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Article:	The Integration and Mainstreaming of FATA; Impact on Political Economy and Dynamics of Conflict Zone
Author(s):	Muhammad Yunas Khan Ph.D Scholar, Department of Peace and Conflict Studies (PCS), Centre for International Peace and Stability Studies (CIPS), National University of Science and Technology (NUST), Islamabad Pakistan.
	Mubasshar Hassan Jafri Ph.D Scholar, Department of Peace and Conflict Studies (PCS), Centre for International Peace and Stability Studies (CIPS), National University of Science and Technology (NUST), Islamabad Pakistan.
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Author(s) Note:	Muhammad Yunas Khan is a Ph.D. Student of the Department of Peace and Conflict Studies (PCS) in Centre for International Peace and Stability Studies (CIPS). National University of Science and Technology (NUST), Islamabad Email: yunas163pcips@nipcons.nust.edu.pk
	Mubasshar Hassan Jafri Ph.D. Student of the Department of Peace and Conflict Studies (PCS) in Centre for International Peace and Stability Studies (CIPS). National University of Science and Technology (NUST), Islamabad Pakistan. Email: mubasshar289pcips@nipcons.nust.edu.pk

ABSTRACT

The paper elucidates the post-integration of erstwhile FATA into Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) through the theoretical framework of structural violence under Frontier Crime Regulation (FCR). And explores the multi-pronged strategy to de-militarize the region as well as de-radicalization to assimilate the region into settled areas. The status of the area as a sanctuary for the militants will be the biggest hurdle in establishing a governance system and the development of infrastructure as per the expectations of the masses. This paper further examines what kind of strategy will help overcome these challenges. Johan Galtung asserts that structure-oriented search explores asymmetry built into the structure. Similarly, he identifies a conflict of interest that is not perceived and not subjective but based on false consciousness and exploitation or penetration. His model is quite relevant in the case of pre-merger FATA. However, here the focus is to find out how and why the people felt alienated from the rest of the nation during the FCR promulgation and what is their expectation regarding the future of the state system. The participation of people in the parliamentary democratic system and the transformation from the traditional and tribal culture to the modern norms are the main challenges both for the state and the locals of the frontier region to overcome.

Keywords: Integration, Frontier Crime Regulation (FCR), Conflict. Tribal Areas

Introduction

Afghanistan has remained a buffer between Czarist Russia and British Empire (Amin T., 1982). The adjacent Federally Administrated Tribal Areas (FATA) worked as the second buffer between Afghanistan and Pakistan. Whereas, Provincially Administrated Tribal Areas (PATA) remained a third layer buffer zone between settled areas of British Raj providing a further layer of strategic protection from any attack from the western borders. Whereas Northwest Frontier Province (NWFP) now named Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) is bordering Afghanistan. Its area is 106,200 sq.km and had populated 17,555,000 in 1998. It consists of six divisions namely, Malakand, Hazara, Peshawar, Dera Ismail Khan, Mardan, Kohat, fifteen districts, and the agency of Malakand of which about 85% of the population are Pashtun. Others include Punjabis, Urdu-Speaking settlers from northern India and their descendants, and Dragic tribes, such as Kho, Shina, Kohistani. The capital is Peshawar (Saiyid, 2006).¹ Now seven Agencies of erstwhile FATA have also been merged in KPK. NWFP was detached from "Punjab province of British India in 1901, and in 1947 joined Pakistan as a result of the referendum of 6-16 July 1947. Secretary to Governor-General on 03-07-1948 issued directive of Governor-General placing the Frontier areas under the direct control of Federal Government;

“The Quaid-i-Azam has instructed that the creation of a new Ministry which is to work directly under him should be announced to the Press tonight, and also gazetted immediately. The Quaid-i-Azam has decided that the new Ministry will be called “The Ministry of States and Frontier Regions”. The Quaid-i-Azam has further directed that unless there is any serious legal or other objection, it must be stated in the Press Note that the new Ministry will function under the direct control, guidance, and direction of Quaid-i-Azam and Governor-General of Pakistan and this portfolio will be his special care (SAFRON, 2020).”

