UN KHYBER PAKHTUNKHW
MERGED DISTRICTS SUPPORT PROGRAMME

QUALITATIVE RESEARCH FINDINGS
LOCAL GRIEVANCES AND COMPLAINT
REGISTRATION MECHANISMS

May – June 2019

Verso Consulting Pvt. Ltd
General Findings

The UNRCO team has undertaken a research exercise to inform the back-end structure of the programme’s Grievance Redress Mechanism. The qualitative enquiry has been conducted in a selection of 15 tehsils/sub-divisions across 5 NMDs (Khyber, Kurram, Orakzai, North Waziristan, and South Waziristan) with three tehsils selected per district. Through 30 focus group discussions (15 male and 15 female) and 30 key informant interviews the research team has investigated the following: a) status of mobility for different target groups; b) patterns of vulnerability and exclusion; c) access to social and economic services; d) various types of grievances; e) channels of registering complaints; and f) perceptions of the forthcoming transition in rule of law.

The research found that mobility is generally problematic for a majority of the population due to lack of transport facilities and fuel service points, however mobility for women is disproportionately restricted across 4 of 5 districts (Khyber being the exception). Additionally in areas with active sectarian conflict (Orakzai and Kurram) mobility is severely restricted for religious minorities and women. While most respondents reported monthly household income under PKR 15,000/- and high poverty remains an excluding factor, exclusion from social and public participation is also a function of gender, disability, and age. Similarly, in access to services, schools, hospitals, rural and remote populations are disproportionately excluded. Local health centers/ BHUs are mostly unreliable in terms of service capacity – those who can afford the travel expense rely on health centers in the district headquarters or travel to big cities. Excessive misuse of BHU centers as personal “hujras” was also reported. In North and South Waziristan, the local owners, posing a problem for out of district female teachers, who cannot use part of the facility as their residence, as has been practice, used schools as guesthouses. Schools (primary, secondary, and high school) are under-equipped and under-attended by teachers and students alike, with students mostly facing access issues.

Agriculture-based livelihoods in the NMDs have experienced two major shocks – military operations and war (in the medium term) and severe winter due to excessive snowfall (in the short-term). Additionally, returning populations have not yet managed to recover from the large-scale destruction and conduct repairs to homes, with agricultural land having become barren. The most urgent issues, and sources of grievance, reported relate to electricity and water (both irrigation and drinking) across districts. An oft-cited issue within literature, is elite capture of communal schemes, e.g. WASH. This research did not find major instances of elite capture over communal water sources, piped water is not reaching homes, and respondents were unaware of government or NGO run WASH schemes. Rural populations are excluded from most employment opportunities and women are almost entirely excluded. The lack of electricity has become a major source of agitation in some districts (Kurram, Khyber, and SWA) – however in a unique finding woman in Khyber have been actively staging demonstrations to protest the unavailability of electricity against the DC office by blocking roads.
A significant finding for the KPMD Support Programme is that the NMD population is mostly unaware of their right to complain and need orientation through the programme. The Army has established complaint lines; however, they are not really used much. While most respondents admitted they were not entirely satisfied with the system or performance of local jirgas, approaching local jirgas (both at the clan and tribe level) for resolution of complaints remains the preferred channel. The reasons are expediency, tradition, and the informality of the process – but mainly because the system is responsive. Certain political representatives are beginning to gain recognition on account of being accessible to the public and taking time to meet people (elaborated in the section on district findings). Respondents were deeply dissatisfied in their interactions with DC offices, and complained of nepotism, corruption, inaccessibility, and the time-consuming process of taking complaints to an unresponsive office. In addition, approaching the electronic media to raise complaints is also increasing as a preferred channel, however this applies exclusively to print and TV (radio and social media as complaint rotes were not mentioned). Finally, a prevailing perception of instability in the area remains significant for the local population. The lack of progress on the political and rule of law reforms has created fear and uncertainty, where the research found a general resistance to the ideas of the police and formal court system.

**Key Messages:**

1. The experience of basic services is quite different based on geography. Mobility and access severely restricted for those in Tribal Territories.
2. Those in designated Tribal Territories do have the experience of lodging complaint directly with the government. Those in protected territories given their different experience and expectations also access the local administration directly for complaints.
3. Most service delivery issues do end up at formal channels i.e. government or military.
4. People are eager to contact the State, they recognise the political administration and the military as part of the State. MNAs are also seen as bridge to the formal State. Most service delivery complaints are routed through these channels. During the research, it was discovered the PM Complaints portal was also accessed for lodging grievances.
5. Social Protection emerged as a demand specifically as pensions and disability benefit.
6. Men and women from these five districts take their complaints to any/all possible channels. This may be counterproductive for a formal GRM aimed at collecting, resolving, referring complaints, without a streamlined collection and resolution mechanism for different types of complaints.
7. It will be necessary to build and maintain a separate identity of the grievance redress mechanism to facilitate recall and recognition and promote the image and build the reputation of the GRM as an effective, efficient andlistening system focused on the public and their needs, demonstrating the desire of the programme stakeholders to support citizens while also demonstrating the effectiveness and efficiencies of its systems.
Overall, there is a need to build trust in the programme and consequently, the UN, the development partners and the Government. This trust will build positive equity both amongst the citizens, whether directly benefitting from the programme or appreciating the concern enough to provide a complete loop of listening and responding to issues. This report has highlighted key decision points for the management to enable working further on design and modules of the mechanism.
DISTRICT SOUTH WAZIRISTAN

Focus Group Profiles Disaggregated by Gender and Tehsil/Subdivision

MALE:

FGD PROFILE: SWA-M-01
- Tehsil: Wana
- Tribe: Wazir & SulemanKhel/Damtonrri & Mughal khel
- Subtribes: Khojal khel, Tujiye khel, Zali khel, Mughal khel, Damtonrri
- Income level: Middle
- Source of income: Government employees, Agriculture, retail.
- Religion: Sunni Muslims
- Rural (50% youth)

