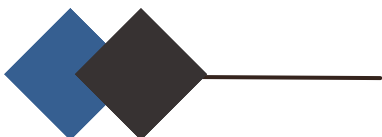


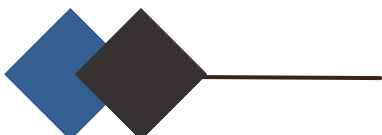
Research and Analytical Study

**Process of Peace Building and  
Democratization in the Recently Merged  
Districts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa**



Dedication

**Dedicated to the socio-political activists of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa**



## Acknowledgement

I acknowledge the effort of Dr. Khadim Hussain who, as consultant and lead researcher, designed, conducted and wrote the report of the study. His connectivity with the activists across Khyber Pakhtunkhwa remained helpful during our interaction with both individual activists and civil society organizations in merged districts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

I also acknowledge the contribution of KKF (& CRPD) team in facilitating the lead researcher during the research.

The participation of each individual activist and organization in this research, is highly appreciated. I acknowledge their efforts for peace and democratic values in their respective districts and areas. Their views and suggestions regarding peace, democracy and activism in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa have been accommodated in the study report.

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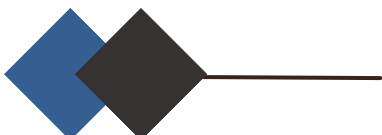
Mehran Wazir

Project Director, KKF

Lead Researcher: Dr. Khadim Hussain (Consultant)

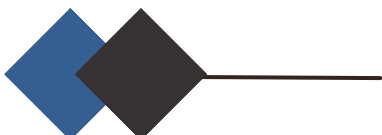
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## Acronyms

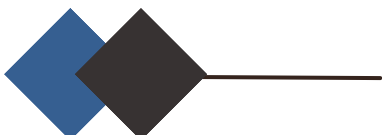
<b>NMDs:</b>	Newly Merged Districts Civil Society Organizations
<b>CBOs:</b>	Community Based Organizations
<b>FIR:</b>	First Information Report
<b>FCR</b>	Frontier Crimes Regulation
<b>PTM</b>	Pashtun Tahaffuz Movement
<b>TTP:</b>	Tehrik-I-Taliban Pakistan
<b>ANP:</b>	Awami National Party
<b>JUI:</b>	Jamiat-E-Ulamai Islam
<b>JI</b>	Jamati Islami
<b>PPP:</b>	Pakistan People's Party
<b>PTI:</b>	Tehreek-E-Insaf
<b>PKMAP:</b>	Pakhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party
<b>PML N:</b>	Muslim League N
<b>NGOs:</b>	Non-Governmental Organization
<b>KKF:</b>	Khidmat-E-Khalq Foundation
<b>CRPD:</b>	Centre for Regional Policy & Dialogue
<b>FATA:</b>	Federally Administered Tribal Area
<b>GDP:</b>	Gross domestic product





## Definitions:

<b>Khwaindo Kor:</b>	Translation: Sisters House (It is an organization that works for women's rights in NMDs)
<b>Malgari Leekwalan:</b>	Translation: friends lawyers (ANP affiliate organization of lawyers )
<b>Adabi Tolana:</b>	Literary Society (Association)
<b>Swastika:</b>	Production House (Music Academy & Studio)
<b>Mushaira:</b>	Poetic event
<b>Lashkar:</b>	Private armed group
<b>Jirga:</b>	Conflict resolution council of elders
<b>sarkari jirga:</b>	Conflict resolution council of elders called/ Recognized by Government



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# Introduction

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The process of peace-building and democratization of social and political institutions in Newly Merged Districts (NMDs) of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (Bajaur, Momand, Khyber, Orakzai, Kurram, North Waziristan and South Waziristan) is the least understood subject so far. The peace building and democratic process in the said districts has never remained a priority of the relevant quarters to understand and work on its promotion. Peace-building and democratization is not an isolated event rather it is an interlinked process where events and occurrences should be understood in relation to one another.