Qazi (2013) points out the dramatic change like the insurgency in FATA due to the US drawdown. However, this put Pakistan under greater pressure to integrate the buffer zone through a successful but phased strategy. It is an encouraging factor that all the political parties had consensus on the reform in the erstwhile FATA and eventually, a ‘Reforms Committee was constituted to recommend reforms head by Mr. Sartaj Aziz (Qazi, 2013). The committee finalized

¹ Predominantly mountainous landscape. In the north, there are the northern ranges of the "Hindu Kush and the western foothills of the "Himalayas". In the west, there were low hills and a desert plateau. Agricultural areas consist of only 1.4 Million hectares being cultivated, mainly in the Peshawar valley. The crops include wheat, rice, cotton, corn, and also vegetables and fruit. Cattle breeding is widespread. NWFP accounts for 9.3 % of the Pakistan territory. 13.2 percent of the population. It produces 8 percent of the sugar cane, 5 percent of entire industrial output—mainly coal mining and limestone, food industry (sugar), cotton industry, cottage industries, as such pottery and handicraft.

its reform, but it could not be implemented unless the Constitutional Amendments 25 and 26 were enacted by the government. This brief discussion would attempt to answer the question of how to integrate FATA with KPK for better governance and development because of the challenges faced in internal and external terms by Pakistan. It is also necessary to understand that FATA has the lowest HDI in Pakistan at 0.216 (HDI, 2017) and there is little doubt about the destruction of schools and prevalence of illiteracy in most of the agencies of Tribal areas.

Methodology

Primary data has been collected through the Survey technique and then quantitative analysis has been done using the Chi-Square analysis for the approval or disapproval of the hypothesis. The responses are processed and accordingly, the significance of the responses and difference of the expected and observed frequency are linked with the conclusions. In this regard, the feeling of the people of FATA, their sense of deprivation, their complaints from the system, and their grievances, as well as their satisfaction over the integration with mainstream KPK areas, are being explored and compared. The empirical evidence is considered a baseline to form an opinion about the requirements and recommendations for the change of system and establishment of law and order. The harmony of the area depends upon the feeling of the people about the provision of their rights, perception about the sincerity of the state, and transparency in the utilization of the allocated funds for the development and mainstreaming of FATA. The study will answer this question through a public perspective of their socio-economic condition and expectation of uplifting in the future. To obtain the empirical evidence regarding the sense of alienation and deprivation built in the structure or system a quantitative survey has been conducted through random sampling and the sample population was asked questions that could establish or deny that people were feeling oppressed under the earlier system of governance. Moreover, there will be the assessment of their expectation from the new system for which Chi-Square analysis is used for measuring the difference between the expected responses and observed responses leading to the probability value to ascertain the rejection or acceptance of the hypothesis.

Challenges in FATA Merger and Mainstreaming

Problem Statement

Checked history and prevailing extremism require a multi-pronged strategy to demilitarize the region as well as de-radicalization to assimilate the region into settled areas. The status of the area as a sanctuary for the militants will be the biggest hurdle in establishing a governance system and the development of infrastructure as per the expectations of the masses. This paper will examine what strategy will help overcome these challenges.

Terrorism and Militancy

According to Khan (2010), FATA remains to be the principal boiling point and a source of urban terrorism too besides militancy in the hinterlands and exports terrorism to other areas of Pakistan in form of gun-running and suicide bombers but is also a sort of sanctuary for criminal

gangs and urban terrorists. Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), which is often taken as a homogeneous group of militants with religious passions to help the Afghan Taliban evict extra-regional forces from Afghanistan, This issue of militancy can have its repercussions in KPK if the security apparatus after Zarb-e-Azb is not efficiently maintained by the Civilian setup (Khan E. M., 2010).

