

Insurgency Affecting Peace in Federally Administrated Tribal Areas (FATA) of Pakistan

Ali H^{1*}, Khan A², Jadoon MA², Shah M² and Shafi MM¹

¹Faculty of Rural Social Sciences, Institute of Development Studies, The University of Agriculture, Peshawar, Pakistan

²Department of Rural Sociology, University of Agriculture, Peshawar, Pakistan

Abstract

Insurgency is an armed resistance against a constituted authority. The world which was worried about global warming and other problems of humanity has been drag into wars after 9/11. FATA is one of the areas which gain importance of national and international media and world think tanks has suggested many solutions for peace restoration but unfortunately all went out in drains. The inhabitants are still dreaming of getting the old culturally rich, hospitable and peaceful FATA but realistically it is still a dream. The current layer of war, terrorism and extremism has destroyed the historically peaceful FATA. This paper examines the association of insurgency with the peace in the area. The major findings reveal that it is one of the most affected areas and peace is not prevailing due to easy access to firearms, weak judicial system, drone attacks, wrong foreign policy, foreign interference, unstable Afghanistan and wrong participation's decision of state in the war on terror.

Keywords: Insurgency; Peace; Federally administrated tribal areas (FATA); Bivariate; Chi square test

Introduction

FATA is situated midway along Pakistan's western border with Afghanistan and is a wedge of rugged and difficult terrain, stretching some 450 kilometers. It is almost equal in size to Belgium and has an area of 27,000 sq. km. In 2000 FATA has a population of approximately 3,341,070 Pushtuns who are divided into more than a dozen tribes. They regulate themselves under a tribal code of laws called "Riwaj," based on an honor system [1].

The geography of a nation has an important role in shaping its fortune of geo-politics or geo-economics. History shows that FATA has remained a challenging land for many empires' objectives. It challenges the Great, Chengiz Khan, Great Game between the Russian and British empires, Taimur the lame, the Mughals, the Turks, the British Empire, cold war super powers (US and USSR). Now FATA is again under the shadow of war i.e., war on terror. After 9/11 the attack of US on Afghanistan which so far has no sign of end has badly affected the peace and stability and social structure of tribal society [2]. FATA remain very peaceful zone since the independence of Pakistan though having a loose administration system. During the cold war FATA land was used against USSR by Pakistani and American governments due to which one-fourth of Afghan population took refuge in the tribal areas but still FATA remain peaceful and calm. Even in the start of war against terror there were no resistances against any ones in FATA. However with the increase of duration of war in Afghanistan, FATA have been slowly converted into a war zone. Now FATA is considered a safe haven & nursery of militants and threat not only for Pakistan but for the whole world. The international community and Afghan government is blaming Pakistan responsible providing safe zone to militants from where they are attacking the peace of the world. At the same time FATA inhabitants feel that militant, Pakistan army, US and NATO are responsible of their killings and internal displacement. On the other hand media are presenting FATA as the only cause of instability in the region while the truth is that the situation in FATA is only tense because of the presence of NATO forces in Afghanistan. The Afghan refugees in Pakistan are also making trouble in FATA and Baluchistan [3]. The main reasons for the current emergency,

terrorism and insurgency in FATA can easily be traced to cold war era. After the cold war Pakistan government has failed to reintegrate the mujahideen. The socio economic condition including the basic facilities of life i.e., education health and communication was left undeveloped and the government has failed to bring political and administrative reforms in FATA. This socio-economic deprivation has led to rise of extremism and radicalization. As a result the Taliban and other militant organizations have been able to recruit much of the younger population as well as many of the returnees of the Afghan jihad. The US policy has badly failed to win the hearts and minds of the tribal people in the war of terror. Despite that the US is giving aid to tribal people but the drone attacks have killed many civilian and expecting local people support in such situation will be a foolish thought [4]. To overcome militancy in tribal areas Pakistan has taken many steps but all get failed. The major reason for these failures is the governance system (FCR) of these areas, due to FCR the war against militancy is suffering from political support. Tribal people have given huge sacrifices for the protection of Pakistan, but wrong policies of state has made their life very difficult. The political leaders have failed to provide the relief to FATA's people further they have added to the miseries of life of the inhabitants of FATA as their main concern is the accumulation of wealth [5]. The war on terror has brought violence and terror and had killed thousands of people and displacing many more which should be end now. The thousands of foreigner's fighter have killed about one thousand local influential miliks, leaders and religious scholars such type of brutal killing in FATA was impossible before the war on terror. These tribal areas are used by different governments for

