishment of FATA secretariat, amendments in Frontier Crimes Regulation and Extension of Political Parties Act to FATA the improvement in governance structure has been witnessed”*

–A public sector representative said.

**Views on the Future Administrative Status of FATA:**

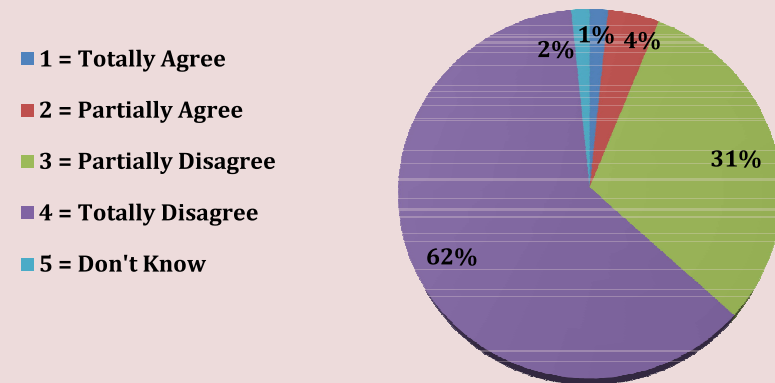
While it is clear that the current governance structure needs to be changed, there is little consensus among the people of FATA as to what the new structure should be. Opinions are not just divided along agency lines, but even within the same agency opinions vary to such a degree that it is difficult to draw generalizations. Overall, there is a general consensus that the entire region suffers from a lack of availability of basic facilities, unemployment, and the unchecked authority of the political administration under the FCR.

**Satisfaction Over Present Administrative Situation in FATA**

Most of the respondents, 94%, were not satisfied with the current administrative setup in FATA. The lone voices which were satisfied with present setup mainly came from respondents representing public sector they were of the view that no system could be utopian therefore there is always room for improvement.

*“Yes I am satisfied, however, it is natural to desire for improvement and things can improve. It is pertinent to mention here that FATA secretariat; FATA Development Authority and FDMA are all relatively new organizations so with the passage of time their working will improve.”* – A respondent.

### Satisfaction with Current Admin Setup



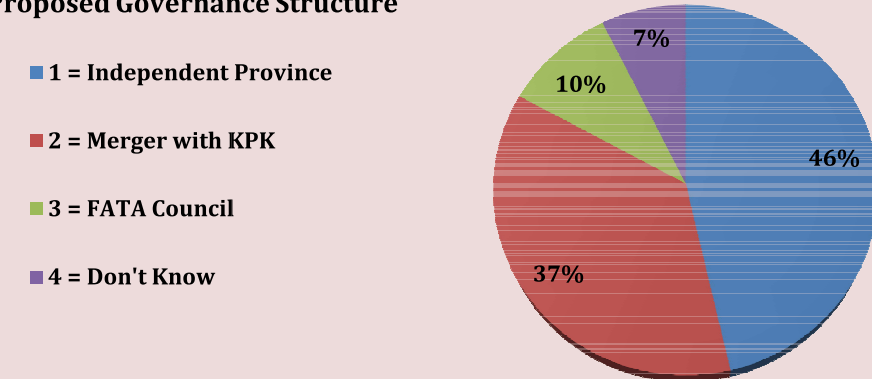
In general people are of the opinion that the system is quite corrupt at all levels therefore robust reforms should be introduced to make the system deliver which is unfortunately not delivering at the moment. They believed that the system can only deliver if it is made accountable, responsive, transparent and coherent. According to them Political Agents enjoy enormous powers which also need to be diluted. Similarly they were of the view that Malik and P.A, are the main beneficiaries of the current administrative setup. Even monitoring and evaluation teams of various departments responsible for the developmental work of FATA have no access to monitor the developmental projects under taken in FATA because Political Administration and local Maliks advise them not to undertake such visit on the pretext of law and order situation.

*“Yes I am! I am only concerned about the law and order situation. The day law and order situation improves you will see mark improvement in the governance of FATA. Ground work on so many things has already been completed but we are only waiting for peace”.* –A respondent opined for hope in future

#### The Future

Among the research respondents a vivid majority of 46% opined that FATA should be given the status of an independent province while another considerable number of 37% opined that it should be merged with Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province. 10% of the total respondents said that it should come under control of FATA council while 7% had no say on this issue. There was a consensus among the survey respondents that the current public administrative system is devoid of any inbuilt effective institutionalized arrangement for ensuring rule of law/ even-handed justice, transparency, accountability, responsiveness and common's man participation in decision making process. Therefore the above mention attributes of good governance must be introduced forthwith in the current public administrative system.

### Proposed Governance Structure



According to tribal officers working in FATA secretariat and KP secretariat the administrative system and Riway (tradition) of FATA are quite different to those put in place in settled areas therefore those officers shall be posted in FATA, FATA secretariat, Governor Secretariat, FDA and FDMA only who belongs to the tribal belt because they can serve the region affectively. They were of the opinion that meritocracy shall prevail and system of check and balance shall be introduced in the public administrative system of FATA. Political figures went even a little far by making FATA domicile mandatory for the governor. Similarly they were also in favor of introducing local self government system in FATA.