Pakistan is expected to deny sanctuary to Taliban and al-Qaeda elements in the border areas (Phillips & Curtis, 2008). They hinted that the results of the February 18 Pakistani election provide an opportunity to isolate extremists along the border. In November, the Pakistan army launched a major operation with 10,000 troops to retake the territory. But just taking over of area is not sufficient. There is a need to win over the people through the dispensation of social rights, development of the area, and economic up-gradation. There is a big problem of border management and returning of Afghan refugees settled in these areas. David Fox in his article called Afghans "A Nation of Refugees". While about 3.2 Million Afghans were living in Pakistan in 1990 which reduced to more than two million Afghans in 2001 (Boyd, 2002).

Theoretical Framework

Johan Galtung (2009) asserts that structure-oriented search explores asymmetry built into the structure. Similarly, he identifies a conflict of interest that is not perceived and not subjective but based on false consciousness and exploitation or penetration. As he says, "the top dog somehow gets under the skin of the underdog" (Galtung, 2009). All these approaches lead to search and contribution to exploring true consciousness. Zeb and Ahmed (2019) have also applied this structural violence theory of Galtung on the pre-merger FATA area to draw some inferences for future mainstreaming of the area. To them due to being a semi-autonomous region where British-colonial-era laws were applied until May 2018 tribal areas remain one of the most marginalized and insecure areas of Pakistan. They have examined FATA considering Galtung's structural violence theory to check the nexus between the region's socio-economic and political realities and terrorism. They argued that economic marginalization and the lack of political and individual freedom of the tribal people are the root causes of the instability in FATA (Zeb & Ahmed, 2019).

Tribal Systems and mainstreaming in Post-Conflict Areas

FATA region has borne the brunt of many interstate and intrastate conflicts, the influx of refugees. While recently its inhabitants have been the victims of the severe anti-militancy drive by the state which resulted in displacement and turning the war-ravaged people into internally displaced persons (IDPs) and temporarily displaced persons (TDPs) at the mass level. This victim card has resulted in the formation of political parties on an ethnic basis.

A question was asked to the respondent during the Semi-Structured Interview. Pashtun Nation/tribe has its mindset, traditional history, their evacuation from their areas as IDPs, TDPs can have a negative impact on the efforts of eliminating terrorism?

Political Setup and Electioneering in FATA after Merger

Name of Agency ⁱ	Population	Area	Voter to Population Ratio	Number of Registered Voters	Female/Male %	Pol Parties participated
Bajaur ⁱⁱ (PK-101,102,103)	1,093,684	1,381	49%	530,443	41/51	PML-N, PPPP, JUI (S), JUI (F), ANP, ANP, PSP, JI, QWP & Independents While
Momand ⁱⁱⁱ (PK-103,104)	466,984	2,291	60%	280,502	38/62	
Khyber ^{iv} (PK-105,106,107)	986,973	2,779	54%	532,087	43/57	
Kurram ^v (PK-108,109)	619,553	3,432	58%	360,741	43/57	
Orakzai ^{vi} (PK-110)	254,356	1,393	77%	196,436	44/56	
North Waziristan ^{vii} PK-111-112	543,254	4,976	59%	320,177	34/66	
South Waziristan ^{viii} PK 113-114	679,185	6,301	57%	386,829	39/61	
Ex-Frontier Regions ^{ix} PK-115	357,687	4,593	53%	191,064	39/61	

According to FAFEN, 27.6 % of the registered voters in seven districts and Frontier Regions (FRs) of the FATA went to the first-ever elections to the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) Provincial Assembly (PA) seats, marking the completion of their constitutional merger with the province a year after the passage of the 25th Constitutional Amendment. The historical elections in areas that were embroiled in conflict for almost two decades remained peaceful and free from any major controversy over the quality of the electoral process. This was the first milestone in bringing the FATA into the realm of the constitution of Pakistan.