FGD PROFILE: SWA-M-02
- Tehsil: Ladha
- Tribe: Mehsood & Burki(Warmarr)
- Subtribes: Nazar khel, langar khel, Wazirgi, Burki, Ishangi
- Income level: 5 poor, 3 middle
- Source of income: Retail, daily wages, government employee, farmer.
- Religion: Sunni Muslims
- Rural (30% youth)

FGD PROFILE: SWA-M-03
- Tehsil: Shakai/Sarwekai
- Tribe: Wazir
- Subtribes: Shodyaki, malakshi, khonye khel, Mughal khel
- Income level: 2 poor, 6 middle
- Income Source: Retail shop, agriculture, leadership (malak)
- Religion: Sunni muslims
- Rural (20% youth)

FEMALE:

FGD PROFILE: SWA-F-01
- Tehsil: Wana/Doab
- Tribe: Wazir
- Subtribes: Karmaz khel, Aada khel, Kare khel.
- Income level: 1 poor, 6 middle, 3 high.
- Rural (70% youth)
- Income source: Transport, business, remittance, agriculture.
- Religion: Sunni Muslims

FGD PROFILE: SWA-F-02
- Tehsil: Sararogha/Sarwekai
- Tribe: Mehsud
- Subtribes: Gudi khel, Giga khel, Bahder khel, Nazar khel, Shaman khel, Burki, Band khel, Ishangi.
- Income level: 10 poor, 2 middle.
- Source of income: 10 daily wages, 2 employees.
- Religion: Sunni Muslims
- Rural (20% youth)

FGD PROFILE: SWA-F-03
- Tehsil: Wana/Dabkot
- Tribe: Wazir
- Subtribes: Kabir Khel, Gangikhel, Bodarkhel, Bari Khel
- Income level: 2 poor, 4 middle level, 1 well off
- Source of income: remittance, government employees, shop, agriculture
- Religion: Sunni Muslims
- Rural (20% youth)
Key Findings from South Waziristan

Overall the expression of grievances in both SWA and NWA was aggressive in comparison with other districts among the NMDs. Participants expressed a strong sense of alienation and deprivation vis-à-vis their relationship with the state as citizens, frustrations with the limited avenues available to them to protest, and exhaustion of all formal and informal channels available to their community without a satisfactory response from the authorities. While people spoke openly about their grievances and the processes through which they have attempted to raise issues, there was a general reluctance to speak in political terms about specific actors such as the PTM. However, views on the perceived corruption of state actors were not censored and duly recorded.

“The lack of roads, health facilities, education, etc. are the things which make me feel doubtful about my nationality, if it were not for my NIC. This feeling exists because of the criminal negligence and alienation, which are facing from the government authorities. Regarding different problems, we have written more than hundreds of applications to the AC and DC of the region but all in vain.”

Female respondents across Wana tehsil cited the most urgent problems as the lack of infrastructure, lack of proper education and health facilities. Within the structures of available schools there are no real education facilities. A secondary issue that came up repeatedly was the lack of markets and a decline in the number of available shops since the military operations. All across the NMDs the issue of stalled reconstruction and rehabilitation of commercial centers and the associated impact on local livelihoods was raised in various forms.

Both male and female respondents spoke of hardships due to recent weather patterns where heavy rains along with hailstorms have destroyed crops as well as inflicted damage to the houses. “As you know that most of the houses here are made of mud they are very vulnerable so they get damaged during the rainy seasons. All those who cannot make seasonal migration are generally poor people.” As agriculture-based incomes suffer, restrictions on movement in and out of the district make seasonal migration for labour difficult as well. Across the NMDs, at least one FGD in every district included an instance of respondents narrating that their general reliance on remittances for basic needs has increased.

Male respondents from Sarwekai reported considerable issues in mobility and connectivity as major problems: “We have frequent curfew here. Mobile service is still closed here and we are facing many problems here. One single SIM costs us 1600 rupees to buy here and even that cannot be found here but in Peshawar and Islamabad.” A growing crisis relates to the lack of fuel in the area: “We bring timber from forest and we do not have gas and we burn this wood as fuel. Our forests are destroyed and we are compelled to make cautious use of wood as fuel, which is very costly now.”
The poor state of health and education facilities has lead to drastic changes in service-seeking behaviour as well. “The girl’s school has been targeted several time through bomb blasts and last time was completely demolished by the attackers. There is a school but no teachers there. Due to which the girls leave the school and take admission in Madrassa.” Responses suggest Madrassa patronage has increased due to an absence of functional facilities leading to unsafe environments for children. “In Madrassas they give hard punishment to children - they tied up their hands and legs then beat them with pipes. All our children in Madrassas become ill. They also punish children if the children cannot collect enough bread (wazifa) from houses.” This issue of child abuse and child protection from Wana was raised by women, however as they depend on the male members of their households to carry the complaints to formal channels, the female participants reported being unsatisfied with the attitudes of the male members of their families.

Female respondents were particularly skeptical of the role played by all state and community actors in the treatment of their complaints and the dominant perception of corruption and rent-seeking behaviour was supported through many examples. One of these relates to the administration of social protection/cash transfer modalities: “The Benazir Income Support Program available here in Wana. The people receive that money in Wana. There is another government scheme through which people receive 2500 rupees per month but their office is at a distance at Mawle Khan Saroy. The officials give such money to the shopkeeper who has a shop in Wana Bazar and then people receive that money from these shops. We are forced to pay the official some money before receiving the amount. We pay the shopkeeper 200 rupees, if we have to receive 2000 rupees.”

In one case a female respondent spoke of ‘corruption’ across key state actors, which she believes prevents complaints from being properly registered and moved along to the right authority in the following terms: “I personally went to the political agent and reported our issues to him. We have submitted our applications to the assistants of the political agent. Our process is we first complain to the village’s Malik sahib about our issues then he reports that to the local government representatives but that is never reported forward because they all are united on one page i.e.-e of corruption.”

Male respondents cited similar experiences: “When my father died (he was an employee in agriculture department) I had to get a death certificate for him. We were asked to pay three thousand rupees directly to the Tehsildar. We agreed. But later on the demand rose to fifty thousand rupees.”

