

Crime and Insurgency in FATA: A Public Perception Survey of Khyber Agency

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Abstract

The present study was conducted to explore the public perception about the cause and effects of crime and insurgency in FATA which has badly affected socio-economic condition of people. Moreover, the prevalence of insurgency has weakened writ of the state in maintaining law and order in FATA. It was found that post 1979 and 9/11 incidents, fighting against invaders, poor socio-economic conditions of the local people, abundance of war arms, religious extremism emerged in view of external attacks and vested interest groups are the major causes of crime and insurgency in the area. Furthermore, warlords (insurgent leaders) set their own judicial and administration in FATA. Warlords' decision is binding from all respect in terms of implementation. The situation can be controlled by multidimensional strategy of dialogues with peace lovers and aggression against the miscreants.

Keywords

Insurgency, Social Deprivation, Incapable Judicial System, Writ of the State, Challenges, Problems.

Introduction

At this time Pakistan is the worst hit country by terrorism. No city or area is beyond the reach of the militant extremists in carrying out terrorist activities that include suicide attacks, bomb blasts, target killings and kidnappings. No place is safe from them. Even markets, mosques, shrines, educational institutions, hotels, government offices and offices of security agencies are not spared. Therefore, attempts devoid discriminations among civilians, children, and women with conspicuous focus on security forces. This has led to a fearful society with masses losing faith in government in controlling the menace of terrorism and in providing them adequate security.

Pakistan is in the grip of insurgency for the last several years in its different parts which has been responsible for scratching down the wheel of development, breaking down the sense of security among the masses and overturning the social structure of the affected zones. The writ of the government in Pakistan especially focusing on the tribal belt known as the Federally Administered Tribal Area (FATA) and Provincially Administered Tribal Area (PATA) is not properly being established. The poor writ of the state in FATA is a reflection of the socio-economic

underdevelopment and deprivation, invalid political structure, constitutional vacuum and Frontier Crimes Regulations (FCR) (Ziad, 2009). The unprotected borders which are prone to foreign infiltration has created such an atmosphere which has let the paths open for those who are disturbing the law and order situation and promote insurgency in the country. This insurgency is not only affecting Pakistan but also its neighboring countries and international community as FATA is being considered a safe haven for the insurgents.

The American attack on Afghanistan has further increased the vulnerability of tribal areas of Pakistan to unwanted elements, and even it has disturbed the tribal people. The insurgents demand of the local people to provide them man power to work with them and also to pay cash money. Consequently, military operation was launched by the government against the desperate forces but the insurgency still prevails in the affected zones. However, the local communities reluctantly left their respective areas and became IDPs (Internally Displaced Persons) in different parts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The cultivated land of IDPs became barren, their businesses were ruined and their assets are put to risk and the whole social system of them was disturbed. This powerlessness of the state raised many questions in the minds of people regarding the ineffective role of security agencies and the logic behind the question of not integrating the tribal people into the fiber of socio-economic development. Rotberg (2004) observed the emergence of warlords as the result of breaching of the writ of the state which inwardly promoted their sectional and community loyalties. These warlords terrorized the local people and established their power-based position for generating different sources of income, including sale of narcotics and arms besides being involved in different kinds of criminal activities as well.

The resultant outcome was imminent i.e. the emergence of economy based on illegal activities like drug and human trafficking along with rise of militancy which took a shape of trade (Townshend, 2009; Haidar and Arther, 2008; and Aziz, 2009). The unique geographic location with little control of the state has led to the rise of Talibanisation and insurgency. This insurgency works as a breeding ground for the training of the insurgents involved in different sort of attacks not only in the given area but even beyond the region. The fall out of these processes in Pakistan is embarrassing.

Pakistan's geopolitical role is gaining eminence due to the involvement of different international stake holders in the area. However, Pakistan as a state is being a question mark for local and international analysts of the field as well. It has failed to have a comprehensive policy for the containment of these insurgents' violent

waves. In additions it suffers a lot from the back lash of these insurgents in the pretext of supporting American interests in the region. These feelings could be exacerbated by the low literacy (17%) prevalent in the areas with only 250\$ per capita income, indicating the prevalence of a big poverty chain which is almost 66% of the total households living below poverty line. This situation comprehensively is analyzed in the FATA informal system being run through political agents where the process of taxation, law enforcement, courts and administrative structure is dysfunctional. Such functions are only enjoyed and exercised through political administration (Mehdi, 2012; Haidar, 2009; Amrit, 2011; Graham, 2012; Rashid, 2000; Behar, 2002 and Tahir et al. 2005).