Tribal people are culturally conservative, having semi-nomadic culture spread over the mountainous region of South Asian western borderline divided among Pakistan and Afghanistan. The region had been facing historical conflicts at internal tribal rivalries as well as invaders from

outside. Pashtuns are seeking more economic autonomy on their resources. As stated by Hamida Khuhro 'Pashtuns wants a bigger share of the cake' (Montville, 1990). The change of Pashtun dominated northwest Frontier Province into Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) and distribution of autonomy under 18th amendment into Constitution of Pakistan 1973 has diffused Pashtun nationalism, aspiring unified Pashtunistan across the Durand line as international border spread over 2640 Km^x, as demanded by Ghaffar Khan in the Banu Declaration of June 22, 1947, seeking a choice between joining Pakistan or establishing an independent Pashtunistan instead of choosing between Pakistan and India (Montville, 1990). However, current security concerns of sectarian violence in settled areas of Kohat, Hangu, and FATA areas including Sada, Parachinar, and other parts of Orakzai Agency have resulted in resentment in Pashtun areas. Terrorist attacks in KPK and the resulting operations in the area have drastic effects on the nationalist approach of the inhabitants.

Strategy to mainstream and integrate the FATA

In initial peacekeeping phases in conflict zones, the disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR) of former combatants are essential to the post-conflict stability and recovery preferably done through national leadership and the political commitment of warring parties to disarm and demobilize.^{xi} However, a multifaceted strategy is required to address the intricate conflict. The three-pronged strategy refers to; firstly, tailored DDR (Disarmament, Demobilization, and Rehabilitation). In FATA the mainstreaming would require a long-term rehabilitation strategy alongside the continuous disarmament and demobilization of the remnants of the miscreants. If this design is not kept in mind the re-emergence of the militancy can cause havoc in the area.

Resource Distribution, Governance, and Development

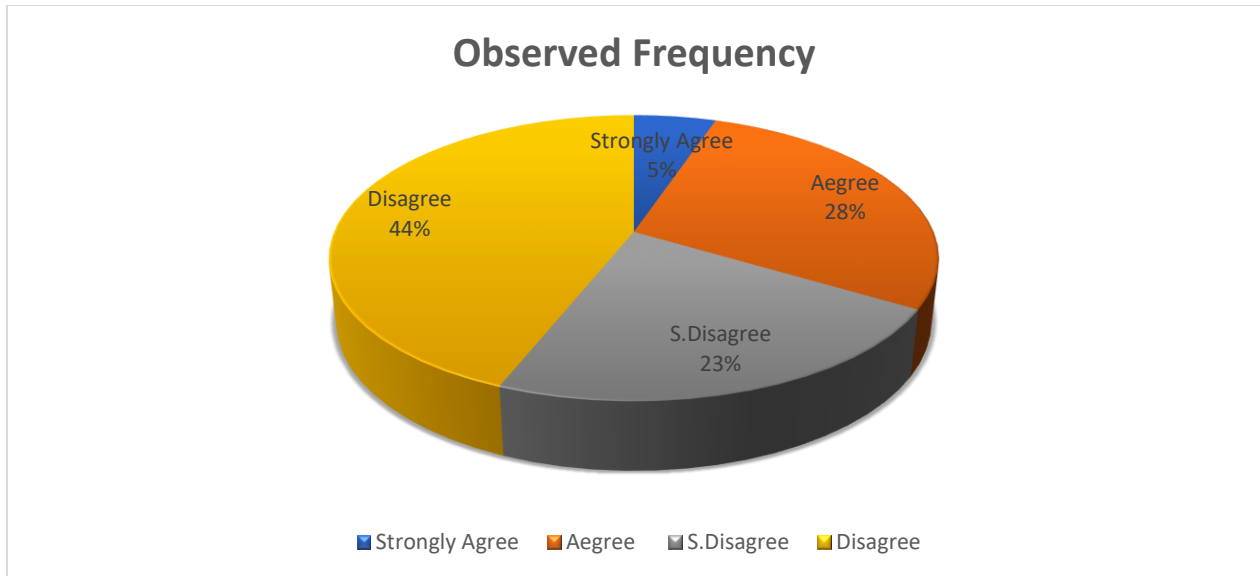
Every ethnic conflict has its roots in structural violence. The deprivation, control of resources by the dominating ethnicity opposing the historical claims on the region, and mainly the lack of autonomy to decide internal affairs, is the issue at the bottom of the ethnic problem. Pakistan has faced various small-scale and large-scale ethnic crises since its independence. The unnatural and somewhat unjust distribution of power, resources, always unleashes autonomous thinking, later leading to a separatist approach. Subduing the separation movements through force usually results in counter-producing violence from the other side. The Human Development Index in FATA is the lowest in Pakistan. The absence of equal chances of prosperity to the citizens creates an inferiority complex in have nots. Structural flaws in accommodating any ethnic group in sharing of resources or power in any federation like in the case of East and West Pakistan play a vital role in the polity of the area. Thus, the power-sharing formula is the root cause in creating dissenting movements in an area. Fourth is the geographic or geopolitical importance of the area or the ethnic group leading to tormented relations among the center and periphery. The fifth scenario is a situation in which there is the natural tendency of the ethnic group to remain gravely