Centre for Policy and Dialogue (CRPD), a project of KKF, believes that there are people working for peace-building and democratization in the merged districts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa but they lack consciousness of coordination and connectivity. They need connectivity to turn isolated events of their struggle into a sustainable process. For the aforementioned purpose there should be a reference document which would be used for connectivity and promotion of peace-building and democratization. This report fulfils the requirement of a reference document through which can be used by various categories of activists to connect and link their activism for a sustainable process to create an environment of peace and develop democratic norms in the NMDs.

## Objectives of Study

1. To collect data on civil society and civil society organizations in NMDs.
2. To bring forth case studies of civil society activists, political workers and civil society organizations in NMDs
3. To understand the struggle and challenges faced by civil society activists

## Questions

CRPD wants to understand condition of social & political activists and civil society organizations (CSOs) in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. For this purpose there would be two main questions which would be asked in the study:

1. CRPD would find out what kind of categories of the civil society organizations and activists including political workers are working in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan.
2. What is the struggle and challenges for the civil society activists and political workers in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan?



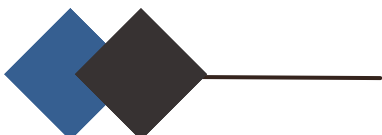




Mehran Wazir, Project Director, Meeting With CSOs

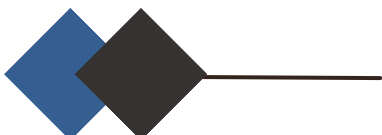


Mehran Wazir, Project Director, Meeting With CBOs



## Method of Study

- 1- The tools for data collection used for the study are mostly participant observation for primary data and the data archive developed by the Social Welfare Department, Industries Department and Election Commission of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa for the secondary data. For the purpose of participant observation, an open ended questionnaire was developed and distributed among the respondents on spot by the research consultant who visited all the seven NMDs for the purpose within a span of one and a half years (See Annex 1 for the questionnaire). The research consultant of CRPD observed the civil society organizations and political parties on ground and took notes for the purpose of analysis. More than one third of all the civil society was made respondents of the study.
- 2- Categorization and discourse analysis were used for data analysis of this study. The number and nature of civil society organizations were categorized, challenges they face were outlined and loopholes in their work were identified and narrated.





# Analysis

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## Categories of Civil Society Organizations in NMDs

Some four categories of the civil society activism were identified during this research study. They are given as under:

### I. Political Parties

The major political parties which are active both organizationally and politically in NMDs are Awami National Party (ANP), Jamiat-e-Ulamai Islam (JUI), Jamati Islami (JI), Pakhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party (PKMAP), Pakistan People's Party (PPP), Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI), Muslim League N (PML N) and Tehreek-e-Islahaat. Among them, ANP and PKMAP are secular progressive nationalist parties, PMLN and PPP are centrist parties, JI and JUI are Islamist democratic parties while PTI is a centrist conservative party. ANP, among them, mobilizes common people of the NMDs for peace and against all type of violence including terrorism perpetrated by state and non-state actors. ANP also questions state policies that are instrumental in the creation of private militias in NMDs. Except PKMAP and JUI, the rest of all political parties had formed FATA Political Alliance for bringing an end to the draconian Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR). Their collective struggle led to the end of FCR and merger of the erstwhile FATA in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in the shape of 25<sup>th</sup> Amendment in the constitution of Pakistan.

### II. Movements and so called Non-state organizations

The most popular movement emerged during the last five years in the NMDs is Pashtun Tahaffuz Movement (PTM). PTM is largely based in the southern part of the NMDs and has considerable following among the youth of other districts of the NMDs. PTM mobilizes protest demonstrations for peace and fundamental rights of the Pashtuns in the NMDs. Like ANP, PTM also questions state policies regarding the private militias active in NMDs. A tiny movement of the maliks who had been given privileges during the FCR era have recently become active to reverse the legislation of merger of NMDs with FATA but they wield little considerable support among the common people so far.