Maliks of the region who were being interviewed conceded that currently due to array of reasons Elders of the region have been marginalized therefore it is pertinent to first restore the previous Status of Maliks/elders and secondly they shall be taken on board on matters relating to FATA.

*“I think the system shall be made more transparent and responsible to public representatives. We would like that FCR shall not be abolished however robust reforms shall be introduced. Article 247 (7) shall be abolished. Separation of Executive from Judiciary is also important. Extension of court jurisdiction will serve as a check on the activities of P.A”* – An elder opined.

When speaking of the different options available to them, i.e. becoming an independent province, merging with KPK or creating a FATA Grand Council, opinions varied greatly and no significant trend could be seen between or among agencies. Those that held that FATA should merge with KPK noted that the governor of KPK already has significant influence in FATA, and that KPK is also a land of Pashtuns, and that their culture will be preserved while they still get the benefits of being an integral part of Pakistan. Those arguing for an Independent province cite Gilgit / Baltistan as an example and hold that FATA has the resources and leadership required to run an independent province. Those who argue for a Grand Council hold that FATA is unique and reforms need to come to the region gradually, and with the input of the people and a grand council of respected elders is the only way to achieve this goal.



# Recommendations

## 1. Security Vacuum:

Security vacuum often gives impetus to violence. Therefore government shall develop efficient conflict-prevention and Conflict Transformation tools in FATA in order to fill the current security vacuum in the region. Conflict Transformation initiatives are often characterized by long term interventions at multiple levels, aimed at changing perceptions while addressing the roots of conflict, including inequality and social injustice. Besides conflict transformation there should be parallel conflict prevention mechanism through functional governance in the area which should be actively functioning in all its three faculties i.e. rule making, enforcing rules, and delivering services.

## 2. Introduction of Reforms:

The region is suffering mainly because there is power vacuum in FATA. This vacuum often refers to the presence of century old administrative setup, which is law and order oriented, exploitative, non-participatory and unaccountable in nature. It lacks all ingredients of good governance. Therefore it shall be reformed to make sure:

- Rule of law
- Transparency
- Accountability
- Responsiveness
- Common man's participation in decision-making process

Though introduction of reforms in FATA administrative system is of utmost importance yet the government needs to constitute an elected body in shape of either council or independent province which pays way for reforms in FCR by the people of FATA for the FATA.

## 3. Empowering Tribesmen:

The people of FATA shall be given ownership and shall be given say in all major decisions relating the region. The current status of FATA (both administrative and political) kept the people of FATA largely apolitical and marginalized. The fact that legislature from FATA cannot legislate even for their constituencies is a chilling reminder in that regard. Besides, the women of FATA which consists of about 50% of the population should also be mainstreamed. The majority of the women considered themselves aloof from any kind of political activities in the area.

Similarly tribesmen seldom get access to their political representatives which compel them looking the other side (means seeking relief from the non-state actors). Therefore, political parties and political representative shall play proactive part in resolving the issues of FATA and its people. They shall truly represent the aspirations of tribesmen. This would indeed help in curbing militancy in the area and will help improve socioeconomic and sociopolitical conditions of FATA.

## 4. Peace Through Cultural Interventions:

Culture and traditions shall remain intact for the peaceful future of FATA. FATA has rich culture and has inbuilt mechanism of conflict resolution and mediation. Currently traditional institutions such as Jarga and Hujra have been hijacked by current law and order situation in the region. No doubt the situation is extra ordinary in the region which has provided space to militants in the area to perpetuate their supremacy. However, the above mentioned institutions have excellent image among people of FATA. Therefore the government needs to support these institutions, having provision in Pashtoonwali, to restore peace in the region.

## 5. Freedom of Expression:

The government must work effortlessly to restore the confidence of tribesmen with regard to security situation in the tribal belt. In that regard freedom of expression should be restored in public/community places i.e. Masjid, Market, Hujra and Jarga. However, restoration of peace is sine-qua-non for restoring the sanctity of these institutions. These institutions play important role in mobilization of public to act collectively against social evils in FATA. Therefore government shall chart out policy to revitalize the above mentioned platforms.

## 6. Role of Media and Civil Society:

Media shall also play its positive role in peace building efforts by drawing true picture of what's happening in FATA. Government shall provide security to people associated with journalism and they shall be annually briefed about the State policy regarding FATA. Similarly government must also take policy input from civil society organizations. This will help boost the acceptability and endorsement of any State policy by the tribesmen. Similarly it is pertinent that civil society organizations reform their conduct to match the social and cultural atmosphere in FATA in order to play any such part.

## Conclusion

The current Governance structure in FATA is quite distinctive, rare and outdated. Though, for centuries, this system was lauded as a success and guarded jealously by tribesmen, however, presently tribesmen at large are of the view that the system is, negative in purpose and authoritative in spirit, resulting in socioeconomic and sociopolitical stagnation of the region. It has serious problems relating to governance, social change, human rights and democratization.

Current administration in FATA, is divided between formal state actors and informal societal traditions, was indeed not designed for the current extraordinary situation imposed by outside actors after 9/11. These actors took advantage of the situation and exploited both administrative and tribal system of FATA to their advantages. Therefore government needs to address the lacunas in the FATA administrative system and shall introduce robust reforms to the FATA administrative setup. These reforms shall be pursued with single mindedness and patience to achieve desired results. In that regard government shall peruse policy of incremental change and it would be sagacious on government part if it initially introduce reforms in one of the Agency as a pilot arrangement.

