

North Waziristan



Cultivating coalitions

M. Payson

16 December 2009

Overview



1. Overview
2. Initiating dialogue
3. Managing complexity & risk
4. Taking action

Neighborhood



At a glance...

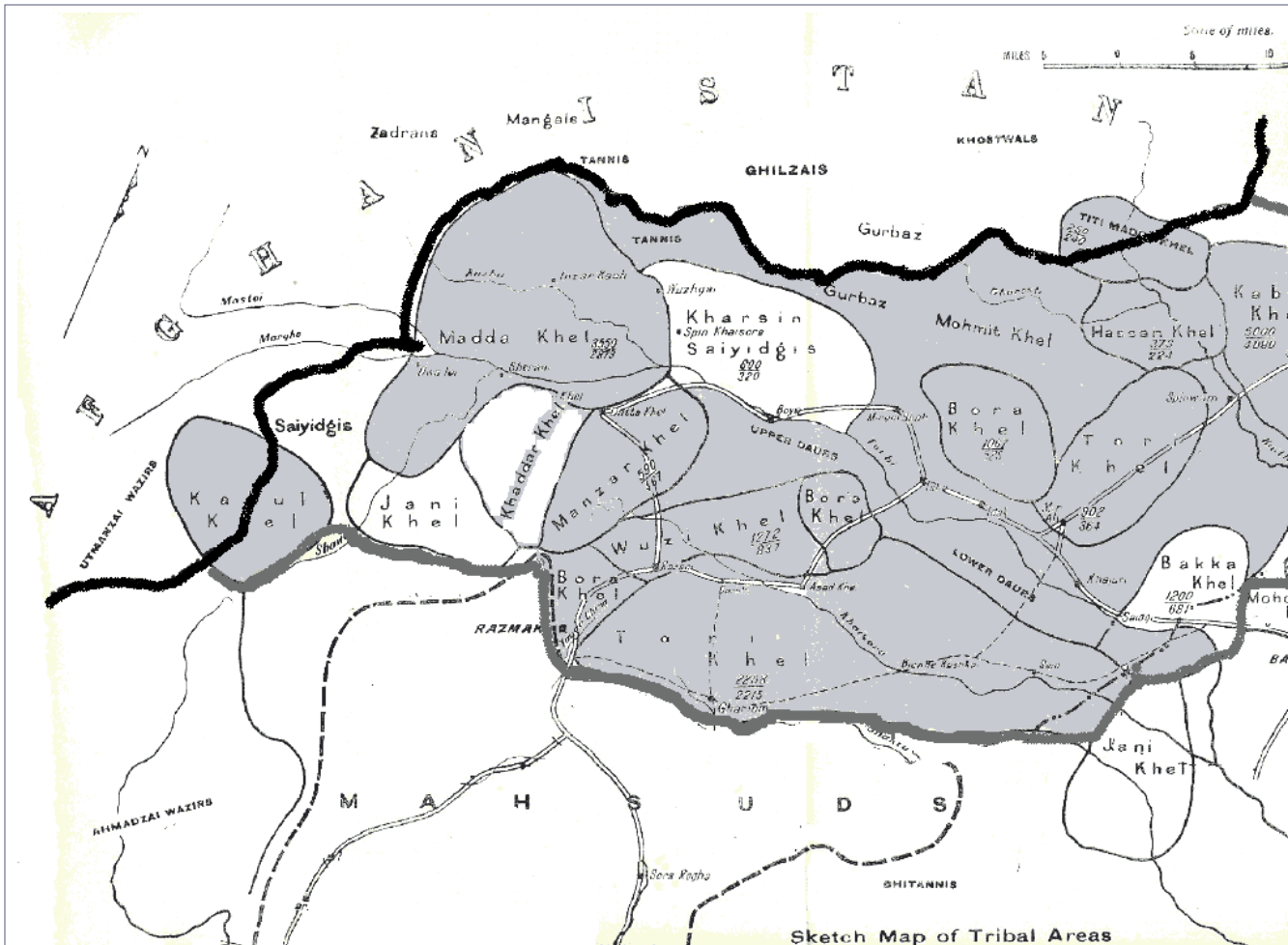
- Colonial-era governance
- Controversial reforms
- Weakened gov't, tribal leadership
- Unresolved border
- Negotiated accords
 - Waziristan Peace Accord
 - Military agreement (SWA)
 - Taliban leadership accord
- High stakes, strategic territory
- Pakistan Taliban
- Sanctuary for OBL, al Qaeda, Haqqani network, other foreign groups?
- Cross-border insurgency
- *Underdeveloped*
- *Chronic neglect*
- *Scant aid activity*

