

Prioritizing Human Security in Pakistan's Erstwhile Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA)

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Abstract: Pakistan's erstwhile Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) have been merged with Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province in 2018 ushering in a long-awaited reform needed for the development of these tribal areas. This research article examines the approach by the successive governments of Pakistan in the name of 'national security, which undermined the crucial aspects of 'human security. The traditional conception of national security has led to the dismal development of the tribal areas with the usage of colonial-era regressive Frontier Crimes Regulations (FCR). The article attempts to cover the physical, economic, food, health, and environmental dimensions from a Human Security perspective with specific reference to the erstwhile FATA. The article suggests that human security discourse needs to be prioritized in the erstwhile FATA for ensuring sustainable development and enduring peace in the region.

Keywords: FATA, FCR, Governance, Human Security, Pakistan

1 Introduction

Pakistan's erstwhile Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) are located in the mountainous terrain of northwestern Pakistan. In May 2018, FATA was merged with the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province to mainstream the tribal region. It is imperative to observe that FATA has witnessed intensified violence due to the presence of terrorists and extremists in the region. The tribal region received worldwide attention in 1979 when the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan, and the *Mujahideen* forces were engaged in countering Soviet forces. Again, the tribal region became a frontline after the terror attacks on the United States in 2001 and the subsequent US-led Global War on Terror.

FATA covers some 27,220 square kilometers of territory in Pakistan. The population of FATA as per the 1998 Census was 3.18 million. As per the 2017 census, the current population of FATA is 50,01,676.¹ The governance structure for tribal areas has been different in comparison to the rest of Pakistan. FATA used to be administered by the Governor of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) province as an agent under the mandate of the President of Pakistan. Tribal areas were under the supervision of the Ministry of States and Frontier Regions (SAFRON) till the merger of FATA with the KP.

This article delves deeper into the intricacies of insecurity prevailing in FATA. On most occasions, FATA has been perceived through the top-down approach, where the State had played a critical role in managing the affairs of FATA. Hard security has been the mainstream conception of the successive governments for the tribal areas. The dimensions of human security were not prioritized in the tribal region, which created dismal conditions in FATA in terms of development. Therefore, the need for human security is critical for the development of the region for alleviating all types of insecurities.

1 FATA Development Authority. (2018). *About Merged Areas (Erstwhile FATA)*. Retrieved from FATA Development Authority: <https://fatada.gov.pk/about-us/about-fata/>

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2 Human Security: Theoretical Underpinnings

The conception of human security got prominence worldwide after the end of the cold war between the United States and the Soviet Union. After the end of the cold war, conducive conditions prevailed, which paved the way for the emergence of the dimension of human security. Unlike state security which mainly focuses on maintaining structures, the focus of human security remains on individuals and communities. "Freedom from fear, freedom from want, and freedom to live in dignity" are considered as three core components of human security.² Human development cannot be defined merely by the "choices that **people** actually make; it is also defined by the freedom that a person has in choosing from the set of feasible functionings, which is referred to as the person's capability".³ The importance of human security in the development of the country is very crucial.

The United Nations Human Security Unit has enshrined five prominent features of human security, which are as follows:

a. Human security is people-centered, focusing on the safety and protection of individuals, communities, and their global environment. A human security approach empowers local people to assess vulnerabilities and threats and then identify and take part in strategies to build security rather than imposing outside definitions. Strategies to achieve human security are successful in as much as they protect the quantity and quality of life.

b. Human security is comprehensive. In practice, human security strategies range from a limited operational "freedom from fear" to a more encompassing structural approach including "freedom from want" and "freedom to live in dignity."

c. Human security is multi-sectoral, addressing a range of interdependent global and local threats, insecurities, and vulnerabilities in security, development, and human rights.

d. Human security is context-specific. Local dimensions of global threats are unique and require context-specific assessment and planning.

e. Human security is prevention-oriented. Conflict prevention and peacebuilding strategies aim for sustainable solutions to address".⁴