In general complaints regarding social services and facilities such as schools, hospitals, and roads etc. have been lodged with Tehsildar but with no real response. However, many respondents were satisfied in the way they were received and treated by the Tehsildar in Wana and Sarwekai. There is however a general awareness of how political networks operate in favor of influential actors, due to which participants claimed they are reluctant to bother with a formal complaint. These networks – between the Malakan and the district administration – are
perceived to work in favor of certain groups and not for the general community, particularly if the complaint is against the Malakan. There is also a great deal of suspicion directed towards local community members perceived as “collaborators”:

• “Whatever happens here is directed towards favored people. UN project and other community projects are exploited by a few people. People favorable army and intelligence agencies are called – locally – as Samserah [lizards]. They work as agents of the security forces, intelligence agencies etc. these people usually manipulate all of the development opportunity.”

• We have lodged a complaint with army about the broken bridge – we proposed that half of the fund would be arranged by the community, while we demanded that half of the fund should be given by army. But the Colonel simply excused us by saying that it is not the Army’s domain – and suggested that we should contact MNA for this purpose. I had written a complaint to Army officers. The Colonel then called the locals and he rebuked our people for complaining. “

• “Those who have BHUs and schools near their homes are either Malakan or agents. Means, only Malakan and the agents of security forces get BHUs and schools in their property. There was no forum to lodge complaints but now people share such things on social media.”

• “Usually schools are controlled by Maliks and common people have no say in its affairs. A local school in our village is controlled by Malik and I have no power and chance to complaint about it. All the salaries and facilities are given to him by the Maliks and he is not obliged to us. If we complain then it may turn into enmity.”
Types of Grievance and Complaints:

Complaints- SWA

- Land Disputes
- NRM
- Eco Opportunity
- Service Delivery
- Security

- 17.64
- 5.88
- 11.76
- 47.05
- 11.76
# Types of Complaints and Channels of Registering Complaints by Tehsil/Subdivision:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SOUTH WAZIRISTAN DISTRICT</th>
<th>Complaints about</th>
<th>Complained To</th>
<th>SubDivision / Tehsil</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rehabilitation program</td>
<td>TehsilDar</td>
<td>Sarwekai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual Address on CNIC</td>
<td>NADRA</td>
<td>Sarwekai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School admission</td>
<td>Army</td>
<td>Sarwekai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rehabilitation of the destroyed schools, bridges, and markets</td>
<td>Army</td>
<td>Sarwekai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land disputes</td>
<td>Local Administration Office</td>
<td>Wana</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment &amp; social services</td>
<td>Local Administration Office</td>
<td>Wana</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social services</td>
<td>Army</td>
<td>Wana</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Services</td>
<td>Army</td>
<td>Wana</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security</td>
<td>FC Camp</td>
<td>Wana</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security</td>
<td>FC Camp</td>
<td>Wana</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture water channels and pesticides</td>
<td>MNA Facilitation Centre</td>
<td>Wana Doag</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absence of staff from local BHU</td>
<td>District Health Officer</td>
<td>Wana Doag</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
DISTRICT NORTH WAZIRISTAN

Focus Group Profiles Disaggregated by Gender and Tehsil/Subdivision

MALE:

FGD PROFILE: NWA-M-01
- Tehsil: Razmak
- Tribe: Wazir
- Subtribes: kashmir khel, daleel khel, shogi, peela khel.
- Income level: 3 poor, 5 middle
- Income Source: Retail shop, government employee, remittance, agriculture.
- Religion: Sunni muslims
- Rural (40% youth)

FGD PROFILE: NWA-M-02
- Tehsil: Miran Shah
- Tribe: Wazir
- Subtribe: Data khel
- Income level: 2 poor, 6 middle.
- Income source: Government employees, retail shop, agriculture.
- Religion: Sunni Muslims
- Rural (50% youth)

FGD PROFILE: NWA-M-03
- Tehsil: Mir Ali
- Tribe: Dawarr
- Subtribes: Khaddi, Zeeraki, Hakeem khel
- Income Level: 4 poor, 2 middle, 2 Influential (20% youth)
- Income source: daily wages, NGO employees, retail shop, remittance and agriculture.
- Religion: Sunni Muslims

FEMALE:

FGD PROFILE: NWA-F-01
- Tehsil: Razmak
- Tribe: Humzuni
- Income level: 8 poor
- Rural (25% youth)
- Religion: Sunni Muslims
- IDPs in both Camp and Host Family

FGD PROFILE: NWA-F-02
- Tehsil: Miranshah
- Tribe: Wazir
- Subtribes: Mada Khel, Manzar Khel, Khader Khel
- Income level: 8 poor.
- Religion: Sunni Muslims
- Rural (40% youth)

FGD PROFILE: NWA-F-03
- Tehsil: Mir Ali
- Tribe: Dawarr
- Subtribes: Khaddi, Zeeraki, Hakeem khel
- Income Level: 4 poor, 2 middle, 2 Influential [or local elite]
- Income source: daily wages, NGO employees, retail shop, remittance and agriculture.
- Religion: Sunni Muslims
- Rural (50% youth)
Key Findings from North Waziristan

Overall the expression of grievances in both SWA and NWA was aggressive in comparison with other districts among the NMDs. Participants expressed a strong sense of alienation and deprivation vis-à-vis their relationship with the state as citizens, frustrations with the limited avenues available to them to protest, and exhaustion of all formal and informal channels available to their community without a satisfactory response from the authorities. While people spoke openly about their grievances and the processes through which they have attempted to raise issues, there was a general reluctance to speak in political terms about specific actors such as the PTM. However, views on the perceived corruption of state actors were not censored and duly recorded.

Female respondents in NWA were particularly reluctant to speak. In one case the female FGD in Razmak was interrupted by individuals considered TTP sympathizers and the FGD was relocated – however the quality of confidence in responses among female respondents was markedly different in NWA.