### III. Trade and Business Associations

Almost all major and minor centres of the NMDs of Bajaur, Momand, Khyber, Orakzai, Kurram, North Waziristan and South Waziristan have formed trade associations to solve their internal conflicts and to negotiate with the administration regarding local business issues. In most of the NMDs, business



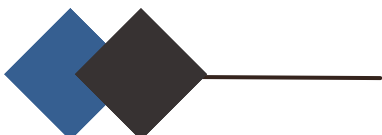




**Mehran Wazir, Project Director, meeting with CSOs (local market union in Nawagai, Bajaur)**



**Project Director meeting with local bodies elected representative in Bajaur**





specific associations have also been formed, like, fruits associations, minerals associations, forests and transport etc. They are sometimes of great help to the local traders.

#### **IV. Literary and Arts Organizations**

From Malgari Leekwalan of Bajur, Momand, Khyber, Orakzai and Kurram to Adabi Tolana of South and North Waziristan, Adabi Caravan of Kurram and Orkazai to Bajuar Adabi Tolana, Momand Pakhto Adabi Tolana and Waziritan Swastika Productions, there are some 50 literary and arts organizations are active in NMDs. They hold poetry recital sessions (Mushairas) and traditional music concerts on regular basis. It is highly interesting to see that most of these Mushairas and music concerts consciously disseminate the message of peace, fundamental rights and pluralism among a large section of population in NMDs consistently.

#### **V. Community Based Organizations (CBOs)**

More than 100 CBOs are presently working in the NMDs. Most of these CBOs are functioning in the form of welfare associations, youth organizations and development organizations. In Bajuar, Momand, Khyber and Kurram, these organizations are working on ground but in Orakzai, North Waziristan and South Waziristan, these organizations are mostly working in the adjacent districts of Kohat, Hangu, Bannu and DI Khan.

### **Thematic Areas of Civil Society Activism in the NMDs**

Civil Society Activism in the NMDs can be conveniently categorized in the following thematic areas:

#### **I. Activism for Legal and Judicial Facilities in NMDs**

Most of the political parties like ANP, PPP and PML N, the movements like PTM and CBOs like Youth of Waziristan vehemently campaign for police reforms, infrastructural development of the judicial complexes, judicial reforms and functioning of the justice system inside the NMDs. They regularly raise their voice against the private peace militias (lashkars) and against the outsourcing of justice system to the out dated governmental jirgas. They continue to mobilize people for demanding from the state to take responsibility for peace building, resolving conflicts and create tangible pro-people governance structures. One of the major issues being faced by the local communities after merger of the erstwhile FATA is land settlement and land documentation. This has resulted into inter-tribal and inter-clan conflicts in many areas of the NMDs. Political parties, CBOs and movements continue to demand a Land Commission to be established immediately for the purpose.



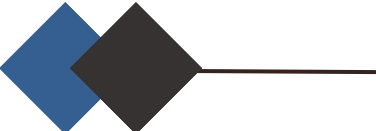




A group of activists discussing political parties structure



A group of activists discussing political parties manifestos





## II. Social Awareness and Political Mobilization for Peace

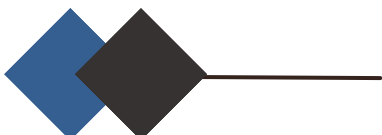
Mammoth crowds gathered recently when ANP, PTM, JUI, PPP and CBOs appealed to the public to protest for peace. All these peace marches and protest demonstrations demanded an end to extortion, enforced disappearances, targeted killings, kidnapping and terrorism by state and non-state actors. A type of mass uprising was seen in Bajaur, Momand, Khyber, North Waziristan and South Waziristan besides Swat, Swabi and Peshawar against the unlawful dialogue with TTP and resettlement of the TTP fighters in the NMDs and other areas of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. This seemed to be a rare occasion when the common people of NMDs and the people of settled districts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa came out for protest demonstrations together. Most of the CBOs and NGOs like CRPD, Bajuar Society, KKF, Khwaido Kor, NMDs Women Lawyers Forum and Parachinar Youth Society continue to campaign for inclusion of women and youth in the social and political decision making.