There is no room for complacency and the policy makers in the country should, therefore, take the first step by initiating consultation process which shall not be limited to the experts sitting in capital, but should take grassroots information with regard to tribal culture. The views of the ordinary tribal people, the fear and reservations and the grievances of Tribal common men should also be taken care of in any such reform process.

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# Appendices

## Qualitative Questionnaire

Name (optional): \_\_\_\_\_

نام (اختیاری): \_\_\_\_\_

Village/Town: \_\_\_\_\_

گاہوں/شہر: \_\_\_\_\_

Agency/FR: \_\_\_\_\_

ایجنسی/ایف آر \_\_\_\_\_

Tribe/Clan: \_\_\_\_\_

قبیلہ/ برادری \_\_\_\_\_

The aim of this questionnaire is to get your honest and valued feedback so that we can judge the level of governance, peace and stability in our community. Please tick the most suitable option in your opinion. Thank you for your time and patience.

اس سوالنامے کا مقصد آپ کی قیمتی اور صحیح آراء لینا ہے تاکہ ہم آپ کے علاقے میں امن، استحکام اور نظام حکومت کی سطح کو جانچ سکیں۔ اپنی رائے کے مطابق سب سے مناسب خانے کو پُر کریں۔ آپ کی تحمل مزاجی اور وقت کا شکر ہے۔

### To understand why the people of FATA are excluded from the political process and its implications;

#### Governance Indicators

##### Voice & Accountability

- Do you have the freedom to express yourself freely in public places like the Masjid, Market, Hujra and Jarga?

کیا آپ کو مارکیٹ جگہ، بجرہ یا مسجد جیسی عوامی مقامات میں اظہار رائے کی آزادی ہے؟

- Do you think the media is unbiased in its reporting of the region? How? کیا آپ سمجھتے ہیں کہ میڈیا علاقے کی رپورٹنگ میں غیر جانبدار ہے؟ کیسے؟

- Do you think NGOs and Local Committes have enough say in policy input? کیا آپ سمجھتے ہیں کہ این جی اوز لوکل کمیٹیاں کا پالیسی میں کافی عمل دخل ہے؟

- Who makes important governance decisions in your agency? (PA, Malik, Individuals, militants etc?) How?

آپ کی ایجنسی میں اہم حکومتی فیصلے کون کرتا ہے؟ (پی اے، ملک، افراد، عسکریت پسند وغیرہ)۔ کیسے؟

- If you have any administrative issues, who do you go to? How easy is it for you to access this individual? How easy is it for you get the job done?  
جسکے پاس آپ جاتے ہیں اس تک آپکی رسائی کتنی آسان ہے؟ اس کے لیے آپکو اپنا کام کروانا کتنا آسان ہے؟

#### Political Stability and Lack of Violence

- Do you feel protected in the current prevailing security situation by your government? How/ why?  
کیا آپ حکومت کی طرف سے موجودہ امن و امان (سکیورٹی) کے حالات میں خود کو محفوظ محسوس کرتے ہیں؟ کیسے/ کیوں؟
- Do you think that violence/ insurgency in the region should come to an end? Why?  
کیا آپ سمجھتے ہیں کہ علاقے میں تشدد/ بغاوت کو ختم ہونا چاہیے؟ کیوں؟
- Do you think the government has taken adequate measures to control violence/ terrorism in FATA? How/ why?  
کیا آپ سمجھتے ہیں کہ حکومت نے فاتا میں دہشت گردی اور تشدد پر قابو پانے کے لیے مناسب اقدامات کیے ہیں؟ کیسے/ کیوں؟
- How easily is a political/ or jirga decision over turned?  
کتنی آسانی سے ایک سیاسی/ یا جرگے کا فیصلہ بدلا جا سکتا ہے؟

#### Government Effectiveness

- Are you enjoying basic public services such as clean drinking water, health care centers, education and transport?  
کیا آپ بنیادی عوامی خدمات جیسا کہ پینے کے صاف پانی، صحت کی دیکھ بھال کے مراکز، تعلیم اور نقل و حمل سے لطف اندوز ہو رہے ہیں؟

- Do you think Political Agents are free from external pressures? Why?  
کیا آپ سمجھتے ہیں کہ پولیٹیکل (سیاسی) ایجنٹس بیرونی دباؤ سے آزاد ہیں؟ کیوں؟

- What policies can be designed to benefit the public administrative system?  
کیا ایسی عوامی نظام کو بہتر بنانے کے لیے بناہی جا سکتی ہیں؟

- Do you believe that the private sector/development sector/NGO is being more active than the government in upgrading community services?  
آپکے خیال میں نجی شعبے/ این جی اوز عوامی خدمات، حکومت سے زیادہ بہتر کردار ادا کر رہی ہیں؟