attached to its cultural identity, way of life in contrast to any artificially forged relation with the new system.

A survey has been conducted using random sampling to assess the popularity of the Pakhtun Tahafuz Movement (PTM) which reveals that the organization has gained some fame in the areas for campaigning for the rights of these affected people at the national level. Equal representation and rights sought by an ethnic group are considered ethnic politics. And nationalism is the result of these efforts for the want of jurisdiction or self-government in a given territory. To Neal G. Jesse and Kristen P. Williams (2011) nation means bringing ethnicity and statehood together (Jesse & Williams, 2011). While instrumentalists see ethnicity as an instrument used by political elites to garner public support for their political motives (Jesse & Williams, 2011). There are other approaches like modernization believing in the development of imagined community making homogenous societies.

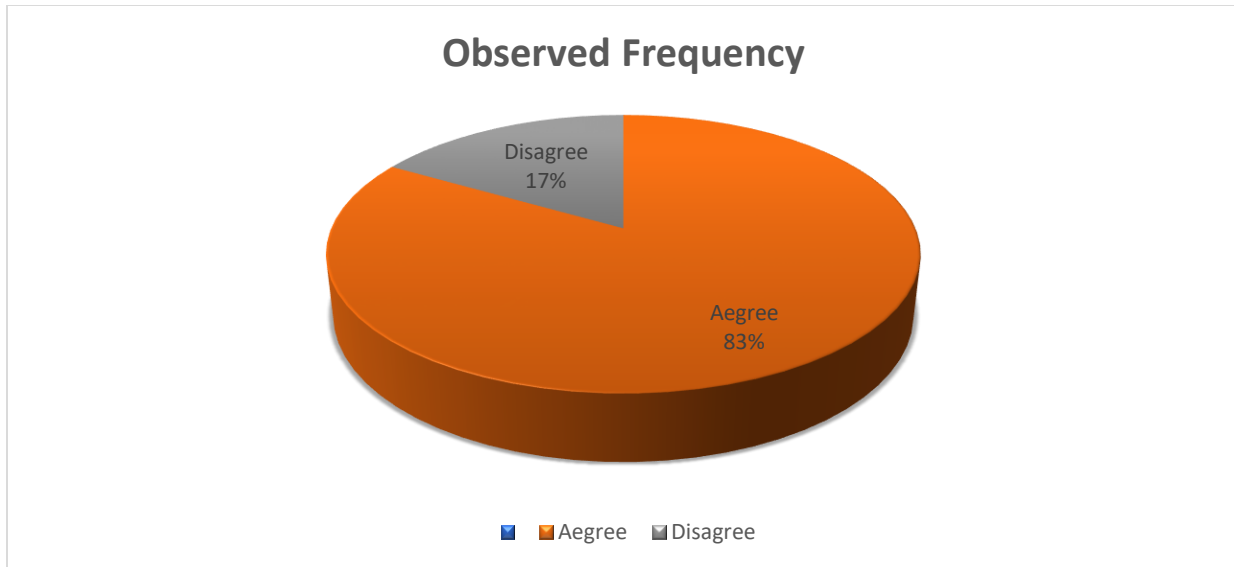
Q.1 Do you think the government is doing enough for the welfare and development of the Ex-FATA/Tribal areas?