Research



Dialogue with indigenous power holders to establish leadership stances on development

- Explore interests, concerns, demands
- Probe positions on foreign assistance
- Catalyze discussion on workable options – from “inside out”
- Provide evidence basis for decision-making



Adapted from <http://www.khyber.org/images/maps/waziristan.gif>

Self-negotiated coalition

- Tribes:**
- Borakhel
 - Hassankhel
 - Kabulkhel
 - Lower Dawar
 - Maddakhel
 - Mameethkhel
 - Manzerkhel
 - Torikhel
 - Upper Dawar

**Tribal leaders, religious scholars
Taliban leaders?**

Why power-holders?



***Decisive say in
“if, when, how” development takes place***

- Influence public opinion
- Take, can uphold decisions
- Shape security, operating environment
- Potential change agents v. spoilers

Initiating dialogue



**“WE TRUST YOU, THAT’S WHY WE’RE
HERE.” *Religious scholar***



**Religious
leaders**

**Opening
statement**

1. We want peace at any cost... Stop attacks & then peace will come.
2. Religious & other education is necessary – our people are not even good in religious knowledge.
3. Collective thinking is important, if we all agree on agenda, nothing is impossible.
4. All is based on trust, we are trusting you, you must also trust us.

Maulvi Gul Ramazan



Tribal leaders

**Opening
statement**

Children's education is most important. Our people are intelligent but have no means of education.

If you're willing to admit a Waziri child into school, we'll offer one right now.

Tribal leader Qadir Khan

Summary findings



1. **Aid is needed – aid deficit is fueling suspicion & frustration**
2. **Partners are sought to address needs – local gov't, foreign, NGOs – not army**
3. **Apt delivery methods are essential – respecting Islam & indigenous culture – incorporating shared decision-making & management**
4. **Local investment & return should be maximized – corruption is major issue**



Aid

Our people have nothing, everybody is desperate.

Tribal leader

We need education, water, health care, roads, flood protection...

Religious scholar

We just need education, people are backward due to lack of education.

Tribal leader

Without education,
there will always be fighting...

Religious scholar



Aid deficit

We are fed up that budgets are always announced – but on ground, nothing.

Religious scholar

They have taken money in our name, but we have been given nothing.

Tribal leader

UN & US are pressuring Pakistan to do several things – why don't they pressure gov't to do some constructive work?

Religious scholar



Partners –
local gov't

It is our national duty to involve the gov't.
But corruption must be checked.

Religious scholar

Funds must come through the PA.

Tribal leader

Involve the PA. Otherwise, he will create a
mess, block the whole process.

Tribal leader

I met with the PA to ask about [program]
funds. Hafiz Gul Bahadur agreed.

Religious scholar



Partners –
foreign

We welcome foreign assistance! But nothing must go against Islam.

Religious scholar

We invite it, we *need* it! But our traditions must be respected.

Tribal leader

If Taliban & *mullahs* know funding is directly from US, they will not agree.

Tribal leader

There is agreement to discuss development with an American. I invite you to our place...

Religious scholar



Partners –
NGO

We don't understand what an NGO is, but we know it's bad...

Tribal leader

“We will never allow NGOs to function here,” said the [Taliban] statement.

The News newspaper

NGOs are not a bad thing, they are a good thing... A *madrassa* is an NGO.

Religious scholar



Partners – not Army

The pamphlet claimed that both the army & NGOs wanted to create disturbance in the region in the name of development activities.

Dawn newspaper

Media is very weak in our area. We specifically mentioned army, not NGOs.

Religious scholar

One Army officer used to arrange 'project trade agreements'... Don't talk to army.

Tribal leader

There's a clause in the agreement that uplift won't be brought by the army, but political forces are okay.

Religious scholar



Apt delivery methods

Don't defame our religion.

Tribal leader

Don't mess with our religion.

Religious scholar

If someone is coming, they should
learn our ways.

Religious scholar

We are negotiating people.