#### Rule of Law

- Do people take matters of law and order in to their own hands? Why/Why not?  
کیا لوگ قاعدے اور قانون کے معاملات کو اپنے ہاتھوں میں لیتے ہیں؟ کیوں/ کیوں نہیں؟
- If another party wrongs you, what is the due process in your agency to get justice?  
اگر کوئی دوسری پارٹی آپکو نقصان پہنچاتی ہے تو انصاف حاصل کرنے کے لیے آپ کس کے پاس جاتے ہیں؟ آپکی ایجنسی میں اسکا طریقہ کار کیا ہے؟
- Do people abide by the decisions made by Jargas?  
کیا لوگ جرگوں کے فیصلوں پر عمل کرتے ہیں؟
- Do people abide by decisions made by local authorities?  
کیا لوگ مقامی حکام کے فیصلوں پر عمل کرتے ہیں؟

#### Controlling Corruption

- What in your opinion are the major causes of corruption in the region and how you think they can be combated?  
آپکی رائے میں خطے میں بد عنوانی کی بڑی وجوہات کیا ہیں؟ اور اسے کیسے ختم کیا جا سکتا ہے؟

**To identify the role of political elites / stakeholders in fostering political participation and legislation for FATA, inevitable for improving governance structure and practices.**

- How can people at grass root level increase their role in political activism?  
سیاسی فعالیت میں لوگ بنیادی سطح پر کس طرح اپنا کردار بڑھا سکتے ہیں؟
- How do you interact and accommodate people's views and demands into your decisions?  
آپ کس طرح لوگوں کی آراء کو اپنے فیصلوں میں سموتے ہیں؟
- Are people of FATA suffering under the FCR? Why?  
کیا فاتا کے لوگ ایف سی آر کے منفی اثرات کا شکار ہیں؟ کیوں؟
- Do you think there has been improvement in governance structure and practices? Reasons?  
کیا آپ سمجھتے ہیں کہ حکومتی ڈھانچے اور اسکے طرز عمل میں بہتری آئی ہے؟ وجوہات بیان کریں؟

**To identify people's views on the future administrative status of FATA.**

- Do you feel satisfied with the present administrative situation in FATA? If not, why?  
کیا آپ فاتا کی موجودہ انتظامی حالت سے مطمئن ہیں؟ اگر نہیں، تو کیوں؟
- What options are available to you and which one do you prefer? Why?  
آپکے خیال میں فاتا کی انتظامی حیثیت کو بہتر بنانے کے لیے کون سے متبادل موجود ہیں؟ کیوں؟
- What are the advantages, disadvantages, what are the practical implications of each e.g separate province, merger with KPK and separate council?  
بصورت دیگر کیا فائدہ اور نقصان ہے اگر فاتا کو صوبے کا درجہ دیا جاتا ہے یا خیبر پختونخواہ میں ضم کیا جاتا ہے یا ایک علیحدہ کونسل کا درجہ دیا جاتا ہے؟

## Quantitative Questionnaire

Name (optional): \_\_\_\_\_

نام (اختیاری): \_\_\_\_\_

Village/Town: \_\_\_\_\_

گاہوں/شہر: \_\_\_\_\_

Agency/FR: \_\_\_\_\_

ایجنسی/ایف آر \_\_\_\_\_

Tribe/Clan: \_\_\_\_\_

قبیلہ/برادری \_\_\_\_\_

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1. Age عمر

16-21	22-30	31-50	51+

2. Gender جنس

Male	Female	Other
مرد	عورت	کوئی اور

3. Religion مذہب

Sunni		Shia	Other
سنی		شیعہ	کوئی اور
Deobandi	Baralvi		
دیوبندی	بریلوی		

4. Marital status ازدواجی حیثیت

Single	Married	Engaged	Divorced	Widowed	Other
شادی غیر شادی شده	شادی شده	منگنی	طلاق یافتہ	بیوہ	کوئی اور

5. Number of children بچوں کی تعداد

None	1	2- 4	5 +
کوئی نہیں	ایک	دو سے چار	پانچ یا اس سے زیادہ

6. Family structure خاندانی ڈھانچہ

Nuclear	Joint	Extended
ایک خاندان	مشترکہ	مشترکہ خاندان

7. Education تعلیم

None	Primary	Middle	Secondary	Graduation	Master	Madrassa	Other
کوئی نہیں	پرائمری	مڈل	سکینڈری	گریجویشن	ماسٹر	مدرسہ	کوئی اور

8. Occupation ذریعہ معاش

Unemployed	Student	Private Sector	Government employed	Self-employed	Other
بیروزگار	طالب علم	نجی شعبہ (پرائیویٹ سیکٹر)	سرکاری ملازم	خود ملازم	کوئی اور

**Area One: To understand if the people of FATA are excluded from the political process and its implications;**

9. People feel excluded from the selection of representatives in the agency.

لوگ اپنے آپکو سیاسی نمائندوں کے انتخاب سے الگ محسوس کرتے ہیں؟

Agree متفق ہوں		Disagree غیر متفق ہوں		
<i>Totally Agree</i>	<i>Partially Agree</i>	<i>Partially Disagree</i>	<i>Totally Disagree</i>	<i>Don't Know</i>
بالکل متفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک متفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک غیر متفق ہوں	بالکل غیر متفق ہوں	پتہ نہیں

10. It is important to participate in election process in my region for my own benefit.

اپنے ہی فائدے کے لیے انتخابی عمل میں حصہ لینا ضروری ہے۔

Agree متفق ہوں		Disagree غیر متفق ہوں		
<i>Totally Agree</i>	<i>Partially Agree</i>	<i>Partially Disagree</i>	<i>Totally Disagree</i>	<i>Don't Know</i>
بالکل متفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک متفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک غیر متفق ہوں	بالکل غیر متفق ہوں	پتہ نہیں