Q.No#1	Observed Frequency	Expected
Strongly Agree	9	43.25
Agree	49	43.25
S.Disagree	39	43.25
Disagree	76	43.25
Total	173	
Avg	43.25	
	P-value	1.74E-11
	Chi-square Value	53.10404624
	The null hypothesis is rejected at a 5% level in Q#1	



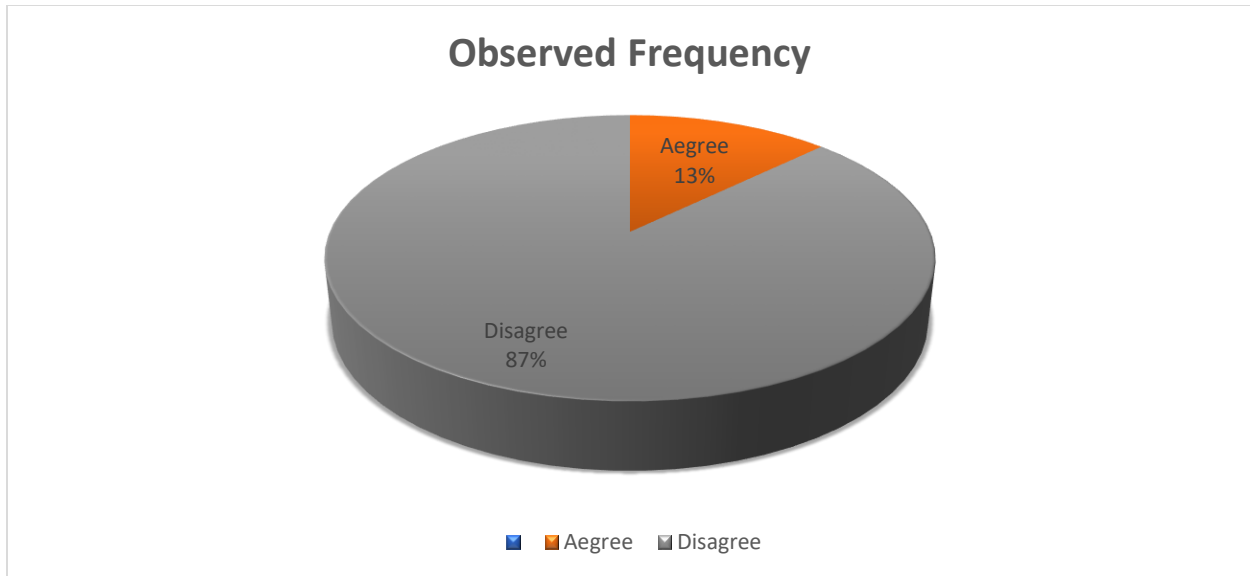
Q.2. Do you agree that ending Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR) and merger of FATA with KPK will bring prosperity to Tribal Areas and improve the livelihood of the people of FATA?

Q.No#2	Observed Frequency	Expected
Agree	60	36
Disagree	12	36
Total	72	
Avg	36	
	P-value	1.54E-08
	Chi-square Value	32
	The null hypothesis is rejected at a 5% level in Q#2	



