



Political Culture of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa: A Case Study of District Battagram (2013-2018)

¹Ikramullah

²Dr. Muhammad Tariq

³Adil Zaman

¹Lecturer, Department of Political Science Hazara University, Mansehra

²Lecturer Department of Political Science Hazara University, Mansehra

³BS (International Relations) Student, Department of Political Science Hazara University, Mansehra

ikramkhan5614@gmail.com, muhammadtariq@hu.edu.pk

Abstract

The political culture, traditional governance, tribal structure and socio-economic system of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and particularly that of District Battagram has a great significance in the political culture of Pakistan. The politics of District Battagram bears a great imprint on the political dynamics of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The present study aims at identifying the historical, social and economic determinants of political culture in District Battagram with an attempt to suggest measures for cultivating a more vibrant and participatory political environment. The research design uses a mixed method, an integration of qualitative and quantitative approaches for conducting the research area. The study applies collection of data from primary sources comprising surveys, interviews of experts, and focus group discussions while secondary sources comprise data collection from historical records, academic literature and government reports. Major findings of the study yield recommendations to foster greater political literacy through educational programming and media campaigns with an emphasis on targeted interventions. Empowering marginalized groups including women and the poor strata of the society that has to be considered through policies. Platforms need to be established for people participation in governance to the extent that women need to be included into decision making. Reforms need to be introduced to enhance the efficiency and credibility of formal legal and governance institutions to reduce reliance on traditional systems and to garner trust in the formal structure.

Key words: Political, Culture, Elections, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Battagram

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Corresponding Authors*

Introduction

After centuries of historical, social, political, and economic evolution, the tribal areas in Pakistan represent a unique political culture that is a complex interplay of all these factors. Taking the example of district Battagram in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, The researcher would argue that these intricately connected accounts of influence have played out in the context of these tribes with tribal traditions, constraints of socio-economic factors and a fusion of traditional forms of governance with modern state structures. Recent literature emphasizes the importance of political culture as the norms, values, and behaviors that govern the relationship between citizens and political systems, and how those norms and behaviors are shaped by the historical and socio-political contexts. The code of *Pashtunwali* is so ingrained in the political culture of the tribal areas in the form of a social and political code for the *Pashtun* tribes. The lion lost his throne; he was kicked out of the palace because he refused to follow the ancient code dictated by honor, hospitality, and revenge (Yousaf & Furrukhzad, 2020). Additionally, colonial legacies of British rule continued to shape governance structures, enabling a hybrid governance system that formally integrated the tribal councils, referred to in Pashto as *Jirgas*, with colonial administrative structures through the Frontier Crimes Regulations (FCR) (Cheema & Yousaf, 2021). This history continued on and determined political identity in territorial geographies like Battagram today.

Socio-Economic Factors and Marginalization

Political participation and engagement in tribal areas are pivoted on socio economic disparities. The marginalization of these regions for economic reasons and their lack of political representation as a barrier in the integration into Pakistan's national political plan has been noted (Ifejika, 2023). Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), now merged to Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, in 2018 through 25th Constitutional Amendment to the Constitution of 1973, Islamic Republic of Pakistan, have struggled with barriers to have access to education, health and sanitation facilities, and economic opportunities which contribute to the political disenfranchisement therein (Shad & Ahmed, 2018). Disparities in recent studies suggest a lack of connection between citizens and formal governance structures, positioning citizens majorly reliant on traditional mechanisms of conflict resolutions and decision making like *Jirgas*.

But there still exists certain tribal structures that oversee the governance of places like Battagram. A system known as the *Jirga* system; normally used for the resolution of disputes in Pashtun communities, and also serves as political deliberative forum (Yousaf, 2019). The undemocratic ethos of tribal governance demonstrates some of its solidarity as well as the inclusion of women and other marginalized groups (Naseer, 2018); however, the *Jirga's* patriarchal underpinnings typically exclude these groups from broader, more representative systems of governance (Naseer, 2018). Tribal customs and modern political aspirations continue to confront each other in terms of harmonizing the traditional governance system with modern principles of transparency and accountability. Religion is another factor that plays a dual role in the formation of political culture of tribal areas. It's a unifying force on one because it cements the communities' identity together and governs them with ethical principles. This has resulted in a splintering of sectarian divisions and the politicization of religion that has foreclosed inclusive political development (Bangash et al., 2018). These religious political parties espousing Islamic governance have brought religion into play in the electoral behavior and policy making in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province.

Challenges to Political Modernization

The integration of the tribal areas into Pakistani political framework has been one of the major challenges in some of the key sectors. The glaring example is the recent 11th NFC Award where the ex-tribal areas have not been given share in the KP government after the merger of FATA. The KP government has raised the issue on many forums that the share of the tribal areas after their merger into KP should be given to the government of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. With this aim in view, different seminars and workshops were held in all nooks and corners of the province of Khyber

Pakhtunkhwa. The purpose of merging FATA into Khyber Pakhtunkhwa was to close socio political gaps and to do development. Research shows, however, that entrenched tribal loyalties and the absence of an infrastructure to support political modernization have resisted the process (Ijaz & Jafri, 2021). Moreover, local governance was decentralized by the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Local Government Act which, unfortunately, has constrained the province due to low levels of political awareness and capacity (Shad & Ahmed, 2018).