11. I am playing a part in selecting our political representative.

میں اپنے سیاسی نمائندے کے چناؤ میں حصہ لیتا ہوں۔

Agree متفق ہوں		Disagree غیر متفق ہوں		
Totally Agree	Partially Agree	Partially Disagree	Totally Disagree	Don't Know
بالکل متفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک متفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک غیر متفق ہوں	بالکل غیر متفق ہوں	پتہ نہیں

12. I face some kind of pressure while selecting a political candidate.

سیاسی امیدوار کے انتخاب میں کچھ دباؤ محسوس کرتا ہوں۔

Agree متفق ہوں		Disagree غیر متفق ہوں		
Totally Agree	Partially Agree	Partially Disagree	Totally Disagree	Don't Know
بالکل متفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک متفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک غیر متفق ہوں	بالکل غیر متفق ہوں	پتہ نہیں

13. I can express myself freely in the market place.

میں بازار میں آزادانہ طور پر اظہار رائے کر سکتا ہوں۔

Agree متفق ہوں		Disagree غیر متفق ہوں		
Totally Agree	Partially Agree	Partially Disagree	Totally Disagree	Don't Know
بالکل متفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک متفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک غیر متفق ہوں	بالکل غیر متفق ہوں	پتہ نہیں

14. I can express myself freely at a Jarga.

میں جرگہ میں اپنا اظہار آزادی سے کر سکتا ہوں۔

Agree متفق ہوں		Disagree غیر متفق ہوں		
Totally Agree	Partially Agree	Partially Disagree	Totally Disagree	Don't Know
بالکل متفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک متفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک غیر متفق ہوں	بالکل غیر متفق ہوں	پتہ نہیں

15. The Media is unbiased in its reporting on the region.

میڈیا علاقے کی رپورٹنگ میں غیر جانبدار ہے۔

Agree متفق ہوں		Disagree غیر متفق ہوں		
Totally Agree	Partially Agree	Partially Disagree	Totally Disagree	Don't Know
بالکل متفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک متفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک غیر متفق ہوں	بالکل غیر متفق ہوں	پتہ نہیں

16. Local Committees have enough say in policy input

مقامی حلقے (لوکل کمیٹیاں) کا پالیسی میں کافی عمل دخل ہے۔

Agree متفق ہوں		Disagree غیر متفق ہوں		
Totally Agree	Partially Agree	Partially Disagree	Totally Disagree	Don't Know
بالکل متفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک متفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک غیر متفق ہوں	بالکل غیر متفق ہوں	پتہ نہیں

17. NGOs have enough say in policy input.

این جی اوز کا پالیسی میں کافی عمل دخل ہے۔

Agree متفق ہوں		Disagree غیر متفق ہوں		
Totally Agree	Partially Agree	Partially Disagree	Totally Disagree	Don't Know
بالکل متفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک متفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک غیر متفق ہوں	بالکل غیر متفق ہوں	پتہ نہیں

18. The Government is transparent in policy making.

حکومت پالیسی بنانے میں شفاف ہے۔

Agree متفق ہوں		Disagree غیر متفق ہوں		
Totally Agree	Partially Agree	Partially Disagree	Totally Disagree	Don't Know
بالکل متفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک متفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک غیر متفق ہوں	بالکل غیر متفق ہوں	پتہ نہیں

19. Who influences important governance decisions in your Agency?

آپکی ایجنسی میں حکومتی نظام کے متعلق اہم فیصلوں میں کون متاثر کرتا ہے؟

Army فوج	
Militants عسکریت پسند	
Maliks ملک	
Individuals افراد	
Political Agents سیاسی ایجنٹس	
Hakoomti Jarga حکومتی جرگہ	
Qaumi Jarga قومی جرگہ	

20. I feel protected in the current prevailing security situation by my government.

میں حکومت کی طرف سے موجودہ امن و امان (سکیورٹی) کے حالات میں خود کو محفوظ محسوس کرتا ہوں۔

Agree		Disagree		
منفق ہوں		غیر منفق ہوں		
<i>Totally Agree</i>	<i>Partially Agree</i>	<i>Partially Disagree</i>	<i>Totally Disagree</i>	<i>Don't Know</i>
بالکل منفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک منفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک غیر منفق ہوں	بالکل غیر منفق ہوں	پتہ نہیں

21. The Government has taken adequate measures to control violence/ terrorism in FATA.

حکومت نے فاتا میں دہشت گردی اور تشدد پر قابو پانے کے لیے مناسب اقدامات کیے ہیں

Agree		Disagree		
منفق ہوں		غیر منفق ہوں		
<i>Totally Agree</i>	<i>Partially Agree</i>	<i>Partially Disagree</i>	<i>Totally Disagree</i>	<i>Don't Know</i>
بالکل منفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک منفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک غیر منفق ہوں	بالکل غیر منفق ہوں	پتہ نہیں