From a complaint channel perspective, an interesting finding relates to the modality and role of jirgas. In NWA and SWA, the jirags have been proportionately more critical to the resolution of disputes and the fulcrum for state/community interaction. However the official jirags are as expensive endeavor as described by a male respondent: “Locally we have to pay a huge amount of money to Jirga members. The least amount paid to a Jirga member is forty thousand. We have paid money but still our case is pending because after the merger our case will go to court which is not there at present. We do not have any system at present. Our official Jirga asks for money and even non-official Jirgas demand money. The administration often troubles people so much that in the end everyone has to bow to their demands and procedure. The fact is that basic human rights are not here. FCR and our system blocked such rights.”

There was significant discussion in NWA FGDs on the process of surveying damage post the military operations and the addressing the issue of compensation. The issue of compensation was raised most notably in NWA and Orakzai districts as a grievance (as opposed to a general complaint):

- “In case of any damages as a result of a natural disaster, the political administration conducts a survey for identifying damaged houses, then they make a list of nature of losses with intention of paying compensation, but most of the time only the influential people of the area get compensation. The poor don’t have access to these kinds of surveys and to the government too, so they usually don’t get any compensation.”
- “The last time the Army came to assess the damages, they announced that locals need to submit their CNIC along with details of their damage but the problem was that the Army visited in winter where there was no population due to seasonal migration.”
• “The NGOs would be told that there are security issues and they need security while implementing their projects – which would be given only by army. Moreover, without NOC from the security forces none of the intervention is possible. These securitization and NOC system is for ensuring the share of army in all kinds of development projects. So only those NGOs can intervene who accept terms and share of army. The NOC provided by the security agencies in Peshawar is based on the report of GOC. The GOC actually recommends NOC.”

• “Regarding the process and complaint I would like to mention example of the same compensation program in Mirali. The locals had to pay [in bribery] for getting their own checks. Even for lodge complaint one had to bribe the official of local administration.”

The enquiry into lodging complaints brings up the role of checkpoints in the NWA. As reported by male respondents from Miranshah and Mirali, a check post controls every village. These check posts are manned by 20-25 soldiers led by an officer – a captain or a major. Check posts have complaint boxes and a phone number displayed as well, however the process of making a complaint is not anonymous and the local population are generally fearful of being perceived as collaborators by their communities:

• “GOC and army is also a forum where people take their complaints – in many of the case the GOC is relevant and also respond to peoples’ complaints. But the Check Posts (CPs) are really trouble-makers – CPs never put forward the complaints, one has to approach GOC in personal for getting response to complaints.”

• “It is obligatory to mention our names and address in the complaint otherwise complaint will not be entertained. Actually this is the main point of our reluctance that complaints would not be entertained without mentioning complainant name. How we can complaint against the operationalization of military in the area while mentioning our names – they will take it as direct confrontation with them. Army will definitely arrest such person. Besides, we cannot lodge complaints against local influential – it will either disturb the communal system or invite disputes.”

Finally livelihoods in NWA are significantly impacted by the destruction of Miranshah and Mirali bazaars, that have served as a major source of employment for the local population. Before the military operation trade with Afghanistan was the main source of income for the people of Miranshah where the Bazaar was an inclusive force: “Everyone could find easy livelihood opportunity due the border trade with Afghanistan. But that had been vanished due to the military operation and closure of the border with Afghanistan.”

In addition to the trade disruption, the effects of bazaar demolition, meted out as collective punishment under the FCR are a major source of grievance for the local population who have still not been compensated and economic activity has not resumed proportionately. On the current state of reconstruction respondents narrated the following:
• During the military operation more than 8000 shops were destroyed and now when the war is over, the government has built only 1344 shops. They have established a market named as "Pakistan Market". Even the demolition of the Miranshah bazar took the employment and businesses of more than half of the population in Miranshah.

• “According to the allotment policy we have to claim our property in the Bazar. The shops built by the government are less than a quarter of the whole number of shops before demolishing it. That’s why the locals have formulated a strategy according to which locals claimed compensation for the land along with shops, because for instance if I had 20 shops in the previous Bazar while only 4 shops have been built by the government on the same size of the land – the government used the rest of the land for roads, streets and footpaths. Even the army has accepted our claim and acknowledged the data/claim in court. Now we have registered our claims, it is almost 7500 claims. Now they say that this data is very huge and they can’t agree to it.”
Types of Grievance and Complaints:

Types of Complaints and Channels of Registering Complaints by Tehsil/Subdivision:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Complaints about</th>
<th>Complained To</th>
<th>SubDivision / Tehsil</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Land Disputes</td>
<td>Teshildar</td>
<td>Miranshah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water Disputes</td>
<td>Tehsildar</td>
<td>Miranshah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security</td>
<td>Army</td>
<td>Miranshah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mobility</td>
<td>Army</td>
<td>Miranshah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rehabilitation &amp; Reconstruction program</td>
<td>Tehsildar</td>
<td>Razmak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violation of ban on woodcutting</td>
<td>Assistant Commissioner</td>
<td>Razmak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rehabilitation &amp; Reconstruction program</td>
<td>Tehsildar</td>
<td>Mirali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Issue</td>
<td>Official</td>
<td>Contact</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tribes dispute over <em>Shamilaat/Community undivided land</em></td>
<td>Assistant Commissioner Mirali</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irregularities in TDP's funds</td>
<td>Pakistan Citizen Portal-A mobile App (an integrated citizens grievance redressal system)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
DISTRICT ORAKZAI

Focus Group Profiles Disaggregated by Gender and Tehsil/Subdivision

MALE:

FGD PROFILE: ORK-M-01
• Tehsil: Upper Orakzai
• Subtribes: Meshti khel, Sheikhan; Esa Khel
• Income level: lower middle
• Religion: Sunni Muslim
• Rural (70% youth)
• Source of income: daily wages labourers

FGD PROFILE: ORK-M-02
• Tehsil: Central Orakzai
• Subtribes: Meshti khel, Sheikhan; Esa Khel
• Income level: middle / educated
• Religion: Sunni Muslim
• Source of income: NGO workers/ salaried employees.
• Rural (90% youth)