## III. Infrastructural Development and Social Services

The major problems of social services in the NMDs as in other parts of Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan include extremely low literacy rate due to lack of schools and lack of facilities in schools and colleges, lack of accessible and satisfactory health services, lack of roads in many parts of the NMDs, lack of 3G and 4G Internet and lack of water channels for irrigation. ANP, PPP, CBOs and Trade Associations incessantly demand for the 3% GDP funds pledged by the federal during the merger process. The two independent members of National Assembly elected from North Waziristan and South Waziristan and a senator from Bajaur continue to demand funds for developing health, educational, agricultural, roads and Internet infrastructure.

## IV. Cultural Activities

Annual Speenghar Mushaira used is a big event in Parachinar for which poets and cultural activists of the province wait for the whole year. Hundreds of attend the Mushira every year. Another large Mushaira is held in Momand every year. Poets and performers from the whole of Pakhtunkhwa participate in the Mushaira. Thousands of common people attend the Mushaira. Musairas, traditional music concerts, sports tournaments and cultural fairs are regularly organised by CBOs and literary organizations on regular basis in NMDs.



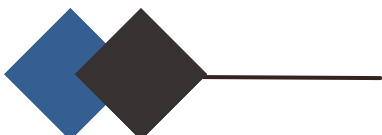
## Blank Spots and Loopholes

Looking at the number of civil society organizations and amount of activism in the NMDs, one should rightly expect rapid transformation of NMDs towards peace, democratization and development. But that is just not taking place. There are two major factors that are obstructing the rapid transformation of the NMDs:

### I. **Obstruction through Securitization and inertia of the government and local administration**

The security establishment could not be so far convinced that law and order and day today governance are handed over to the civilian law enforcement agencies and civilian administration. The common people feel dictated, mishandled and occupied when the officials of the security forces call shots with in the domain of law enforcement, governance and development. A law called Action in Aid of Civil Power is still intact under which First Information Report (FIR) is not obligatory when a civilian is picked up by security forces. Internment Centres have also been established under this law. The common people and peace activists put this phenomenon in the category of enforced disappearances. The establishment of checking points on the main roads has long been a bone of contention between the common people and security forces. The common people and peace activists also feel occupied when they see that the security forces establish their centres in combined lands and combined forests. The people feel that their free movement, trade and businesses and political activities are being managed by the security forces despite repeal of the FCR. The common people of the NMDs usually hold the security forces responsible for targeted killings and terror attacks because of the heavy deployment and numerous check posts. The common question that always reverberates is: How is it possible that terrorists sneak to carry out targeted killings and terror attacks in the wake of the ubiquitous presence of the security forces? Moreover, the ‘peace militias’, which are commonly called as ‘good Taliban’, have always been a matter of extreme concern for the common people. They are observed to be roaming freely along with heavy arms without any hindrance. The use of civilian funds by the security forces is also looked upon as arm twisting to grab the tax payers’ money.

The local administration and provincial governments have remained extremely slack in developing policing and judicial structures. This intentional or unintentional delay has created frustration among the common people and peace activists. Allocation of funds by the provincial government for infrastructural development and their oversight by the elected representatives has also been in limbo for a long time. The elected councillors in the recently held local government polls are not being included in the development process. The local administration has been using the same tactics of avoiding the principle of





separation of powers as was the case in the regime of FCR. Instead of resolving conflicts on lands and forests, the local administration resorts to use the same out dated mechanism of ‘sarkari jirgas’.