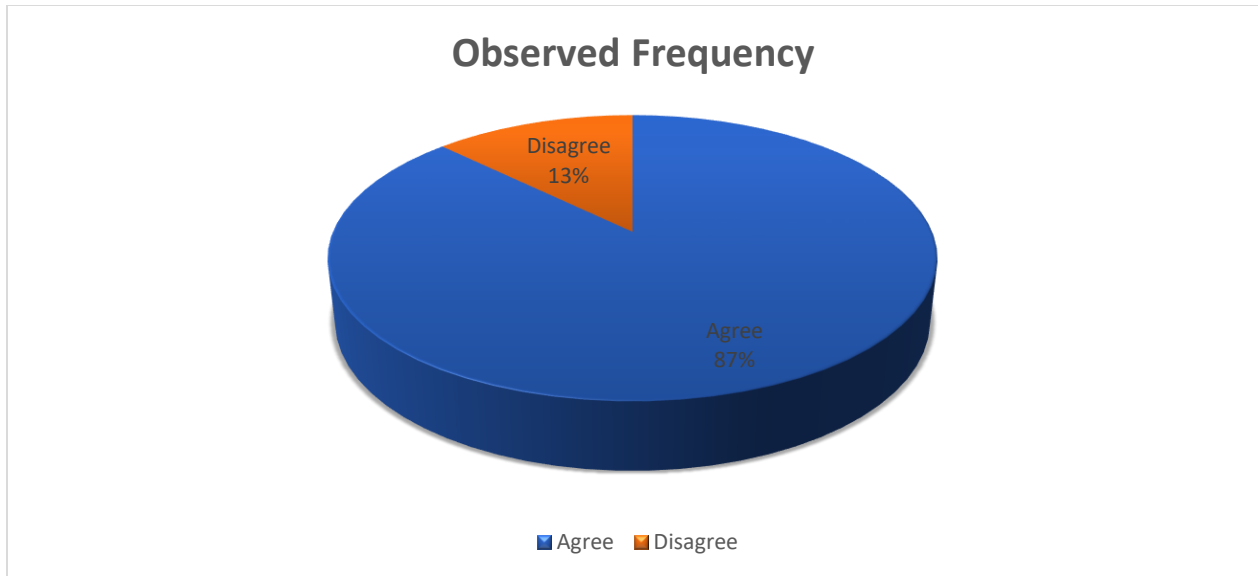
Q.3 Do you agree that the development funds are used honestly in the projects and the government officers/functionaries are not involved in the corruption and misappropriation of the allocated funds meant for the prosperity of locals?

Q.No#3	Observed Frequency	Expected
Agree	23	90
Disagree	157	90
Total	180	
Avg	90	
	P-value	1.72E-23
	Chi-square Value	99.756
	The null hypothesis is rejected at a 5% level in Q no.3	



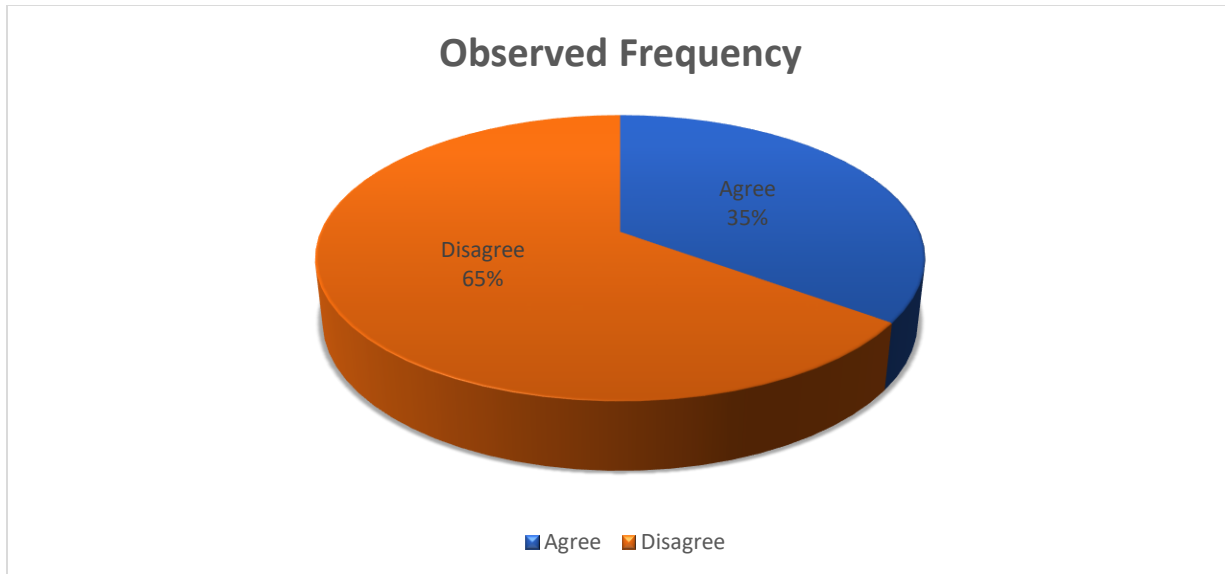
Q.4 Do you feel aggrieved/sad due to the displacement of people from their houses and loss of property due to military operations in Tribal areas or due to any other reason?