3 Human Security: A Case Study of FATA

FATA has seen immense destruction and loss of lives as it remained a hotbed for terrorist groups and militants. Therefore, the 'tribal' region could not develop in terms of human security. According to many scholars, Pakistan's governments successively neglected the development of FATA due to a number of historical, political, and security reasons. According to Galgano, "the Pakistani government established conditions that degraded effective governance within the region and promoted distrust, resentment, and disorder" in tribal areas.⁵ He also asserts that "government officials have shown little regard for the Pashtu tribes and accepted limited accountability for their actions. This has fostered inherent political instability, pervasive violence, capricious rule of law, and endemic corruption".⁶ The literacy rate of FATA is 33% lower than the average national literacy rate of Pakistan, and only "30 percent of children under two years are fully immunized, where the national figure stands at 76 percent".⁷ Even "the unemployment rate in FATA is the highest when all statistics of all the backward areas are taken into consideration, i.e. 38 percent male population make it to the workforce".⁸ Adult franchise rights were given to citizens of FATA in 1996 under the aegis of the Benazir Bhutto government. Political Parties Order of 2002 was extended to the tribal region in August 2011 by then-President Zardari. Even after it, FATA parliamentarians did not get the right to legislate in National Assembly for so long. The dismal human security indicators of FATA reveal the same story of underdevelopment.

2 Schirch, L. (2016). *Handbook on Human Security: A Civil-Military-Police Curriculum*. The Hague, The Netherlands:

Alliance for Peacebuilding, GPPAC, Kroc Institute.

3 UNDP. (2019). *Human Development Report 2019*. New York: UNDP.

4 Schirch, L., op. cit., 2016

5 Galgano, F. A. (2012). Geography and National Security. In J. P. Stoltman, *21st Century Geography: A Reference Handbook* (pp. 219-230). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, Inc.

6 Ibid.

7 The Nation. (2018, September 13). Developing FATA. *The Nation*.

8 Ibid.

3.1 Impact of Frontier Crimes Regulations (FCR)

Till the merger of FATA with the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in 2018, the Frontier Crimes Regulations (FCR) were effective in tribal areas for governance. FCR regulated the lives of the tribal people. The political agent, the senior-most federal administrator in each of FATA's seven tribal agencies, possessed unlimited judicial, revenue and executive authority under the colonial era FCR of 1901.⁹ Imtiaz Ali argues that the FCR was created to control the Pashtun tribesmen with a carrot-and-stick approach. He elaborates his point by stating that:

“Concessions were given to tribesmen, such as exemption from taxation and from answerability to the judiciary and police, but in return collective responsibility fell on every tribe to maintain law and order in its area. According to this clause and the arbitrary ways in which it could be administered, even the allegation of a crime committed by a tribesman could bring havoc not only for the immediate family but for the entire tribe and village”.¹⁰

FCR denied constitutionally mandated fundamental rights to the citizens of FATA. Under the August 2011 reform plan by then-President Zardari, women and children under the age of sixteen were exempted from the detention clause of FCR. However, even then women suffered “indirectly from the collective and preventative detention clauses when husbands and older sons, usually the sole wage earners, are detained”.¹¹

Colonial-era regressive FCR was a discriminatory instrument used by the successive governments of Pakistan thereby neglecting the human security of the tribal inhabitants of erstwhile FATA. It perpetuated the colonial legacy of mistrust toward the Pashtun tribes.

3.2 Physical Security

The security situation in FATA remains precarious. Afghan rebels, including Afghan Taliban factions and allied terrorists, operate out of sanctuaries throughout FATA.¹² Al Jazeera reported that terrorist organizations such as al-Qaeda and the TTP used a variety of tactics, including bribes, intimidation, religious indoctrination, and growing violence, executing tribal elders who stood up to them. They also demolished educational facilities and outlawed non-governmental organizations, effectively halting any growth in the impoverished region and further isolating FATA's population from the rest of Pakistan.¹³

According to the *Pakistan 2019 Crime and Safety Report* by the U.S. Department of State, in northwest Pakistan, the acute terrorist threat pervades all aspects of life and dominates the entire security situation. In Peshawar and northwest Pakistan, street theft, burglary, blackmail, political violence, revenge/honor killings, terrorist attacks, abduction, sectarian killings, targeted killings of security personnel, military activities, and civil disturbances are common.¹⁴