***Corresponding author:** Ali H, Scholar, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, The University of Agriculture, Peshawar, Pakistan, Tel: +923339350722; E-mail: haiderkpk59@gmail.com

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the interference in Afghanistan [6]. The ongoing insurgency is not a local phenomenon; rather things have spilled over into Pakistan from across its Western borders where American and Allied Forces have drastically failed in achieving any of their stated targets. NATO and America have been launching military operations without informing Pakistani authorities and this has resulted in foreign militants being pushed into Pakistani areas. Agreements with militants that could ensure peace in the area were sabotaged with airstrikes and propaganda - resulting in expansion of the militancy. The government of Pakistan believes that the growing number of suicide attacks and other violent incidents have their roots in this area. Meanwhile, the people of FATA feel that they are being subjected to killings and forcible displacements not only by the US and NATO forces but by the Pakistani army and the militant groups as well. While the international community and global media are describing FATA as the cause of instability in the region, most people in the country and even outside believe otherwise; that is, it is basically the consequence of the presence of foreign forces in Afghanistan. Pakistan has deployed 100,000 troops to the border area to control cross border militancy; however, the Afghan government is not taking serious action for stopping the militants from Afghanistan to carry out terrorist activities in border areas of Pakistan [3].

Material and Methods

The study was based on primary data; collected from the residents of the two war's affected tribes (Ali sher Zai and Maso Zai) of kurram agency having 4495 and 3176 households respectively [7], 366 samples were obtained by using Sekaran (Table 1) [8].

Methods of data analysis

After the collection of data, it were first coded and then entered in computer by using SPSS software for analysis. The analysis of the data was made at univariate and bivariate levels. The univariate analysis comprised of frequency distribution and percentages of the sampled respondents. Bivariate analysis was carried out to measure the association between dependent and independents variables. Chi-square and Fisher Exact tests were used to measure the association. The Chi-squared test statistics for the test of independence summarizes how close the expected frequencies fall to the observed frequencies. It is represented by the symbol χ^2 . Karl Pearson introduced the statistics in 1900 and used in sociological studies to test the degree of independence [9]. The formula used to compute Chi-square is given in the following:

Independent Variable	Dependent Variable
Insurgency	Peace

Table 1: Conceptual frame work.

Statement	Agree	Disagree	Not sure
FATA is peaceful place nowadays	38(10.4 %)	315 (86.1%)	13 (3.6%)
FATA is under the shadow of war	312 (85.2%)	41 (11.2%)	13 (3.6%)
War/ Terrorism has affected the lives of FATA People	316 (86.4%)	28 (7.7%)	22 (6.0%)
FATA is not peaceful after the arrival of militants	273 (74.6%)	67 (18.3%)	26 (7.1%)
There is violence and terror in FATA	290 (79.2%)	52 (14.2%)	24 (6.6%)
Drone attacks are common in FATA	291 (79.5%)	50 (13.7%)	25 (6.8%)
FATA is an open hide out/safe heavens of militants	146 (39.9%)	198 (54.1%)	22 (6.0%)
Militants movement can be freely observe in FATA	98 (26.8%)	261 (71.3%)	7 (1.9%)
Peace is the major demand of FATA people	326 (89.1%)	17 (4.6%)	23 (6.3%)
There should be urgent efforts for peace in FATA	341 (93.2%)	16 (4.4%)	9 (2.5%)
There are high prospects of peace in near future	43 (11.7%)	81 (22.1%)	242 (66.1%)

Source: Survey

Table 2: Current status of peace in FATA.

$$\chi^2 = \sum_{i=1}^r \sum_{j=1}^c \frac{(O_{ij} - E_{ij})^2}{E_{ij}}$$

Where χ^2 is chi-square, O_{ij} is observed frequencies in i^{th} row and j^{th} column. E_{ij} is expected frequencies in i^{th} row and j^{th} column whereas r is number of rows and n is number of column. The large summation sign, Σ (capital sigma), tells us to compute the fractions for each cell and then sum over all cells to get χ^2 .

Fisher exact test was used when the frequencies in the table was less than 5. Following was the formula of the test.

$$\text{Fisher Exact Test} = \frac{(a+b)!(c+d)!(a+c)!(b+d)!}{N!a!b!c!d!}$$

Where a, b, c and d were the observed numbers in contingency table while "n" were the total number of observations.

Results

This section first describes the univariate and bivariate results. At univariate level it states the results regarding dependent variable i.e., peace and independent variable insurgency. It is followed by the association between the two variables.