Tribal leader

All is done by discussion.

Tribal leader



Apt delivery methods

There should be divided responsibility, with donor, leaders & *maliks* of village, people, PA.

Religious scholar

Jirga is full answer.

Tribal leader

With a group, everyone is watching. In this way, everybody is accountable, well-known...

Religious scholar

Women & Youth

Women should not travel around.

Tribal leader

We are against this.

Religious scholar

What would they contribute?

Tribal leader

Youth are not responsible.

Religious scholar

They don't know anything.

Tribal leader

Leader	Age ±
Chief of Waziristan Nasrullah	25
Pakistan Taliban <i>Hafiz</i> Gul Bahadur	35
Afghanistan Taliban Sirajuddin Haqqani	32
Member, National Assembly Kamran Khan	25

If a murderer of many in a big city runs to North Waziristan & asks for shelter, we will give it to him, that's our tradition.

Religious scholar

Nothing can be taken by force, just negotiation. We won't yield sheltered people. If honored, we will do anything.

Tribal leader



Drones

Drones are creating the biggest problem.
Stop this, we want dialogue.

Tribal leader

If you speak softly with us, we will be soft
with you, if you are hard with us, we will
be hard with you.

Religious scholar

There is strong hatred...

Tribal leader

Foreigners never kept their words. We
don't hate you, we feel betrayed.

Tribal leader



Local
investment &
return

The tender system means selling tenders.
Tribal leader

First, look to own village, own tribe. If no one is of right quality, then look to another tribe.

Tribal leader

Criteria: Past experience, reputation, piety, whether he keeps promises, will of the people...

Tribal leader

You can insist on a foreign contractor [from outside North Waziristan], but we won't accept responsibility.

Tribal leader

Managing complexity & risk



Considering key issues



- **Exclusion**
 - **Inclusion**
 - **Misuse**
 - **Security**
 - **Inaction**
- Dawar, maulana, even our enemy can get assistance if they have genuine need.*
- Tribal leader*
- In South Waziristan, one group would say don't support another group. In North, we don't have these kinds of problems...
- Religious scholar*



Misuse

Misuse is everything on paper, nothing on ground.

Tribal leader

It is misuse if lots of shares are taken, the project is sold, quality of materials is bad.

Religious scholar

We think the PA is stopping projects to get more money. We have no access to anyone to ask if this is true.

Tribal leader

We are strictly saying you people should monitor, see, supervise!

Religious scholar



Inaction

Maulana asked if this was same old dialogue.

Tribal leader

I just wish & hope you people are serious, that it won't be talk with no results.

Religious scholar

My people are losing faith...

Tribal leader

Taking action



**“PEOPLE ARE LOSING CONFIDENCE... WE
NEED ACTION & RESULTS!”**

Tribal leader

Cultivating coalitions



- **Respond to leadership appeals for assistance**
 - **Create enabling environment for collaborative action**
1. Improve understanding
 2. Build confidence & unity
 3. Pursue durable local investment

Improve understanding

1. Improve communication, broaden current dialogue
 - Meet with tribal & religious leaders
 - Engage local gov't, civil society, influentials
2. Demystify / adapt aid architecture, mechanisms, procedures

Evidence shows diverse leadership groups highlighting development as acceptable track forward

Build confidence & unity

3. Negotiate transparent partnership framework, shaped to context
4. Launch demonstration project based on accord & leverage existing funding

Waziristan

Development Accord

- Shared principles
- Clear roles, responsibilities
- Mutually agreed practices
- Consequences for violation
- Institutional frame
 - FATA Sustainable Development Plan
 - Pakistan procurement regulations
 - Locally generated / endorsed indicators, targets, benchmarks

Build confidence & unity

5. Design programming around existing capability

- Local knowledge
- Communication, negotiation skills
- Ability to motivate, mobilize constituents
- Grasp of complex customary practices

6. Manage equitable access across social, economic, political, other fault lines

Pursue durable local investment

7. Recruit, incubate indigenous workforce
8. Cultivate, contract with indigenous institutions to deliver programming services
 - Tribal associations, religious seminaries, representative groups

9. Provide business development training & technical assistance to local firms

Everyone has needs. No one can exist on his own, without cooperation or support.

Religious scholar

...no one nation can meet the challenges of an interconnected world acting alone...

President Barak Obama