The rights of journalists have been routinely violated in the tribal region of Pakistan. It has been noted that “many journalists working in FATA have been killed, beaten, or intimidated, and the threats have come not only from the Taliban but also from the Pakistani military establishment and the civilian political administration in the tribal agencies”.¹⁵ Similarly, in the report entitled “Reporting from the Frontlines”, the conditions of journalists operating in FATA and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa have been observed as follows:

“The journalists in FATA are exposed to different kinds of dangers from seemingly all sides including the militants, the military, the political administration, and at times even their own organizations. They face life threats, the danger of assault, abduction, and detention. They work without proper salaries and despite being exposed to so many dangers they do not have medical and life insurance”.¹⁶

Physical security is the backbone of society and is crucial to providing the base for developmental activities. Therefore, the State should ensure the protection of individuals from all sorts of threats so that they can turn their attention toward the other critical dimensions of life.

9 International Crisis Group. (2009). *Pakistan: Countering Militancy in FATA*. Islamabad/Brussels: International Crisis Group.

10 Ali, I. (2018). *Mainstreaming Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas: Reform Initiatives and Roadblocks*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace.

11 International Crisis Group. (2015). *Women, Violence and Conflict in Pakistan*. Brussels: International Crisis Group.

12 ICG, op. cit., 2009

13 Al Jazeera. (2019). *Pakistan's tribal areas: 'Neither faith nor union found'*. Al Jazeera Media Network.

14 Overseas Security Advisory Council, U.S. (2019). *Pakistan 2019 Crime & Safety Report: Peshawar*.

Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of State.

15 Ali, I., op. cit., 2018

16 Baig, S. (2012). *Reporting from the Frontlines*. Islamabad: Intermedia.

3.3 Economic Security

According to the International Crisis Group report;

“FATA was severely underdeveloped even before the rise of militancy due to government neglect, legal barriers, and structural impediments to investment and private enterprise. With no economic regulation or proper courts, a black economy has flourished, notably a pervasive arms and drugs trade. Violence is now contributing to poverty, with the lack of jobs making FATA’s residents vulnerable to militant recruitment”.¹⁷

There is widespread corruption in FATA. However, “the history of pursuing corruption cases in Pakistan is a chequered one mainly because of the repeated compromises struck between parties on account of political interference, the selective nature of the allegation, and political motivations behind many of the charges”.¹⁸

Unlike the fiscal federalism implemented in the four provinces of Pakistan, FATA is entirely “dependent on yearly grants from the Federal Government for development (capital) and current expenditures; they do not have a revenue base of their own”.¹⁹

Without the full and active participation and contribution of the women’s labor force in the economy, it is very difficult to fully harness the potential of the region. However, due to the deep-rooted patriarchy, women of tribal areas often “find themselves at a disadvantage in the male-dominated legal system. Jirgas in the tribal districts have been known to pass sentences such as ‘honor killings’ or the handing over the women as a form of property”.²⁰ Therefore, these issues need to be resolved by imparting the mass awareness of the modern laws and global rules and regulations which forms the benchmark of a humane, progressive society.

However, on a positive note, significant steps are also being taken by various stakeholders. For instance, the FATA Development Programme was commissioned by the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) from 2009 to 2015. The FATA Secretariat executed the programme. It has attempted to improve the “capacities of government actors and civil society groups for the provision of services, for self-help and for constructive mutual dialogue”. It is promoting both “good governance and sustainable poverty reduction as key themes of international cooperation”.²¹ Moreover, UNDP is helping Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in developing the merged tribal areas under the FATA Governance Project. It provided operational support in making distinct budgets for each merged district with the overall 2019-20 budget of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. It is “for the first time, the province’s budgeting process was consultative. It engaged more than 8 million people from both the population and government through workshops, polling and robocalls to assess their genuine needs and to monetize them for budgetary purposes”.²²

An effective “Public Financial Management (PFM) system functions as the nucleus of the government’s operations. It has the power to improve service delivery (i.e. healthcare, education, social protection, and infrastructure), strengthen transparency and due process (i.e. build trust and consensus between the government and its constituents), and facilitate economic growth (i.e. promote ease of business, provide access to financing and enable trade)”.²³

There are various researches that show high unemployment raises concerns about crime and violence in society. Because of the lack of employment opportunities, youth get easily manipulated by militants and terrorists for monetary incentives. As economic upliftment is the key to a stable and peaceful society, there is a need to generate employment in the tribal region for local inhabitants while State can gradually incentivize businesses from outside the region in harmony with cultural sensitivity.