Results and discussions univariate analysis of data

Peace in FATA: Peace has become one of the main global challenges faced by most of the nations. After 9/11 peace has become one of the burning issues of FATA. In Table 2 major results reveals that majority of the respondents 86.1% believed that peace does not exist in FATA, 85.2% and 86.4% of the respondents reported that FATA is under the shadow of war and war has affected the lives of FATA people respectively. Another 86.4%, 74.6%, 79.2%, 79.5%, 39.9% of the respondents also stated that militant has destroyed the peace of FATA, has brought terror, violence and drone attacks in the area respectively. Another 39.9% and 26.8% of the respondents endorsed the success of military operation against miscreants destroying safe heavens of militants and restricting their free movement at FATA respectively. A sizeable number of respondents 89.1%, 93.2%, 11.7% were prioritizing and demanding urgent efforts for peace in the region but unfortunately they themselves are not sure for having it in the near future respectively.

Insurgency as factor affecting peace in FATA: The major finding of Table 3 states that a total number of 81.4%, 81.4%, 65.8%, 60.4%, 69.4%, 73.3%, 50.8%, 67.2%, 88.5% and 63.4% of the respondents reported that FATA is one of the most militancy hit areas in Pakistan, and it is because of easy access to firearms, weak judicial system, drone attacks, wrong foreign policy, foreign interference, unstable

Statement	Agree	Disagree	Not sure
FATA is one of the most militancy hit areas in Pakistan	298 (81.4%)	34 (9.3%)	34 (9.3%)
FATA situation is volatile due to easy access to firearms	298 (81.4%)	58 (15.8%)	10 (2.7%)
Due to weak judicial system insurgency flourish in area	241 (65.8%)	59 (16.1%)	66 (18.0%)
Drone attack helps breads insurgency	222 (60.7%)	67 (18.3%)	77 (21.0%)
FATA is under insurgency due to wrong foreign policy of Pakistan government	254 (69.4%)	66 (18.0%)	46 (12.6%)
Due to foreign interference insurgency is occurring in the area	283 (77.3%)	35 (9.6%)	48 (13.1%)
The trained Mujahidin of cold war helps fuel insurgency	186 (50.8%)	109 (29.8%)	71 (19.4%)
Peace in FATA is not possible until Afghanistan become peaceful	246 (67.2%)	72 (19.7%)	48 (13.1%)
FATA is not peaceful due to its rigid culture and tradition	75 (20.5%)	263 (71.9%)	28 (7.7%)
Inactive role of political leaders in peace restoration	324 (88.5%)	32 (8.7%)	10 (2.7%)
Pakistan should withdraw from war on terror to bring peace in FATA	232 (63.4%)	89 (24.3%)	45 (12.3%)

Source: Survey

Table 3: Insurgency as factor affecting peace in FATA.