Objectives of the Study

1. To study the sociological causes of crime and insurgency/militancy in the target area.
2. To study the relationship of militancy with crime and writ of the state in sampled area.
3. To make recommendations on the basis of study findings for overcoming crime and insurgency in the area.

Materials and Methods

The present study was carried out to look into the phenomena pertaining to the challenges in the establishment of writ of the state in FATA, Pakistan. The main focus of this study was centered on the Federally Administered Tribal Areas under the perspectives of insurgency is the outcome of social exclusion. The universe was confined to Khyber Agency out of the total seven agencies. A sample size of 380 respondents including the intellectuals, business communities, IDPs, students and persons from local political administration were randomly selected in light of the criteria devised by Sekaran (2003). A comprehensive interview schedule, based on Likert scale was constructed and served for collecting the relevant information. The data was presented in the percentages along with ascertaining the relationship between independent variable namely (insurgency) with the writ of the state (Dependent Variable) by indexing and cross tabulating to ascertain the relationship through the application χ^2 -test statistics as outlined by.....Tai (1978: 353).

$$(\chi^2) = \sum \sum \frac{(f_{ij} - F_{ij})^2}{F_{ij}}$$

Where

$$(\chi^2) = \text{Chi-square for two categorical variables}$$

f_{ij} = the observed frequencies in the cross -classified category at i th row and j th column

F_{ij} = the expected frequency for the same category, assuming no association between variables under investigation

The formula simply directs one to take squared summation of the frequencies for each cell, divided by the expected frequency. The resulting frequency is distributed as chi-square with relevant degree of freedom. The degree of freedom is calculated as follows;

$Df = (r-1)(c-1)$ where

Df = Degree of freedom

r = the number of rows

c = the number of columns

Results and Discussions:

Perceived Causes of Insurgency:

The main cause of crime and insurgency in the area was post 1979 invasion of Russian on Afghanistan and 9/11 attacks of US as indicated by 84.7 % respondents. Religious extremism took an alarming shape in the shades of Iranian revolution and Iraq invasion of Iran which lasted for almost 10 years, resulting in a million casualties on both ends. This led to the bi-furcating of Muslim world into two main groups on obvious grounds of their sect's i.e Sunni & Shia.

The second main reason was poor governance as poor and marginalized people are more prone to insurgency as discussed by 82.9%. These are in line with the findings of Khalid (2009) that marginalization and denial to access to education, law, health; making a future recruits available for militants. Many of those who are marginalized because of lack of access to law, education, and health employment or due to income deficit are the future recruits to the ranks of the militants.

The warlord's decisions are binding on all respects accounted for 82.4%. The trained ruminants of Russian war multiplied insurgency accounted for 78.7%. There is a consensus among scholars as well as practitioners that following the insurgency and terrorism of the last decade, the erstwhile governance system

has totally collapsed, leaving the areas at the disposal of militants that turned into warlords (Johson et al, 2008) as well as local and foreign militants. During the 1980s, around 35,000 Muslim radicals passed through the FATA area to wage jihad against the “Russian infidels (Rashid.A, 2000). The war left behind experienced fighters, training camps, and substantial amounts of military equipment, transnational networks of organizational relationships, and above all self-confidence and a belief in the possibility of a victory over a superpower (Huntington, 1996).

It is evident that government lack of interest to develop area and corrupt administration was responsible for the insurgency. In capable local based judiciary system is responsible for insurgency in local area expressed by 78.8% respondent. Strong conviction of win over superpower encouraged insurgency accounted for 78.4%. Unemployment pushed youths to join insurgent group view expressed by 78.4% sampled respondents. The other reasons i.e socio-economic conditions, vested interest groups and insurgency emerged as trade in the area was almost similar. It varied from 71% to 75%. The religion extremism and abundance of war arms was 65% and 63% respectively. The costly process of Jirga and decisions are usually influenced by political administration were unable to deliver justice. Fata is one of the poorest regions of the earth. There is no livelihood opportunity due to which youths of the area are more easily trapped towards insurgency. Because they do not have other source of income and they are easily employed by insurgent group. Those who were trained by CIA and other agencies against Russia were sheltered in Fata and waging war against U S A and Pakistani forces. These environments created warlords in the area who have set their own judicial system based on their own brand of Islam expressed by 74.4% respondents.