3.4 Food Security

17 ICG, op. cit., 2009

18 The Nation. (2016, February 7). Corruption in FATA. *The Nation*.

19 UNDP Pakistan. (2015). *Pakistan: Climate Public Expenditure and Institutional Review (CPEIR)*. Retrieved February 2020, from UNDP Pakistan:

<https://www.undp.org/content/dam/pakistan/docs/Environment%20&%20Climate%20Change/UNDP%20Climate%20Report%20V9.pdf>

20 Al Jazeera. (2019). *Pakistan's tribal areas: 'Neither faith nor union found'*. Al Jazeera Media Network.

21 GIZ. (n.d.). *FATA Development Programme*. Retrieved February 2020, from GIZ: <https://www.giz.de/en/worldwide/18029.html>

22 UNDP. (2020). *Supporting the Financial Integration of the Merged Areas with Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province*. Retrieved from United Nations Development Program: <https://www.pk.undp.org/content/dam/pakistan/docs/Democratic%20Governance/PFM%20in%20KPMDs%202019.pdf>

23 Ibid.

According to the SDPI report, “the whole of the FATA region is food insecure and no agency qualified for even borderline food security”²⁴. The report further observed that “FATA has the highest level of food insecurity compared to other regions of the country. All development indicators are at their lowest in FATA. Livelihood opportunities are rare, while most of the social institutions are practically non-functional”²⁵. However, improvement has been observed since 2014. As per the report titled “Food Security and Livelihood Assessment of Returned Households Residing in FATA”, the 44 percent of the population was food insecure in 2014, which was reduced to 24 percent in 2017. Food insecure is termed when people do not have “access to or cannot afford food sufficient for their daily dietary and nutritional needs”²⁶. It has also been observed that “the rate of severe food insecurity declined from 5 percent to 1 percent” from 2014 to 2017. Despite the progress, it is to be noted that “food insecurity remains high in the former FATA agencies of Orakzai, North Waziristan and Mohmand” as per the UN World Food Program (WFP) Report.²⁷

In the context of widespread corruption, a senior journalist based in Peshawar states that “corruption has taken deep roots. It’s pervasive at all levels and is more so at the lower strata of society. Every person living in FATA has to pay formal and informal payments to the government’s functionaries or intermediaries even to get basic necessities in the area, and a hungry man thinks about nothing but food”²⁸.

It has been good for the tribal region that international agencies have been contributing to the development of FATA. The government of Japan has funded the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the United Nations to “empower the people, particularly the women, to restore their lives and livelihoods”, particularly in the Khurram and Khyber agencies of FATA. The project included activities like “quality seeds for Rabi and Kharif seasons, rehabilitation of fruit orchards and watercourses, the establishment of fruit nurseries, land reclamation, animal vaccination, and supplemental feeding for animals”. The project provided agricultural training, benefitting thousands of farmers, agricultural service providers, and line department staff of FATA.²⁹

Rasul and Hussain argue that “mountain food security cannot be achieved without secured livelihood options, and mountain livelihoods cannot be improved unless the productive resources, such as water, land, forest, rangeland, biodiversity, and the natural environment, are conserved and their access and optimal utilization ensured”³⁰. Therefore, they have suggested that “from the mountain perspective, it is necessary to take a holistic approach” by taking into account the “mountain specificities, including the ecological and environmental conditions and the challenges, needs, and opportunities for mountain communities”³¹.