22. There is a higher degree of violence in my agency as compared to the other agencies.

دوسری ایجنسیوں کی نسبت میری ایجنسی میں تشدد زیادہ ہے۔

Agree		Disagree		
منفق ہوں		غیر منفق ہوں		
<i>Totally Agree</i>	<i>Partially Agree</i>	<i>Partially Disagree</i>	<i>Totally Disagree</i>	<i>Don't Know</i>
بالکل منفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک منفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک غیر منفق ہوں	بالکل غیر منفق ہوں	پتہ نہیں

23. I am satisfied with the quality of public basic facilities in my agency.

میں اپنی ایجنسی میں عوام کے لیے موجود بنیادی سہولیات کے معیار پر مطمئن ہوں۔

Agree		Disagree		
منفق ہوں		غیر منفق ہوں		
<i>Totally Agree</i>	<i>Partially Agree</i>	<i>Partially Disagree</i>	<i>Totally Disagree</i>	<i>Don't Know</i>
بالکل منفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک منفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک غیر منفق ہوں	بالکل غیر منفق ہوں	پتہ نہیں

24. I am satisfied with the work my Political Agent does.

میں پولیٹیکل (سیاسی) ایجنٹس کے کام سے مطمئن ہوں۔

Agree		Disagree		
منفق ہوں		غیر منفق ہوں		
<i>Totally Agree</i>	<i>Partially Agree</i>	<i>Partially Disagree</i>	<i>Totally Disagree</i>	<i>Don't Know</i>
بالکل منفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک منفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک غیر منفق ہوں	بالکل غیر منفق ہوں	پتہ نہیں

25. The Political Agent in my agency is free to make his own decisions.

پولیٹیکل (سیاسی) ایجنٹس اپنی ایجنسی میں اپنے فیصلے آزادانہ طور پر کر سکتے ہیں۔

Agree		Disagree		
منفق ہوں		غیر منفق ہوں		
<i>Totally Agree</i>	<i>Partially Agree</i>	<i>Partially Disagree</i>	<i>Totally Disagree</i>	<i>Don't Know</i>
بالکل منفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک منفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک غیر منفق ہوں	بالکل غیر منفق ہوں	پتہ نہیں

26. The Government is being fair in its allocation of resources for development projects in the region.

حکومت علاقے میں ترقیاتی کاموں میں وسائل کی تقسیم منصفانہ طریقے سے کر رہی ہے۔

Agree		Disagree		
منفق ہوں		غیر منفق ہوں		
<i>Totally Agree</i>	<i>Partially Agree</i>	<i>Partially Disagree</i>	<i>Totally Disagree</i>	<i>Don't Know</i>
بالکل منفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک منفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک غیر منفق ہوں	بالکل غیر منفق ہوں	پتہ نہیں



27. Current policies are formulated in the favor of the community.

مرجودہ پالیسیز عوام کے حق میں بنائی گئی ہیں۔

Agree متفق ہوں		Disagree غیر متفق ہوں		
<i>Totally Agree</i>	<i>Partially Agree</i>	<i>Partially Disagree</i>	<i>Totally Disagree</i>	<i>Don't Know</i>
بالکل متفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک متفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک غیر متفق ہوں	بالکل غیر متفق ہوں	پتہ نہیں

28. The private sector/development sector/ NGOs are more active than the government in upgrading community services.

سماجی خدمات کی بہتری میں حکومت سے زیادہ نجی شعبہ/ترقیاتی شعبہ/این جی اوز زیادہ فعال ہیں۔

Agree متفق ہوں		Disagree غیر متفق ہوں		
<i>Totally Agree</i>	<i>Partially Agree</i>	<i>Partially Disagree</i>	<i>Totally Disagree</i>	<i>Don't Know</i>
بالکل متفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک متفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک غیر متفق ہوں	بالکل غیر متفق ہوں	پتہ نہیں

29. Laws and regulations are being implemented in my agency.

میری ایجنسی میں قوانین اور ضوابط لاگو کیے جا رہے ہیں۔

Agree متفق ہوں		Disagree غیر متفق ہوں		
<i>Totally Agree</i>	<i>Partially Agree</i>	<i>Partially Disagree</i>	<i>Totally Disagree</i>	<i>Don't Know</i>
بالکل متفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک متفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک غیر متفق ہوں	بالکل غیر متفق ہوں	پتہ نہیں

30. The Government is assisting those looking to bring economic to the region.

جو علاقے میں معاشیات لاتے ہیں حکومت انکی مدد کر رہی ہے۔

Agree متفق ہوں		Disagree غیر متفق ہوں		
<i>Totally Agree</i>	<i>Partially Agree</i>	<i>Partially Disagree</i>	<i>Totally Disagree</i>	<i>Don't Know</i>
بالکل متفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک متفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک غیر متفق ہوں	بالکل غیر متفق ہوں	پتہ نہیں

31. There is a need to boost private sector development projects in my agency.

میری ایجنسی میں نجی شعبے کے ترقیاتی پراجیکٹس کو بڑھانے کی ضرورت ہے۔

Agree متفق ہوں		Disagree غیر متفق ہوں		
<i>Totally Agree</i>	<i>Partially Agree</i>	<i>Partially Disagree</i>	<i>Totally Disagree</i>	<i>Don't Know</i>
بالکل متفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک متفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک غیر متفق ہوں	بالکل غیر متفق ہوں	پتہ نہیں