## **II. Disconnect in Activism**

The other major hindrance in the transformation of the NMDs towards rapid peace and democratization is lack of connectivity and networking among various categories of the civil society activists. One can clearly observe that CBOs have no or very little networking with political parties and movements while political parties have little or no networking with trade associations and cultural organizations. Then all of these activists of CBOs, literary organizations and trade associations in the NMDs are disconnected with the civil society activism in settled districts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. This leaves them in lurch when they are in dire need to galvanise their voices. This disconnect within and without also keeps the civil society activists unaware about the socio-political and socio-cultural developments on state level, regional level and international level. Though much has changed after the merger as far as networking with the activism of the rest of the province is concerned, still a great deal of work is required in this regard. Many activists are of the opinion that large strides towards peace and democratization can be taken if this disconnect among the categories of civil society activists inside the NMDs is somehow bridged. The voices of the civil society activists of the NMDs can be galvanised if ways and means are found to develop their networking with the activists of the rest of the province and rest of the country.

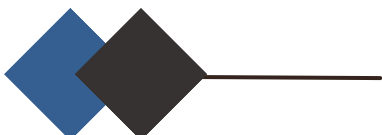


## Recommendations

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On the basis of data analysis, the following recommendations are offered. If these recommendations are turned into action plan, it can make activism of the civil society more sustainable and more effective in the long run:

- 1- The first and foremost is to work on strengthening of the organizational structures of political parties, CBOs, trade associations and literary and arts organizations working in the NMDs. Strengthening the organizational structures would entail broadening the scope, deepening the impact and connecting them with common people. This would provide a strong foothold to all categories of the civil society organizations in the NMDs.
- 2- All ways and means need to be adopted to do away with the disconnect among political parties, trade and business associations, movements and cultural organizations of the NMDs. Issue based joint conferences, joint workshops for dialogue on issues, traditional jirgas, joint study circles and joint demonstrations for public demands can be held to bridge the gap and restore trust among various categories of the civil society activists in the NMDs.
- 3- Serious measures need to be taken to include women, youth, vocational groups, farmers and working class for peace activism and democratization in the NMDs. This seems to be one of the weakest areas of activism in the NMDs. Political parties, movements and CBOs need to pay special attention to this aspect of activism.
- 4- The councillors and chairpersons of village councils recently elected in the Local Government polls in the NMDs must be incorporated in the peace activism and democratization in the NMDs. This will provide an easy route to access the people on grass roots level. The elected councillors can be made focal persons of various activities organised by CBOs, political parties and trade associations.
- 5- For making peace and democracy activism in the NMDs, it is necessary that measures are adopted to create connectivity channels with the peace and democracy activists of political parties, CBOs, trade associations of the settled districts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Isolation always breeds frustrations and weakens the resolve of activists. Joint meetings, press conferences, workshops, seminars and study circles of the civil society activists of the NMDs with the civil society activists of the settled districts may be organised to bridge this gap. Initially, connecting the activists of the NMDs with the activists of the adjacent districts like DI Khan, Bannu, Tank, Kohat, Hangu, Peshawar, Charsadda and Dir can be targeted to have mutual working relationship in the form of study circles, workshops, seminars, jirgas and conferences. This mutual relationship can be further extended to Peshawar Valley, Malakand Division and Hazara Division with the passage



of time. Both the activists of NMDs and settled districts can achieve a lot from this mutual working relationship.

- 6- It is necessary that the peace and democracy activists of the NMDs find ways to use digital media and social media for galvanising their voices. This will connect them with mainstream media, state level developments and regional developments in various areas of their activism. Hence connectivity with mainstream Pakistan and Afghanistan is also important for the peace and democracy activism in the NMDs.
- 7- Peace and democracy activists of the NMDs also need to devise mechanism of engagement with local administration, Provincial Assembly of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and National Assembly of Pakistan. Legal, constitutional and political issues can be easily tackled if a broad based engagement with local administration, parliament, provincial government and central government is developed.
- 8- The civil society organizations and political parties of NMDs from Bajaur to Waziristan must aim at developing a charter of demands regarding the fundamental issues of peace, development of judicial and policing structures, infrastructural development and provision of social services. So far, all districts of the NMDs are struggling in isolation that continues to take a toll on their political strength. The civil society organizations and political parties can play a pivotal role in this regard.