Adequate food security in the tribal region is essential to ensure the proper nutrition for all the inhabitants in general and women and children in particular. It is the State’s responsibility to ensure food security in the tribal areas, thereby implementing the human security framework in true spirit.

3.5 Health Security

Health is one of the key criteria for assessing the well-being of people. Butt has argued that 7800 people in FATA “have only one doctor while 4200 people have one health care center”³². As per the established norms, each Basic Health Unit (BHU) should have one medical officer. However, as per the assessment report, “of the total 185 medical officers required at BHU Level in FATA, only 142 (75%) Medical officers are available in FATA”³³. The number of polio cases in the FATA has

24 Suleri, A. Q., & Haq, S. (2009). *Food Insecurity in Pakistan*. Islamabad: SDPI, SDC, WFP.

25 Ibid.

26 Pakistan Today. (2017, July 31). Food security situation improved in FATA since 2014: WFP. *Pakistan Today*.

27 USAID. (2018). *Pakistan: Complex Emergency*. USAID.

28 Iqbal, M. (2019, February). Retrieved from Global Integrity: https://www.globalintegrity.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/GIRNotebook2007_Pakistan.pdf

29 FAO. (2016, February 11). *11,000 FATA Families Assisted by FAO and JICA Since September 2015*.

Retrieved from Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations:

<http://www.fao.org/pakistan/news/detail-events/en/c/382774/>

30 Rasul, G., & Hussain, A. (2015). Sustainable Food Security in the Mountains of Pakistan: Towards a Policy Framework. *Ecology of Food and Nutrition*, 54(6), 625-643.

31 Ibid.

32 Butt, Q. (2015, August 13). FATA health care in sorry state. *The Express Tribune*.

33 Haq, Z. U. (2018, November 13). *Health Resource Availability and Mapping System (HeRAMS) in Health Facilities of FATA, Pakistan*. Retrieved from Humanitarian Response: https://www.humanitarianresponse.info/sites/www.humanitarianresponse.info/files/documents/files/final_report_fata_herams_13112018.pdf

increased. It has been observed that “many areas of the region remained inaccessible to polio teams due to security and other issues, and a large number of children could not be immunized”³⁴

As per various research findings, it has been established that “parents’ income and education have profound effects on their children’s health, which in turn affects the children’s education and achievement (and health in adulthood) and thus future income, if not counteracted”³⁵ The average child has been reported to “expect less than seven years of schooling, while healthcare facilities were almost non-existent”³⁶ JSI Project titled “KP/FATA Health Initiative” has observed that:

“cultural norms tend not to permit women and children to travel to health facilities for care or to receive health services from male practitioners. This is complicated by long distances needed to travel to health facilities, poor quality and availability of staff and services once there, inability to pay for services, and absence of comprehensive outreach services”³⁷

Internally displaced persons (IDPs) have faced the trauma of displacement. Nazia Mumtaz argues that people of FATA have been “victims of bomb blasts and many have been rendered amputees”³⁸ She has observed that “these shell-shocked people exhibit psychological symptoms of trauma and have compromised communication capabilities”³⁹ Therefore, she suggests that “many need medical treatment for affected hearing and others need rehabilitation therapy as early as possible to restore their quality of life”⁴⁰

The role of humanitarian organizations cannot be neglected for the improvement of the health sector. The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) has partnered with the Directorate of Health Services FATA to provide technical support for healthcare services. ICRC has been “supporting the emergency department at the Lady Reading Hospital in Peshawar and the Civil Hospital Jamrud, Khyber Agency, equipping them with the technical support for ensuring quality emergency care”⁴¹ (ICRC, 2018).

However, as per these above findings, it is evident that healthcare in tribal areas has not received the attention which it deserves. Healthcare facilities form a key indicator of the actual development of the region, thereby ensuring the good health of the people. Prioritizing healthcare facilities will help in developing and reinforcing the trust between the government and the tribal inhabitants of the region.