32. The private sector bare responsibility for development in the region.

نجی شعبہ علاقے میں ترقی کی ذمہ داری اٹھاتا ہے۔

Agree متفق ہوں		Disagree غیر متفق ہوں		
<i>Totally Agree</i>	<i>Partially Agree</i>	<i>Partially Disagree</i>	<i>Totally Disagree</i>	<i>Don't Know</i>
بالکل متفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک متفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک غیر متفق ہوں	بالکل غیر متفق ہوں	پتہ نہیں

33. The government punishes those parties involved in corrupt/illegal activities.

حکومت ان گروپوں/فریقین کو سزا دے سکتی ہے جو بدعنوانی یا غیر قانونی سرگرمیوں میں ملوث ہو۔

Agree متفق ہوں		Disagree غیر متفق ہوں		
<i>Totally Agree</i>	<i>Partially Agree</i>	<i>Partially Disagree</i>	<i>Totally Disagree</i>	<i>Don't Know</i>
بالکل متفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک متفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک غیر متفق ہوں	بالکل غیر متفق ہوں	پتہ نہیں

34. An ordinary citizen can get just/ fair decisions via the PA's court.  
ایک عام آدمی کو پی اے کی عدالت سے انصاف پر مبنی فیصلہ ملتا ہے۔

Agree متفق ہوں		Disagree غیر متفق ہوں		
<i>Totally Agree</i>	<i>Partially Agree</i>	<i>Partially Disagree</i>	<i>Totally Disagree</i>	<i>Don't Know</i>
بالکل متفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک متفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک غیر متفق ہوں	بالکل غیر متفق ہوں	پتہ نہیں

35. The Government is more powerful in the region than local influential groups.  
حکومت اس خطے میں باقی علاقائی گروہوں سے طاقتور/مضبوط ہے۔

Agree متفق ہوں		Disagree غیر متفق ہوں		
<i>Totally Agree</i>	<i>Partially Agree</i>	<i>Partially Disagree</i>	<i>Totally Disagree</i>	<i>Don't Know</i>
بالکل متفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک متفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک غیر متفق ہوں	بالکل غیر متفق ہوں	پتہ نہیں

36. I prefer Jarga over court.  
میں جرگہ کو عدالت پر ترجیح دیتا ہوں۔

Agree متفق ہوں		Disagree غیر متفق ہوں		
<i>Totally Agree</i>	<i>Partially Agree</i>	<i>Partially Disagree</i>	<i>Totally Disagree</i>	<i>Don't Know</i>
بالکل متفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک متفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک غیر متفق ہوں	بالکل غیر متفق ہوں	پتہ نہیں

37. The Public sector participates in corrupt activities in my agency.  
میری ایجنسی میں حکومت بد عنوانی میں ملوث ہے۔

Agree متفق ہوں		Disagree غیر متفق ہوں		
<i>Totally Agree</i>	<i>Partially Agree</i>	<i>Partially Disagree</i>	<i>Totally Disagree</i>	<i>Don't Know</i>
بالکل متفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک متفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک غیر متفق ہوں	بالکل غیر متفق ہوں	پتہ نہیں

38. Public servants use their powers to nurture their own interests not the community's.  
سرکاری ملازم اپنی اختیارات کے ذریعے عوام کے نفع کی بجائے اپنا نفع حاصل کرتا ہے۔

Agree متفق ہوں		Disagree غیر متفق ہوں		
<i><b>Totally Agree</b></i>	<i><b>Partially Agree</b></i>	<i><b>Partially Disagree</b></i>	<i><b>Totally Disagree</b></i>	<i><b>Don't Know</b></i>
بالکل متفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک متفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک غیر متفق ہوں	بالکل غیر متفق ہوں	پتہ نہیں

39. The elite class is negatively affected by corruption.  
بد عملی (کرپشن) سے ممتاز افراد بُری طرح متاثر ہوتے ہیں۔

Agree متفق ہوں		Disagree غیر متفق ہوں		
<i>Totally Agree</i>	<i>Partially Agree</i>	<i>Partially Disagree</i>	<i>Totally Disagree</i>	<i>Don't Know</i>
بالکل متفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک متفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک غیر متفق ہوں	بالکل غیر متفق ہوں	پتہ نہیں

40. Jarga makes just decisions.  
جرگہ انصاف پر مبنی فیصلے کرتا ہے۔

Agree متفق ہوں		Disagree غیر متفق ہوں		
<i>Totally Agree</i>	<i>Partially Agree</i>	<i>Partially Disagree</i>	<i>Totally Disagree</i>	<i>Don't Know</i>
بالکل متفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک متفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک غیر متفق ہوں	بالکل غیر متفق ہوں	پتہ نہیں

41. Prevailing laws (the FCR) can be improved by reforming it.

ایف سی آر میں تبدیلی کر کے اسے بہتر بنایا جا سکتا ہے۔

Agree متفق ہوں		Disagree غیر متفق ہوں		
<i>Totally Agree</i>	<i>Partially Agree</i>	<i>Partially Disagree</i>	<i>Totally Disagree</i>	<i>Don't Know</i>
بالکل متفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک متفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک غیر متفق ہوں	بالکل غیر متفق ہوں	پتہ نہیں