Table -1: Respondents views' on Causes of Insurgency in FATA

Statements	Agree	Disagree	Not Sure	Total
Post 1979 and 9/11 incidents promoted insurgency & Crime in area	322(84.7)	30(7.9)	28(7.4)	380
Fighting against these invaders was declared a holy war	222(58.4)	130(34.2)	28(7.4)	380
Socio- economic conditions created insurgents in area	279(73.4)	68(17.9)	33(8.7)	380
Abundance of war arms fuelled insurgency	242(63.7)	115(30.3)	23(6.1)	380
Religious extremism emerged in view of external attacks	250(65.8)	90(23.7)	40(10.5)	380
Vested interest groups are helping in sprouting insurgency & Crime	271(71.3)	77(20.3)	32(8.4)	380
Poor / ambiguous policies of government of Pakistan are helpful in insurgency	256(67.4)	83(21.8)	41(10.8)	380
Insurgency emerged as trade in local area Poor governance pushed local people for insurgency	288(75.8)	55(14.5)	37(9.7)	380
Incapable locally based judicial system is responsible for	315(82.9)	43(11.3)	22(5.7)	380
insurgency in local area	299(78.7)	56(14.7)	25(6.6)	380
Unemployment pushed youth's to join insurgent groups	298(78.4)	56(14.7)	26(6.8)	380
Trained remnants of Russian war multiplied insurgency	299(78.7)	56(14.7)	25(6.6)	380
Strong conviction of win over superpower encouraged insurgency	298(78.4)	56(14.7)	26(6.8)	380
Warlords(insurgent leaders) set their own judicial system	284(74.7)	74(19.5)	22(5.5)	380
Warlords are running their administration in FATA	280(73.3)	80(21.1)	20(5.0)	380
Warlords' decision is binding from all respect in terms of implementation	313(82.4)	48(12.6)	19(5.0)	380

Source: Field Survey, 2012. Note: (values in parenthesis indicate percentage)

Insurgency and its Association with the Writ of the State

The Russian war and defeats of the Russian in subsequent manner drastically weakened the writ of the state in the bordering area known as FATA. The most influencing factors so far counted as significant are political vacuum, the weakened judicial system and ineffective administration contributed as catalyst to this effect. Warlords sprout around, established their own mechanism of judicial disposition of justice under the garb of religious tenets proved workable as of lack of any countering judicial, administrative and political substitute. After probing effects of insurgency as challenge to the writ of the state was found highly significant association ($p=0.00$) between Post 1979 and 9/11 incidents as promoting/fuelling factor to writ of the state. These results clearly emanate the fallout of consequential effects of these two wars on the study area. These inferences are vividly in support to the Towns head (2009) that FCR though a tool designed for the containments of locals in administrative and legal terms without going into details of discovering its ramifications. These ramifications includes judicial and administrative vacuum with social marginalization of the locals devoid of health and employment opportunities. All these worked toward a booming economy based on illegal activities like drug and human trafficking with the rise of militancy, taking a trade shape (Haider and arthur2008; Aziz, 2009).

In light of these developments i.e. Russian invasion and subsequent fall of Taliban government in Afghanistan in 2001 by the USA; these two forces were declared invaders and crusade (jihad) declared against them was found highly significant ($p=0.00$) with the writ of the state. It could probably be the non existence of administrative and political system in bordering area (FATA) which proved harbinger for escalating anti invader sentiments becoming upsurge for the holy warrior (Muslims) across the globe come and participate. FATA since 9/11 (Ali,2002; Datta and Sharma,2002;Achar,2004; Juergeusmeyer, 2008; Hussain, 2010). Pakistan is passing through a critical stage of its history in the shape of insurgency which has negatively affected the development process and breaking down of security chain (Ziad,2009). Furthermore, existing socio-economic conditions created by insurgents was found highly significant ($p=0.00$) with the writ of the state. It means that deteriorated socio-economic conditions are always playing dreadfully when not in properly shaped. As this is because economic structure is usually resultant factor of powerlessness of the state. This situation is not only detrimental to the integrated social structure but also hampers the development initiative (Rotberg,2004;Niaz,2011).

Moreover, abundance of war arms fuelling insurgency was found highly significant ($p=0.00$) with writ of the state. These results are attributable to the non existence of administrative set up of tribal area. This situation is comprehensively is analyzed while terming informal system as operative mechanics responsible for running the state of art. This situation is usually coupled with nonpayment of taxation and ineffectiveness of law with no existence of court (Mehdi, 2012; Haider, 2009; Graham, 2012; Rashid, 2000 and Tahir et, al, 2005). Moreover, emergence of religious extremism in view of external attacks were found highly significant ($p=0.00$) with writ of the state. This is in close relationship to the findings of Amrit (2011; Ahmed, 2010; Volpi, 2011; Niaz, 2011) that religious extremism could arise in aftermath of American invasion of Afghanistan notwithstanding vested Interest group helping in sprouting insurgency was found highly significant ($p=0.00$) with writ of the state.