3.6 Environmental Security

Usually, the environment is not prioritized due to the lack of knowledge and priority about the implications of climate change. 2019 Human Development Report claims that “climate change will hurt human development in many ways beyond crop failures and natural disasters. Between 2030 and 2050 climate change is expected to cause an additional 250,000 deaths a year from malnutrition, malaria, diarrhea, and heat stress”⁴²

According to the Agriculture Policy Report of FATA, the northwestern tribal areas fall under the “arid and semi-arid zones with an average annual rainfall of 300mm” and the “prolonged droughts are common and over-exploitation of vegetation cover underpin the desertification phenomenon”⁴³ In addition to it, the water table level is low because of the low recharge in the catchment areas.⁴⁴

Regarding the environment of tribal areas, the FATA Environment cell observes that:

“The watersheds have been significantly degraded and in most cases reduced to bare rock. The result is that due to ecological changes, the soils have reduced water retention capacity, soil erosion has increased and the increased runoff is inflicting heavy damages on human life, property and village infrastructure. The ecological changes have also resulted in reduced

34 Butt, Q., op. cit., 2015

35 UNDP, op. cit., 2019

36 Al Jazeera. (2019). *Pakistan's tribal areas: 'Neither faith nor union found'*. Al Jazeera Media Network.

37 JSI. (n.d.). *Pakistan KP/FATA Health Initiative*. Retrieved January 2020, from

John Snow, Inc.: <https://www.jsi.com/project/pakistan-kp-fata-health-initiative/>

38 Mumtaz, N. (2018, February 20). FATA needs e-health rehabilitation. *The Friday Times*.

39 Ibid.

40 Ibid.

41 ICRC. (2018, May 25). *Supporting health care in FATA*. Retrieved from ICRC: <https://www.icrc.org/en/document/supporting-health-care-fata>

42 UNDP, op. cit., 2019

43 FATA Secretariat. (2015, May 14). *Agriculture Policy for FATA, 2016-2025*. Retrieved from Food and Agriculture Organization: <http://extwprlegs1.fao.org/docs/pdf/pak173416.pdf>

44 Ibid.

recharge to local and regional aquifers and drying up of many springs, streams, and perennial watercourses”.⁴⁵

A project titled “Water governance project in Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA): Environment Cell” was funded by the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC) in collaboration with Planning and Development Department (P&D), FATA and Ministry of Climate, Pakistan. It was a two-year project from 2015-2017. It helped in building “technical capacity-building of FATA Secretariat staff both at the agency level and the Line Directorate”. Moreover, the project has also “collaborated with the Pakistan Council for Research in Water Resources (PCRWR) to carry out a series of studies on water quality standards”.⁴⁶

It is essential for the relevant stakeholders to consider the environmental dimensions of the tribal areas so that effective policies can be formulated to ensure that the natural habitat of the tribal inhabitants does not get adversely affected in the developmental process.

4 The emergence of Pashtun Tahafuz Movement (PTM)

Twenty-fifth Amendment to the Constitution on 28 May 2018 paved the progressive path for the inhabitants of the region by merging FATA into Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) province. The merger is remarkable in the sense that for a long time, the Pakistan military did not support the idea of mainstreaming tribal regions through the extension of constitutional measures to FATA. It has been the case largely due to the “region’s importance in Pakistan’s regional security policy, which for all the right and wrong reasons, has benefited from FATA’s lawlessness- a direct result of nonexistent constitutional structures there”.⁴⁷

The Pakistan military has resorted to “indiscriminate force, economic blockades and appeasement deals is only helping the Taliban cause”.⁴⁸ In response, the Pashtun Tahafuz Movement (PTM) has emerged and is intensified by the Pashtun people for claiming their long due rights. Its emergence needs to be seen in the context of the lack of human rights in the tribal areas. Human security indicators have been dismal for decades, which have compelled Pashtuns to come out on the streets to demand their dignified space in the country. PTM has put immense pressure on the Pakistan military by criticizing it for its “heavy-handed approach in terms of dealing with ethnic Pashtuns living in Pakistan’s tribal areas”. PTM has received worldwide attention, thereby creating a “narrative that accuses the military’s heavy presence as a reason for the region’s ill-treatment”.⁴⁹ PTM demanded, the “clearance of landmines that often kill civilians, mostly children; the removal of security check-points; the release of all those held in extralegal detention by the security agencies; and the arrest of a police officer who allegedly killed a tribal youth”.⁵⁰ PTM has a broader significance for the people of the tribal areas, who have been neglected, marginalized, and alienated for a long time. The consciousness of the Pashtuns is on the rise, which is quite evident through the solidarity being observed through the large and peaceful gatherings.