FGD PROFILE: ORK-M-03
• Tehsil: Lower Orakzai (Kalaya)
• Khels: Feroz Khel, Mani Khel, Toori Khel (Shia), Sepoi, Utmankhel
• Income: Lower middle
• Rural and Displaced (50% youth)
• Religion: Sunni and Shia Muslims

FEMALE:

FGD PROFILE: ORK-F-01
• Tehsil: Upper Orakzai
• Subtribes: MamozaI, Ali khel
• Income level: lower middle
• Religion: Sunni Muslim
• Displaced (40% youth)

FGD PROFILE: ORK-F-02
• Tehsil: Central Orakzai
• Subtribes: Meshti khel, Sheikhan; Esa Khel
• Income level: poor
• Religion: Sunni Muslim
• Displaced group and rural periphery (60% youth)

FGD PROFILE: ORK-F-03
• Tehsil: Lower Orakzai (Kalaya)
• Subtribes: Mani Khel - Stori Khel - Bahramand Khel
• Income level: Marginalized - Low income community
• Religion: Shia Muslims
• Rural (50% youth) / No formal education/
• Shia Muslim
• Participants had disabled family members
Key Findings from Orakzai

Orakzai district is an area where state presence has historically been minimal and the local disputes and complaints are normally raised on and resolved through informal channels. The public orientation on their right to complain is also very low.

Non-availability of clean water is a major issue for female respondents across all three tehsils, as is the scarcity of fuel and electricity: “There isn’t any gas available here and making fire for cooking or doing anything else requires a great effort. Electricity also isn’t properly available here and its always dim which never fulfills our needs such as washing or pressing the clothes”.

State assistance has also not reached people of this area in the form of co-ordination protection schemes – and people are aware of cash transfer programmes such as BISP benefitting vulnerable communities in other parts of the NMDs. “The biggest problem is that we’ve never been provided with even a penny in the form of aid from the government. That is why we have a very difficult life here. Even the Benazir Income Support Program, which has benefited a huge number of people all over the country, almost no one among us has benefited from it.”

The political representative (Tehsildar) for Lower Orakzai sits in Kalaya Bazar. The journey costs almost 300 rupees via public transport from villages to the Bazaar which makes the process of complaint registration expensive. Kalaya itself has some school and hospital facilities, however remote areas at some distance from Kalaya have “no school, hospital or even roads. We are living in a vulnerable condition. Our village is about five kilometers from here in which we walk on foot for almost three kilometers. We took our patients on shoulders. Transportation is almost negligible.”

There is a general sense of neglect on behalf of both male and female respondents, who expressed reluctance to engage with political representatives, as political parties have not yet made an effort to cultivate community trust in Orakzai. “We should approach our MNA because he is responsible for this area but we don’t. A few days back when Imran Khan (PM) came to our area, he did not announce any scheme for the uplift of this region. He simply said this time the financial situation is very critical so he cannot offer anything. In other words, I cannot do anything this term but if came into power for another term then I will be able to do something.”

While there is a sectarian divide in Lower Orakzai, respondents in a mixed Sunni and Shia FGD were unified in their common grievances regarding health and social service facilities: “First of all we need male and female doctors in the hospital. We need medicine; we need water and we also need roads. As far as facilities are concerned, the first priority is hospital. This will be very useful for the entire region, irrespective of who is Sunni and who is Shia. We are all humans but the people in power don’t think us so.” Collectively both Sunni and Shia (male) respondents identified Shias in Central Orakzai as a particularly marginalized and vulnerable group deprived of access to basic services.
You can think about the condition of the third gender. They can’t get a job so in many ways they are disturbing the social norms. They are affecting the overall environment of the society. They are dancing in front of people because they don’t have anything else to do.

The issue of elite capture on health facilities was raised yet again by some of the more informed respondents: “I have visited almost seventy BHUs in Central Orakzai. I saw a BHU, which was built for a Malik only and it is not accessible to other people. It was situated on top where only one home was there. A room was sued a guest room while there was no staff. In Central Kali BHUs have staff from other area too. People there are aware of it and apply for jobs when there is a vacant post.”

With respect to complaint channels groups from Orakzai continue to prefer raising complaints through the Jirga system – social norms continue to dictate the practice of raising issues through elders who will take it to a jirgas, from where the Jirga will decide on approaching a formal institutional channel. Therefore the pathway to complaint registration in Orakzai district is generally more hierarchical:

• “We go to Maliks and seek Jarga. When there is a conflict about life and land, people assemble on Friday and elders sit together. Sometime homes are burnt and people expelled.”
• “All conflicts were tried to be resolved on Friday. We had good system of Jarga led by Maliks.”
• “Our elders at village covey such matters to MNA and PA. When it is collective matter. There are elders in each village and common people do not approach PA or MNA. There are specific areas and a committee is formed comprising of such members from each region. This group forms a tribal national Jarga.”
• “Jarga is the easiest method and all people cannot access DC who is not ready to give us time.”
### Types of Grievance and Complaints:

![Orakzai Diagram](image-url)

### Types of Complaints and Channels of Registering Complaints by Tehsil/Subdivision:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ORAKZAI DISTRICT</th>
<th>Complaints about</th>
<th>Complained To</th>
<th>SubDivision / Tehsil</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>School fees</td>
<td>School Management Committee</td>
<td>Lower Orakzai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NGO targeting: came wrote names but nothing happened</td>
<td>Army</td>
<td>Lower Orakzai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Help with disability support</td>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Lower Orakzai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Natural Resources Disputes</td>
<td>Quami Jargah at mashti mela</td>
<td>Central Orakzai</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
DISTRCT KHYBER

Focus Group Profiles Disaggregated by Gender and Tehsil/Subdivision

MALE:

FGD PROFILE: KHY-M-01
- Tehsil: Bara
- Tribes: Barkambarkhel – Malakdinkhel - Qambarkhel – Shalobar – Seha – Afridi from Bara and Tirah valleys
- Income level: Upper middle income group - educated
- Religion: Sunni Muslim
- Urban (50% youth)
- Source of income: Journalists (Bara Press Club)