An informal system run through political agent has always provided enough room for the vested interest to influence the decision taken on part of these political agents into their favors such as nonpayment of taxes etc. Behar, 2002; Tahir et. al, 2005) these findings are further strengthened when highly significant relationships ($p=0.00$) were found between wrong policies of government of Pakistan with the writ of the state. Along with poor nature of governance was found highly significant ($p=0.00$) with the writ of the state. These findings explicitly dictate in directional terms a decline of the control of government and its subsequent return like war as a trade and poor governance helping insurgents to sprout. These findings could easily be looked into the conclusion of Towns head (2009); Haider, 2009 that social marginalization and political administrative vacuum are the two major grounds for insurgency in FATA. When asked about incapability of local judicial system, it was found highly significant ($p=0.00$) with writ of the state as catalyst indicators towards up breeding of insurgency. Furthermore, unemployment amongst the youth for making them enjoining insurgent groups was found significant ($p=0.00$) with writ of the state. As poor and marginalized people are more prone to insurgency with writ of the state was found significant ($p=0.00$) relationship.

Looking into some further dimensions responsible for the insurgency, it was found that trained remnants of Russian war multiplied the insurgency as significant ($p=0.00$) relationship was found with writ of the state. Moreover, highly significant relationship ($p=0.00$) was also found with strong conviction of win over superpower encouraged insurgency with writ of the state. These findings of such nature were found in support to the Moor, (2010) Rakisits (2008) declaring holy war and creation of religious extremism as the rising of such factors is threat to government writ.

In addition, a strong and significant relationship ($p=0.00$) was found between warlords set their own judicial system with writ of state. Warlords were also found running a parallel administrative set up in FATA was highly significant relationship ($p=0.00$) between it and writ of the state. However, a non significant relationship was ascertained between warlords decision is binding from all respects in relationship to their implementation with writ of the state. It could be concluded that although warlords are dictating their administration, however, binding nature to this effects is ineffective provided a strong centralized backing with all political administrative and constitutional manifestation are provided by the federal government.

Table 2: Association between Insurgency and Challenges in the state Writ in FATA.

Statements		Agree	Disagree	Not Sure	Total	Chi-Square
Post 1979 and 9/11 incidents promoted insurgency & Crime in area	Agree	132(41.0)	175(54.3)	15(4.7)	322	25.458(0.000)
	Disagree	11(36.7)	19(63.3)	0	30	
	Not Sure	0	23(82.1)	5(17.9)	28	
Fighting against these invaders was declared a holy war	Agree	86(38.7)	128(57.7)	8(3.6)	222	33.497(0.000)
	Disagree	56(43.1)	69(53.1)	5(3.8)	130	
	Not Sure	1(3.6)	20(71.4)	7(25.1)	28	
Socio- economic conditions created insurgents & criminals in area	Agree	130(46.6)	138(49.5)	11(3.9)	279	60.726(0.000)
	Disagree	13(19.1)	54(79.4)	1(1.5)	68	
	Not Sure	0	25(75.8)	8(24.2)	33	
Abundance of war arms fueled insurgency	Agree	121(50.0)	113(46.7)	8(3.3)	242	55.415(0.000)
	Disagree	22(19.1)	86(74.5)	7(6.1)	115	
	Not Sure	0	18(78.3)	5(21.7)	23	
Religious extremism emerged in view of external attacks	Agree	87(22.8)	116(30.5)	6(2.4)	209	35.684(0.000)
	Disagree	35(38.9)	46(51.1)	6(2.4)	81	
	Not Sure	35(38.9)	46(51.1)	9(10.0)	90	
Vested interest groups are helping in sprouting insurgency	Agree	126(46.3)	136(50.0)	10(3.7)	275	39.613(0.000)
	Disagree	17(22.1)	55(71.4)	5(6.5)	77	
	Not Sure	0	26(83.9)	5(16.1)	31	
Wrong policies of govt: of Pakistan are helpful in promoting crime and insurgency	Agree	120(46.9)	126(49.2)	10(3.9)	256	40.652(0.000)
	Disagree	20(24.1)	60(72.3)	3(3.6)	83	
	Not Sure	3(7.3)	31(75.6)	7(17.1)	41	