Statement	Yes	No	Don't Know	Chi square P=value
FATA is one of the most militancy hit areas in Pakistan				$\chi^2=8.439$ (0.077)
Agree	231 (63.1%)	41 (11.2%)	26 (7.1%)	
Disagree	21 (5.7%)	5 (1.4%)	8 (2.2%)	
Not sure	28 (7.7%)	3 (0.8%)	3 (0.8%)	
FATA situation is volatile due to easy access to firearms				$\chi^2=14.511$ (0.006)
Agree	226 (61.7%)	40 (10.49%)	32 (8.7%)	
Disagree	49 (13.4%)	4 (1.1%)	5 (1.4%)	
Not sure	5 (1.4%)	5 (1.4%)	0 (0.0%)	
Due to weak judicial system insurgency flourish in area				$\chi^2=7.902$ (0.095)
Agree	178 (48.6%)	31 (8.5%)	32 (8.7%)	
Disagree	48 (13.1%)	9 (2.5%)	2 (0.5%)	
Not sure	54 (14.8%)	9 (2.5%)	3 (0.8%)	
Drone attack helps breads insurgency				$\chi^2=7.798$ (0.099)
Agree	160 (43.7%)	35 (9.6%)	27 (7.4%)	
Disagree	53 (14.5%)	9 (2.5%)	5 (1.4%)	
Not sure	67 (18.3%)	5 (1.4%)	5 (1.4%)	
Insurgency in FATA is because of Pakistan's wrong foreign policy				$\chi^2=10.988$ (0.027)
Agree	182 (49.7%)	41 (11.2%)	31 (8.5%)	
Disagree	58 (15.8%)	5 (1.4%)	3 (0.8%)	
Not sure	40 (10.9%)	3 (0.8%)	3 (0.8%)	
Due to foreign interference insurgency is occurring in the area				$\chi^2=19.856$ (0.001)
Agree	223 (60.9%)	31 (8.5%)	29 (7.9%)	
Disagree	31 (8.5%)	4 (1.1%)	0 (0.0%)	
Not sure	26 (7.1%)	14 (3.8%)	8 (2.2%)	
The trained Mujahidin of cold war helps fuel insurgency				$\chi^2=11.552$ (0.021)
Agree	135 (36.9%)	33 (9.0%)	18 (4.9%)	
Disagree	83 (22.7%)	10 (2.7%)	16 (4.4%)	
Not sure	62 (16.9%)	6 (1.6%)	3 (0.8%)	
Peace in FATA is not possible until Afghanistan become peaceful				$\chi^2=7.882$ (0.096)
Agree	188 (51.4%)	33 (9.0%)	25 (6.8%)	
Disagree	49 (13.4%)	105 (28.7%)	9 (2.5%)	
Not sure	43 (11.7%)	2 (0.5%)	3 (0.8%)	
FATA is not peaceful due to its rigid culture and tradition				$\chi^2=7.314$ (1.20)
Agree	61 (16.7%)	7 (1.9%)	7 (1.9%)	
Disagree	199 (54.4%)	37 (10.1%)	27 (7.4%)	
Not sure	20 (5.5%)	5 (1.4%)	3 (0.8%)	
inactive role of political leaders in peace restoration				$\chi^2=13.868$ (0.008)
Agree	246 (67.2%)	43 (11.7%)	35 (9.6%)	
Disagree	30 (8.2%)	2 (0.5%)	0 (0.0%)	
Not sure	4 (1.1%)	4 (1.1%)	2 (0.5%)	

Pakistan should withdraw from war on terror to bring peace in FATA				
Agree	179 (48.9%)	28 (7.7%)	25 (6.8%)	$\chi^2=9.485$ (0.050)
Disagree	61 (16.7%)	19 (5.2%)	9 (2.5%)	
Not sure	40 (10.9%)	2 (0.5%)	3 (0.8%)	

Source: Survey

Table 4: Insurgency affecting peace in FATA.

Afghanistan and Pakistan participation in war on terror respectively.

Bivariate analysis

Insurgency affecting peace in FATA: The major chi-square results of Table 4 shows significant association between the dependent variable peace and sub variables of independent variable insurgency these includes FATA is one of the most militancy hit areas ($P=0.077$), easy access to firearms ($P=0.006$), weak judicial system ($P=0.095$), common drone attacks in the area ($P=0.099$), wrong foreign policy ($P=0.027$), foreign interference in FATA ($P=0.001$), involvement of train Mujahidin of cold war in current insurgency ($P=0.021$), unstable Afghanistan ($P=0.095$), inactive role of FATA's political leaders ($P=0.008$) and Pakistan should withdraw from war on terror ($P=0.050$). The one found insignificant was FATA is not peaceful due to its rigid culture and tradition ($P=0.121$)

Conclusion

The study concluded significant association between dependent variable peace and sub variables of independent variable insurgency these included FATA is one of the most militancy hit areas, easy access to firearms in FATA, weak judicial system of FATA, common occurrence of drone attacks in FATA, wrong foreign policy of state, foreign interference in FATA (proxy war), involvement of train Mujahidin of cold war in current insurgency, unstable Afghanistan, inactive role of FATA's political leaders and Pakistan involvement in war on terror were the factors responsible for insurgency which were hurdling peace to prevail in FATA

On the basis of findings the study recommends that government should focus on the development of FATA as it is one of the most affected areas from insurgency. The weak judicial system and the presence of heavy weapons with the locals are also fueling insurgency. The government should bring reforms in judicial system and FATA should be de-weaponized. The cold war mujahidins whom were once near dear to US and Pakistan should be given a peaceful way to surrender. Need base amendments in foreign policy should be implemented on priority bases. Pakistan is providing services to refugees of Afghanistan now it's time to make Afghanistan pay back in

shape of intelligence sharing and for doing practical efforts to stop the insurgents crossing Pakistan border. At the same time Pakistan being a front ally in the war on terror should protest to stop NATO's drone attacks as these are fueling insurgency. The study also suggests that Pakistan is paying for someone else war and need to get out of it to stop the insurgency and to plan a way forward to peace.

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