FGD PROFILE: KHY-M-02
- Tehsil: Jamrud
- Tribes: Kukikhel - Mulagori
- Income level: middle / educated
- Religion: Sunni Muslim
- Source of income: Farmers/Traders/ Religious affairs (Mullahs)
- Rural (80% youth)

FGD PROFILE: KHY-M-03
- Tehsil: Landi Kotal
- Tribe: Shinwari
- Income: High income / well educated
- Urban (90% youth)
- Religion: Sunni Muslims
- Source of income: Businessmen, traders, Political workers, Social activists

FEMALE:

FGD PROFILE: KHY-F-01
- Tehsil: Bara
- Tribes: Kambarkhel – Sepah – Malakdinkhel - Shalobar – Afridi
- Income level: mostly poor background
- Religion: Sunni Muslim
- Militancy-affected and Displaced/ Rural periphery (30% youth)

FGD PROFILE: KHY-F-02
- Tehsil: Jamrud
- Tribes: Kukikhel - Afridi
- Income level: poor / uneducated
- Religion: Sunni Muslim
- Rural periphery (40% youth)
- Some women have disabled persons in family

FGD PROFILE: KHY-F-03
- Tehsil: Upper Landi Kotal
- Tribe: Mian Khel of Landi Kotal area; Torikhel
- Income: Poor
- Rural periphery (40% youth)
- Religion: Sunni Muslims
- 60% widows
Respondents said that mobility is restricted and dangerous after sunset. While there is no immediate threat from militants, people remain afraid of “forces in the region”. A specific reference was made to former militants having joined “Ghaibi Neka” (ghost grandfather – the euphemism is used for agencies). Only in cases of emergency are women with male protectors allowed to move after sunset, as an informal curfew still prevails. During militancy women were not allowed to move without strict veil and cover which continues in Qamarkhel (where women fetch water whilst veiled). Participants suggested that Bara bazaar remains demolished and the government is not helping the people. There is also a prevalent perception that cross-border trade has shifted from Bara to Jamrud. On average it may cost upto 100 PKR to reach Bara from nearby villages but finding public transport is troublesome. It may cost from PKR500-1500 from more distant villages.

The local economy and livelihoods in Bara and Jamrud have suffered greatly due to major disruptions to the Bara Bazaar. Most respondents credited the military operations as the most disruptive event and complained that the Bazaar has not recovered or received the benefit of reconstruction. These complaints included descriptions of disruption to small industry and factory employment as well. Interestingly some respondents referred to those involved in illicit trade/smuggling as a vulnerable group due to the disruption of informal trade networks with Afghanistan. In general vulnerability is associated with unemployment. Participants also cited military and anti-polio campaigns as sources of sustainable employment.

The Bara Bazaar remains important, not only as the cornerstone of local political economy, but also due to the fact that as an access point it served most sections of Bara society and was an inclusive force. The lack of transportation and geographic distance from the Bara Bazaar cause exclusion of peripheral communities, however this is not the primary concern at the moment due to the current state of economic activity in the Bazaar – the real issue is that the population of Bara has generally become marginalized as trade networks and privileged businesses have migrated to other tehsils within the district or to Peshawar.

Sikhs are a religious minority and despite being socially excluded are not considered vulnerable because they are an economically and politically powerful group

SMEDA announced grants as a scheme to support and rehabilitate local businesses, however the process is long and tedious and there was no knowledge regarding any loans that have been awarded. In some villages UNICEF has granted some support with thirty thousand rupees for shops but there is a perception that this does not reach the more “deserving” beneficiaries.

In Bara a large number of schools are reported as damaged/destroyed – the numbers quoted ranged from 46 to 135. In addition severe lack of electricity (upto 20 hours a day) also affects other social services, particularly health. Services for x-
rays and ultrasounds are rare and the lack of power makes them almost entirely dysfunctional.

Bara dam for irrigation and drinking purposes serves the local community, however clean water remains a problem for 50% of the people. Women fetch water on their heads normally from homes that have tube wells. The latest method is to hire an auto rickshaw to fetch water – however collecting water is a coordinated process due to the electricity problem. A small proportion of people have access to solar powered tube wells.

There are no skill centers or similar opportunities for women – the Chamber of commerce ran a program a few years ago when IDPs were returning. The FDMA established a few temporary centers in Bara that trained women for six months.

Unlike other districts most of the FGD participants in Khyber were aware of the merger and also that the future includes extension of courts into the newly merged districts.

For complaint registration three different patterns of preferences emerge across the three tehsils: In Bara the most preferred route is the MNA; in Landi Kotal the political administration – specifically the DC office; and in Jamrud both male and female respondents cited preferring protests because that method has had an impact.

Regarding the experience with the MNA respondents from Bara tehsil said the following:

• “We go to MNA who resolve our problem. There were Maliks in the past but now our MNA is working to resolve most of our problems. He is ready to listen to us, has opened his office and is ready to receive anyone.”
• Female respondents said: “We ask about female education. We need schools first and job opportunities to be provided to women. We have common problems of schools and hospitals and we believe that our problems cannot be resolved unless we complain about it. Only MNA is now here to listen to us. PA and army cannot resolve our problems but can only maintain law and order.”
• “Our MNA has office in Bara and most of our people approach him and give written application. Iqbal Afridi is our MNA. Before this MNA there was no such tradition. He has displayed telephone number too. Now most of the people approach MNA”.

Women from Jamrud have adopted a practice of active protest, which is unique in the NMDs. Primarily the protests have been triggered by the lack of electricity, police brutality, and issues related to health services at main hospitals. Increasingly the women are using rights-based vernacular to articulate their demands:

• “We just go outside and block the road. We did that a few days back and closed Tedi Bazaar to protest against power failure”.
• “Our experience is that complaint can bring us no good but by blocking the road we can resolve our problems. A few years ago there were firing and
women went outside and arrested Tehsildar and bound him with our head wear. There was constant firing and Zahir Shah refused to stop it. We protested and when he sent a secretary, we arrested him and firing was stopped for five years. A few days earlier our men registered an application to control Zahir Shah but Tehsildar failed to do so.”