Statements		Agree	Disagree	Not Sure	Total	Chi-Square
Insurgency emerged as trade in local area	Agree	127(44.1)	158(54.9)	3(1.0)	288	92.149(0.000)
	Disagree	16(29.1)	35(63.6)	4(7.3)	55	
	Not Sure	0	24(64.9)	13(35.1)	37	
Poor governance pushed local people for insurgency & crime	Agree	134(42.4)	171(54.1)	11(3.5)	316	27.919(0.000)
	Disagree	8(18.6)	30(69.8)	5(11.6)	43	
	Not Sure	1(4.8)	16(76.2)	4(19.0)	21	
Incapable locally based judicial system is responsible for insurgency in local area	Agree	125(41.8)	162(54.2)	12(4.0)	299	17.695(0.001)
	Disagree	16(28.6)	36(64.3)	4(7.1)	56	
	Not Sure	2(8.0)	19(76.0)	4(16.0)	25	
Unemployment pushed youth's to join insurgent groups	Agree	119(39.9)	129(33.9)	12(4.0)	260	14.925(0.005)
	Disagree	22(39.3)	30(53.6)	12(4.0)	64	
	Not Sure	22(39.3)	30(53.6)	4(7.1)	56	
Poor and marginalized people are more prone to insurgency	Agree	119(39.9)	170(57.0)	9(3.0)	298	18.975(0.001)
	Disagree	19(33.3)	32(56.1)	6(10.0)	57	
	Not Sure	5(20)	15(60.0)	5(20)	25	
Trained remnants of Russian war multiplied insurgency	Agree	101(40.9)	138(55.9)	8(3.2)	247	23.351(0.000)
	Disagree	37(37.0)	58(58.0)	5(5.0)	100	
	Not Sure	5(15.2)	21(63.6)	7(21.2)	33	
Strong conviction of win over superpower encouraged insurgency	Agree	118(43.3)	161(56.3)	7(2.4)	280	21.898(0.000)
	Disagree	19(27.9)	40(58.8)	9(2.4)	68	
	Not Sure	6(23.1)	16(61.5)	12(3.15)	32	
Warlords (insurgent leaders) set their own judicial system	Agree	126(44.4)	149(52.5)	9(3.2)	284	31.626(0.000)
	Disagree	11(14.9)	56(75.7)	7(9.5)	74	
	Not Sure	6(27.3)	12(54.5)	4(18.2)	22	
Warlords are running their administration in FATA	Agree	97(34.6)	174(62.10)	9(3.20)	280	28.091(0.000)
	Disagree	43(53.8)	30(37.5)	7(8.8)	80	
	Not Sure	3(15.0)	13(65.0)	4(20.0)	20	
Warlords' decision is binding from all respect in terms of implementation	Agree	123(39.3)	178(56.9)	12(3.8)	313	12.967(0.00)
	Disagree	14(29.2)	30(62.5)	4(8.3)	48	
	Not Sure	6(31.6)	9(47.40)	4(21.1)	19	

Source: Field Survey, 2012

Conclusions and Recommendations

The study ascertained that effects of insurgency & crime as challenge to the writ of the state was found highly significant association ($p=0.00$) between Post 1979 and 9/11 incidents as promoting/fuelling factor to writ of the state. Moreover, the Russian invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 and the fall of the Taliban government in Afghanistan in 2001 by the USA; these two forces were declared invaders and crusade (jihad) was declared against them was found highly significant relationship ($p=0.00$) with the writ of the state. Furthermore, existing socio-economic conditions created insurgents & criminals was found highly significant association ($p=0.00$) with the writ of the state. Moreover, abundance of war arms fueled insurgency was found highly significant relationship ($p=0.00$) with writ of the state. Moreover, emergence of religious extremism in view of external attacks were found highly significant relationship ($p=0.00$) with writ of the state. Vested interest group helping in sprouting insurgency was found highly significant relationship ($p=0.00$) with writ of the state. These findings are further strengthened when highly significant relationships ($p=0.00$) were found between wrong policies of government of Pakistan with the writ of the state. Along with poor nature of governance was found highly significant ($p=0.00$) when relationship discovered with the writ of the state. Incapability of local judicial system was found highly significant relationship ($p=0.00$) with writ of the state as catalyst indicators towards up breeding of insurgency. Furthermore, unemployment amongst the youth for making them enjoining insurgent groups was found significant association ($p=0.00$) with writ of the state. As poor and marginalized people are more prone to insurgency with writ of the state was found significant ($p=0.00$) relationship. trained remnants of Russian war multiplied the insurgency as significant ($p=0.00$) relationship was found with writ of the state. Moreover, highly significant relationship ($p=0.00$) was also found with strong conviction of win over superpower encouraged insurgency with writ of the state.

To eradicate insurgency & crime from the FATA, multidimensional approach should be adopted encompassing socio-economic development package, mainstreaming of tribal people, and dialogue with warring groups, if all these fail than military operation should be launched against those who are not interested in the peace and stability are the recommendations on the basis of the study findings.

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