5 Importance of Human Security Discourse in FATA

The erstwhile FATA has witnessed a lot of conflicts. Therefore, human security discourse can play a crucial role in resolving multiple issues as it challenges the traditional notion of national security, which is devoid of the necessary necessities of the inhabitants of the tribal areas. The traditional conception of national security could not address the grievances of the common people of the region.

As per the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA) Handbook⁵¹, the Human Security enshrines the following principles which are quite effective in post-conflict situations and recovery:

1. Human Security approach places “individual and communities at the center of analysis” and hence prioritizes “the local dimensions of the conflict, recovery, and sustainability”.
2. Human Security approach attempts to understand and resolve the conflict by “framing the designing of multi-sectoral strategies in an integrated manner”.

45 FATA Environment Cell. (n.d.). *PHASE 1: Water Governance in FATA Project Successfully Completed*. Retrieved February 2020, from FATA Environment Cell: <http://environmentcellfata.pk/project/>

46 Ibid.

47 Jamal, U. (2018, May 30). Understanding the Realpolitik Behind Pakistan’s FATA-KP Provincial Merger.

The Diplomat.

48 ICG, op. cit., 2009

49 Jamal, U. Op cit.

50 Khattak, D. (2018, February 24). Pakistan's 'FATA Spring'. *The Diplomat*.

51 United Nations. (2009). *Human Security in Theory and Practice*. New York: Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs.

3. Human Security approach prioritizes “comprehensive strategies that take into account the needs of different sectors and segments of the affected populations”.
4. Human Security approach strives toward peacebuilding by “identifying local capacities and resources as well as the framework for linking top-down and bottom-up approaches”.
5. Human Security approach ensured the “collaborative and participatory frameworks that can best manage diversity and ensure ownership and capacity-building at the local-beneficiary level”.

In essence, the Human Security approach is highly effective in post-conflict scenarios because of its significant principles like- people-centered, multi-sectoral, comprehensive, context-specific, and prevention-oriented.⁵² Post-merger period for FATA is an attempt to march towards the post-conflict phase and hence needs critical scrutiny of the efforts at all levels. Prioritizing the Human Security discourse will pave the way toward the prosperity of the tribal inhabitants and thereby transitioning towards peacebuilding and actual development in the region.

Governance reforms emphasizing the Human Security framework can play a significant role in creating conducive conditions in ensuring human security. Human security will pave the way for the sustainable development of the tribal areas, thereby reducing militancy in the region. Moreover, proper funding to the key sectors of human security would help in ending the marginalization and alienation of the Pashtuns in tribal areas. There is an urgent need to see FATA through the bottom-up approach so that attention could be paid to the tribal communities of the region. It would help in developing a sustainable model where inhabitants of FATA would be able to decide their developmental priorities. It can build trust among the residents of the region and the State officials, which is the key to success for any policy. The alienation and marginalization of the tribal communities for many decades need to be perceived through the lens of human security as it can prove to be the most viable solution.

6 Conclusions

All the crucial elements of human security including physical security, economic security, food security, health security, and environmental security were critically assessed, and it was found that there has been constant neglect by the successive governments. The traditional notion of 'national security' was prioritized by the State, which was devoid of the crucial elements of 'human security' in specific reference to erstwhile Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA). Dismal indicators of the tribal region clearly revealed that the actual development of the region was not prioritized for long. The emergence of PTM is also an indication of the constant neglect of the human rights of the tribal inhabitants of the region. The article suggests that the prioritization of human security in tribal areas would go a long way to bridge the trust deficit between the Pakistan Government and the common people of erstwhile FATA. It would create positive peace in the tribal areas, thereby creating a positive model to bring stability to the South Asian region.

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⁵² Ibid.

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