**Area Two: To identify the role of political elites / stakeholders in fostering political participation and legislation for FATA, inevitable for improving governance structure and practices.**

42. The Maliks and Masharan truly represent the wishes and demands of the tribal people.

ملکان اور مشران قبائلی عوام کی خواہشات اور مطالبات کی موثر نمائندگی کرتے ہیں۔

Agree متفق ہوں		Disagree غیر متفق ہوں		
<i>Totally Agree</i>	<i>Partially Agree</i>	<i>Partially Disagree</i>	<i>Totally Disagree</i>	<i>Don't Know</i>
بالکل متفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک متفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک غیر متفق ہوں	بالکل غیر متفق ہوں	پتہ نہیں

43. There is no hindrance from Malik and Masharan in my participation in politics.

میری سیاسی شمولیت میں ملکان اور مشران کوئی روکاوٹ نہیں بنتے۔

Agree متفق ہوں		Disagree غیر متفق ہوں		
<i>Totally Agree</i>	<i>Partially Agree</i>	<i>Partially Disagree</i>	<i>Totally Disagree</i>	<i>Don't Know</i>
بالکل متفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک متفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک غیر متفق ہوں	بالکل غیر متفق ہوں	پتہ نہیں

44. My elected representatives represent the demands of the tribal people to the national government.

میرے منتخب اراکین قبائلی عوام میں مطالبات قومی حکومت کو پیش کرتے ہیں۔

Agree متفق ہوں		Disagree غیر متفق ہوں		
<i>Totally Agree</i>	<i>Partially Agree</i>	<i>Partially Disagree</i>	<i>Totally Disagree</i>	<i>Don't Know</i>
بالکل متفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک متفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک غیر متفق ہوں	بالکل غیر متفق ہوں	پتہ نہیں

**Area Three: To identify people's views on the future administrative status of FATA.**

45. I feel satisfied with the present administrative set in FATA.

میں فاٹا کے موجودہ انتظامی ڈھانچے سے مطمئن ہوں۔

Agree متفق ہوں		Disagree غیر متفق ہوں		
<i>Totally Agree</i>	<i>Partially Agree</i>	<i>Partially Disagree</i>	<i>Totally Disagree</i>	<i>Don't Know</i>
بالکل متفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک متفق ہوں	کچھ حد تک غیر متفق ہوں	بالکل غیر متفق ہوں	پتہ نہیں

46. I want to see FATA in the future as:

میں مستقبل میں فاٹا کو دیکھنا چاہتا ہوں۔

<i>Independent Province</i>	<i>Merger with KPK</i>	<i>FATA Council</i>	<i>Don't Know</i>
آزاد صوبہ	خیبر پختونخواہ میں ضم	فاٹا کونسل	پتہ نہیں

## Questionnaire Guidelines

### Introduction:

Interviews are particularly useful for getting the story behind a participant's experiences. The interviewer can pursue in-depth information around a topic. Interviews may be useful as follow-up to certain respondents to questionnaires, e.g., to further investigate their responses. The guideline below will help you in conducting interviews which will be value for our intended research study.

### Before:

1. Be sensitive to the needs of interviewee. Schedule your sessions at a convenient time.
2. Choose a setting with little distraction. Avoid loud lights or noises, ensure the interviewee is comfortable (you might ask them if they are), etc. Often, they may feel more comfortable at their own places of work or homes.
3. Start by presenting yourself
4. Explain the purpose of the interview.
5. Address terms of confidentiality. Note any terms of confidentiality. Explain who will get access to their answers and how their answers will be analyzed. If their comments are to be used as quotes, get their written permission to do so.
6. Explain the format of the interview. Explain the type of interview you are conducting and its nature. If you want them to ask questions, specify if they're to do so as they have them or wait until the end of the interview.
7. Indicate how long the interview usually takes.
8. Tell them how to get in touch with you later if they want to.
9. Ask them if they have any questions before you both get started with the interview.
10. Don't count on your memory to recall their answers. Ask for permission to record the interview or bring along someone to take notes.
11. Print of the questionnaire should be clear

### During the interview

12. It is important to create a light atmosphere and play down the seriousness to make sure that the participants are not oppressed by the situation.
13. Show interest.
14. Encourage your informants as much as possible. Interject remarks whenever appropriate.
15. Take an active part in the conversation without dominating it.
16. Learn to be a good listener as well as a good questioner.
17. Know what questions you want to ask, but don't be afraid to let your informant go off on a tangent. He or she might just touch on subjects of interest that you never thought to ask about.
18. Be aware of the participants' reactions; do they feel comfortable, do they seem under pressure or uneasy etc.
19. Occasionally verify the tape recorder (if used) is working.
20. Ask one question at a time.

21. Attempt to remain as neutral as possible

### After the Interviews

22. Say your goodbyes and thanks
23. Verify if the tape recorder, if used, worked throughout the interview.
24. Make any notes on your written notes, e.g., to clarify any scratching, ensure pages are numbered, fill out any notes that don't make senses, etc.
25. Write down any observations made during the interview. For example, where did the interview occur and when, was the respondent particularly nervous at any time? Were there any surprises during the interview? Did the tape recorder break?