Q.No#4	Observed Frequency	Expected
Agree	48	27.5
Disagree	7	27.5
Total	55	
Avg	27.5	
	P value	3.23E-08
	Chi-square Value	30.56363636
	The null hypothesis is rejected at a 5% level in Q#4	



Q.5. Do you feel traveling in western border Areas (Tribal Areas) is easy and secure now?

Q.No#5	Observed Frequency	Expected
Agree	21	30
Disagree	39	30
Total	60	
Avg	30	
	P-value	2.01E-02
	Chi square Value	5.4
	The null hypothesis is rejected at a 5% level in Q#5	



Conclusion

The review of the literature and the analysis of primary data reveals that the integration of the erstwhile FATA is not only essential but challenging. The majority of the respondents are of the view that the government is not doing enough for the development of the area. In the case of general perception about the satisfaction over the merger or integration of the FATA into KPK and the elimination of Frontier Crime Regulation, the respondent's overwhelming majority were affirmative about the positive impact on their livelihood. Nonetheless, almost a similar majority were of the view that the government functionaries are not honest in the execution of their projects and are perceived to be involved in misappropriation of the funds allocated for the development of the area. The funds required for the development of the historically ignored area with the lowest HDI would be gigantic but the public perception about the utilization of development funds is negative. Similarly, people are not provided equal opportunities to become part of the mining and other projects initiated in the erstwhile FATA. It is observed in the empirical analysis of the data that the people are still feeling insecure to travel into the tribal areas and western border region.

Additionally, the thematic analysis provides that there is a need to not just replace the centuries-old system of traditional Jirga and Longi culture with new governance setup but to make a hybrid model acceptable to the masses of the area... The cultural affinity with the traditional system is not easy to transform into modern democratic norms very soon. Most of the milestones require the balancing of policy with the requirements of the area. As the KPK merger would not only bring constitutional rights but a heavy burden of the dispensation of justice and development of infrastructure in merged districts. The respondent's focus during the thematic discussion remained significant for the themes of how to control the law and order system with the newly posted police personnel so that the crimes do not spill over in the pre-merger districts bordering seven agencies. The establishment of effective Assistant and Deputy Commissioner in the region where the system

has always revolved around the political agent with centralized power. Convergence from the no rule or self-rule to the institutionalized rule of law and maintaining order is quite a big task ahead. Similarly, the new social dynamics of diversity and the masses' response regarding the purchase of land by the outsiders and the impact on culturally sensitive tribes of the frontier region also require the attention of policymakers in the wake of Taliban take over across the border.

Recommendations

The way forward requires the following essential steps to be included in the strategy:

1. Funds Allocation on adequate level just Rs 100 billion policy won't be sufficient to complete projects in the war-torn area.
2. The transparency of the spending of the funds and equal distribution
3. The appointment of locals in the projects creates a cycle of economic development instead of putting people at the mercy of bureaucracy.
4. Phased approach to the control of the area by the para-military force and go-slow approach given cultural sensitivities.
5. Appointment of locals in police and para-military forces like Levies and FC to localize the force.
6. Immediate dispute resolution system through a hybrid approach of ADR (old Jirga system) alongside the contemporary judicial system under Supreme Court of Pakistan.
7. The devolution of powers through local bodies' election
8. The de-militarization of the area and establishment of law and order through police and para-military forces.
9. Effective Border Management and denying the chances of Cross-Border Crime forms the other side of the western border.
10. Development is based on inclusion and meant for winning the hearts and minds of the people instead of alienating and further contributing to the relative deprivation of the masses.

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