In Landi Kotal the process of constituting a Jarga is the preferred complaint registration and resolution channel, however in this case the complaint goes through the political administration as opposed to the process in Orakzai for instance. The alternative method is to approach the DC office:

- “For Official Jarga, we request the local Tehsildar who would nominate two members for the Jarga. When these members start Jarga for you, you have to pay them a fee - whatever they demand. Without payment they would not hold Jarga for you.”
- “If there is a dispute then we seek help from Deputy Commissioner. This was not a system few months ago but now we have deputy commissioner sitting in Peshawar. One of my friends went to him yesterday day and he resolved the issue.”
Types of Grievance and Complaints:

### Complaints- Khyber

Types of Complaints and Channels of Registering Complaints by Tehsil/Subdivision:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>KHYBER DISTRICT</th>
<th>Complaints about</th>
<th>Complained To</th>
<th>SubDivision / Tehsil</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Husband (soldier) pension and incentives issue after</td>
<td>Army</td>
<td>Landikotal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Help for disabled</td>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Landikotal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Land Dispute</td>
<td>Army</td>
<td>Bara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Water Scheme</td>
<td>MNA</td>
<td>Bara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>School</td>
<td>MNA</td>
<td>Bara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hospital</td>
<td>MNA</td>
<td>Bara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Help for disabled child</td>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Bara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Claims of land against a subtribe</td>
<td>Jarga</td>
<td>Bara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Protection Wall</td>
<td>MNA</td>
<td>Bara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Issue</td>
<td>Responsible Party</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water Schemes</td>
<td>MNA</td>
<td>Bara</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pavements</td>
<td>MNA</td>
<td>Bara</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanitation</td>
<td>MNA</td>
<td>Bara</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School</td>
<td>MNA</td>
<td>Bara</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospital</td>
<td>MNA</td>
<td>Bara</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quality of items provided</td>
<td>FAO Head office</td>
<td>Bara</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity</td>
<td>MNA</td>
<td>Bara</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water</td>
<td>MNA</td>
<td>Bara</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Road</td>
<td>MNA</td>
<td>Bara</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff asked to buy extra medicine which they kept for their own use</td>
<td>Hospital Administration</td>
<td>Bara</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asked for mithai money after child birth</td>
<td>Hospital Administration</td>
<td>Bara</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity</td>
<td>Protests</td>
<td>Jamrud</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO related complaints</td>
<td>Protests</td>
<td>Jamrud</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrests by APA</td>
<td>Protests</td>
<td>Jamrud</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
DISTRICT KURRAM

Focus Group Profiles Disaggregated by Gender and Tehsil/Subdivision

MALE:

FGD PROFILE: KRM-M-01
- Tehsil: Upper Kurram
- Tribes: Tori, Mengal, Moqbal
- Income level: Poor
- Source of income: daily wages, labourers
- Religion: Shia and Sunni Muslims
- Displaced in war on terror (30% youth)
- Sectarianism affected

FGD PROFILE: KRM-M-02
- Tehsil: Central Kurram (Sadda)
- Tribes: Ali-Sherzi – Masozi - Chamkani
- Income level: Higher income bracket / educated
- Source of income: Salaried and business class. Son of local Malik participated.
- Religion: Shia and Sunni Muslims
- Urban - Rural from mountainous regions (70% youth)

FGD PROFILE: KRM-M-03
- Tehsil: Lower Kurram / Alizai
- Tribes: Watizai, Bangash, Khoedadkhel
- Income level: Poor
- Income Source: mostly daily wages labourers, harvest
- Religion: Sunni muslims
- Rural (60% youth)

FEMALE:

FGD PROFILE: KRM-F-01
- Tehsil: Upper Kurram
- Tribes: Tori, Mengal, Moqbal
- Income level: Poor, lower middle
- Source of income: Farming/ harvest, daily wages labour (male)
- Religion: Shia and Sunni Muslim
- 20% youth

FGD PROFILE: KRM-F-02
- Tehsil: Central Kurram (Sadda)
- Tribes: Bangash – Masuzai - Chamkani
- Income level: Poor working women / housewives
- Source of income: Daily wages, shops, agriculture.
- Religion: Shia and Sunni Muslims
- Very young married women.

FGD PROFILE: KRM-F-03
- Tehsil: Lower Kurram / Alizai
- Tribe: Watizai, Bangash, Khoedadkhel
- Income level: Poor
- Income Source: mostly daily wages and fields
- Religion: Sunni muslims
- Rural (50% youth)
Key Findings from Kurram

The dynamics of Upper Kurram are somewhat distinct (from Central and Lower Kurram), even within which there is variation across the protected areas of Parachinar and the situation from the rural periphery living in the mountainous areas. Parachinar’s status as a garrison town on the Afghanistan-Pakistan border results in limited access to a geographically isolated urban and rural population connected to the rest of the region through one major thoroughfare, which has been the center of several conflicts. Parachinar is more developed – therefor privileged and perceived as such - in comparison with the rest of the district and for the local population the political administration has been the key conduit of raising complaints. However for marginalized groups and rural population, geographic isolation means that even where there is a commonly understood docking point for all complaints, raising the complaint requires a significant investment in terms of travel costs.

The female participants of the FGD from Upper Kurram belonged to low income communities from remote mountainous areas. Most had never been as far as Peshawar – travels are largely restricted to Parachinar, Kohat, or Sadda for the purposes of CNIC registration, health facilities, and weddings/marriages. The main issues cited by the participants concerned the lack of roads, employment opportunities, health, and education facilities. None of the women had the experience of raising complaints on their own, and had relied in all cases on male members of the family: “Women don’t go to Political Agent to register complaints. Only men go.” Most complaints described were group complaints related to the lack of social protection (no BISP outreach) and the lack of social services. Vulnerable groups described as orphans, widows, and female-headed households rely on community and family charity and remittances from family members that migrate seasonally for work to cities outside of the NMDs (Peshawar and Rawalpindi were cited). There was very little knowledge or understanding among this group of the merger.

Male respondents from Upper Kurram included those who had been displaced due to both military operations and sectarian violence. The sectarian divide between Sunnis and Shias has lead to a gradual segregation of the population and displacement has sustained this segregation: “The only issue we have in Parachinar is that Sunnis cannot go and live there. The Sunni houses and shops in Parachinar are on rent with the Shias. And vice versa in Sadda, the Shia community has left Sadda and their houses and shops are on rent with Sunnis. Most of our land and businesses were in Parachinar but now we can go to resume our harvest or shops”.

The lack of roads and transport to access health facilities is an extreme issue for these communities. Several respondents – both male and female – described instances of taking a patient to a health facility which involved 3-4 kilometers of walking to access the nearest transport.
In both Central and Lower Kurram participants described a range of urgent issues: “One major issue is heavy load shedding. Light is out for hours and hours. Poverty is another big issue, unemployment is also one of our main problems. Roads are at their worst conditions, transport is a major problem, medical and health services are poor. Access to NADRA and CNIC registration is another tough job as we don’t have any NADRA office in the area.”

Male participants in Central and Lower Kurram were aware that several “NGOs” had operations in the area. Those named as such include: FAO, ZMK, FDPGC, UNICEF and some local NGOs. Overall responses suggest no animosity towards NGO operations and a generally positive view of their work. However there remains some concern that local influential Malaks may threaten NGOs with false complaints in order to negotiate a better deal for themselves with respect to resource distribution as beneficiaries.

Male participants from across all three tehsils – Upper, Central and Lower Kurram – described similar patterns of engagement with the authorities in raising complaints and receiving unsatisfactory responses. In Upper Kurram most had only approached the political administration – while in Central and Lower Kurram avenues such as the MNA office, DC office, and the Army were also explored. In one case a land dispute had also resulted in protest. There is little evidence of any avenues leading to complaint resolution, however the political economy of relationships with gatekeepers is illustrated through the following narrations:

• “Every village has its own committee, which constitutes the local Jirga. We approach the relevant institutions through those committees. At the time when FATA had not been merged, we had written a letter to about a water issue to the Colonel of the Army, because we believed the issue was under his jurisdiction. That is why we approached him but our application was turned down”.

• “We try to solve land disputes locally through our elders. If there is no resolution, then we go for Jarga. Jargas are active in resolving all issues of this area. If the Jarga fails then we go to tehsildar or political administration. When we take an issue to the political administration they ask us to resolve our issue locally and if you fail to resolve then come to us”.

• “There are six Malaks in our area. We try to resolve our issues through these Malaks. If they fail to resolve any issue then we have to go to the political agent. Actually we rarely go to political agent or any government office for resolving our issues. It is we the community who resolve issues among ourselves. We don’t have even telephone or mobile phone services to help in putting a complaint.”

• “I had an issue with the bank. A person gave me a bogus cheque for which I complained to Malaks against that person. The Malaks couldn’t resolve the issue as they were unaware of the banking laws. Then the Malaks decided to take the issue to the bank with us where our issue got resolved. “

• “We are scared if we complain, the official with whom we register our complaint may turn against us. This has happened many times. The officers

29
told the doctors, teachers and Malaks that that man/men have registered complaint against you. So this became a huge problem of us.

FGD participants emphasized the necessity for anonymity in complaint registration as well as female staff: “there should be a specific person or office where we can go and upon whom we could trust that the office or person will act upon our complaints without disclosing our identity. “

“There should a complaint cell where both male and female officers should sit. Females in our area have no way to complain as they are bound with tribal traditions. If there is a female complaint officer then our women can also go to register complaints.” Female FGD participants also indicated that if there were women police stations and they had access to female officers they would make use of the opportunity.

The content of the discussions suggests locals in Upper Kurram have had little to no reaction to the merger – in comparison with Central and Lower Kurram where discussions (with male respondents) reflected some knowledge of, or reference to, the merger. Perceptions of income groups are unique and localized across the NMDs “Some families can easily earn their livelihood and do not do daily wages labour so one can put them in middle class in comparison of this district and not the middle class of Islamabad.” Middle class was defined as those families who can easily procure their food and other essentials. This does not imply that middle class will have spare cash to own a car, send children to better schools or afford better health facilities. Another observation was noted in regard to “well off” people as those who have been able to leave their native area for ‘a good life’ and move to big cities like Kohat, Peshawar or Islamabad.

**Types of Grievance and Complaints:**

![Types of Grievance and Complaints Diagram](chart.png)
### Types of Complaints and Channels of Registering Complaints by Tehsil/Subdivision:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Complaints about</th>
<th>Complained To</th>
<th>SubDivision / Tehsil</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Raise the level of reporting the grievance irrespective of issue</td>
<td>Political Administration</td>
<td>Upper Kurram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intertribal disputes</td>
<td>Political Administration</td>
<td>Upper Kurram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Issues related to militancy</td>
<td>Political Administration</td>
<td>Upper Kurram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For construction of roads</td>
<td>Political Administration</td>
<td>Upper Kurram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schools and hospitals</td>
<td>Political Administration</td>
<td>Upper Kurram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrests</td>
<td>Army</td>
<td>Lower Kurram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrests</td>
<td>Political Administration</td>
<td>Lower Kurram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security</td>
<td>Army</td>
<td>Lower Kurram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If complaint against person from another tribe</td>
<td>Political Administration</td>
<td>Lower Kurram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development Issues</td>
<td>MNA</td>
<td>Lower Kurram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BISP issues</td>
<td>NADRA</td>
<td>Lower Kurram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CNIC Issues</td>
<td>NADRA</td>
<td>Lower Kurram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity</td>
<td>MNA (raised through qaumi)</td>
<td>Central Kurram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jargah)</td>
<td>Land Dispute</td>
<td>DC Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land Dispute-sub tribe</td>
<td>Protest</td>
<td>Central Kurram</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>