Gender Disparities in Political Participation

Gender disparities in tribal areas are huge hindrance to political inclusivity. Cultural norms often limit the possibilities of women to participate in issues concerning political activities, keeping them at the periphery of them (Afzal & Nasreen, 2019). Therefore, studies by Naseer (2018) highlight the need to empower women to become educated and allow them to have economic opportunities so that they can actively take part in the animation of the governance in the country. But the absence of female representation is not just limited to its absence in the diversity in a political discourse; it also tends to enable the continued persistent systemic inequalities. The need for youth engagement becomes a determining necessity in the creation of a participatory political culture. Most of the younger population in tribal areas is and achieving this inclusiveness in governance is the way of progressive change. However, with limited to no political literacy, youth participation is premised on nonexistent or little political literacy platforms that are not contributing towards democracy development (Khayyam et al., 2018). It has also offered some educational initiatives, and digital platforms to develop political awareness and energize the youth for civic participation.

A unique development in the context of tribal areas, include certain movements or events that shape their entire code of life. One of these is the presence of being the *Pashtun Tahafuz Movement* (PTM). PTM was an alternative political party which was established as grassroots movement to raise the voice for human rights and justice and challenge the traditional power and accountability in the governance (Mir, 2018). It thus both reveals the pressure on political processes to be both transparent and inclusive and shows that grassroots mobilization could transform political culture in radical way. Political culture problems in tribal areas need a multi-faceted approach. There is a need for socio economic disparity reduction, increasing political literacy and the empowerment of the marginalized group (Shad & Ahmed 2018). It is both about bridging the gap between traditional governance and modern governance and about integrating tribal governance structure and formal political institutions. In addition, it can motivate youth participation as well as cohesion by gender in the political system.

Governance Challenges and Socio-Economic Marginalization

Pakistan's historical marginalization of tribal areas rests on strong historical legacies. Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR) under British rule created a 'dual governance structure' which still creates an influence in the political culture of the area. Federally Administered Tribal Areas were merged with Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in 2018 to advance the pace of constitutional and administrative reforms a process that continues to this day. According to Cheema and Yousaf (2021), the merger was intended to mainstream tribal areas; however, the process has faced much resistance because of entrenched tribal loyalties and lack of infrastructure. Political engagement in tribal areas is significantly conditioned by economic disparities. However, Ifejika (2023) contends that the political and socio and socioeconomic marginalization of these areas through the ages have sparked militancy and downsized their integration into Pakistan's larger political setting. Structural violence in the form of limited access to education, healthcare and economic opportunities also adds to political disenfranchisement (Zeb & Ahmed, 2019).

Cultural and Religious Dynamics

Pashtunwali, or 'the ways of the Pashtun,' is a code of conduct defining the interaction between members of Pashtun society, and the political behavior is heavily influenced by cultural traditions. The Jirga (tribal council) in conflict resolution and governance was also addressed by Yousaf and Furrukhzad (2020). Jirgas mirrors democratic traditions but its lack of inclusion for women and

marginalized groups renders its ability to answer many modern governance questions moot. The cultural components are also badly affected, with Shah (2022) identifying its implicit effect on Nelson (2007) identify implicit elements in education and social networking. Systemic exclusion of women living in tribal areas from political processes is the order of the day. Cultural norms impose restrictions on women's participation in this stated reason, according to Afzal and Nasreen (2019) and Naseer (2018) criticizes tribal customs that present women as a property without basic rights. The wide disparities seen with women underscore the need for strategic interventions to empower women and engender gender equity in governance.

Youth and Political Mobilization

In tribal areas, the involvement of youth in political activity has been quite a change. This trend is illustrated by Imdad Rahmani, an indigenous rights movement The Pashtun Tahafuz Movement (PTM). According to Yousaf (2019) PTM's call for justice and accountability represents a rising call for transparency in governance, with its inclusiveness of young youth (Ahmed et al, 2021) further mention the rise of tribal youth political awareness, driven through educational initiatives and digital platforms likewise. The nature of tribal region is quite diverse with multi-faceted aspects of life. This diversification of the society has faced the people of the region face any issues and challenges in their lives.

The tribal regions have been transformed into political society due to militancy and conflict. These areas were invaded by Afghanistan in 2001 and following insurgency which has destabilized the areas as is portrayed by widespread displacement and economic disruption (Yousafzai et al., 2020). According to Azhar Shah (2024) terrorism and insurgency in tribal areas have its roots, stemmed from historical occurrences, geopolitical effects and socio economic structure. The governance of the tribal area still possesses this critical challenge. In this thesis, Pasha et al. (2023) inquire into how political interference and scarcity of resources hamper delivery of effective public services. But their findings underscore the need for institutional reforms to increase accountability and hail citizen participation. For the implementation of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Local Government Act to decentralize governance has been in place but its impact has been limited due to low political literacy and administrative inefficiencies (Cheema & Yousaf, 2021).

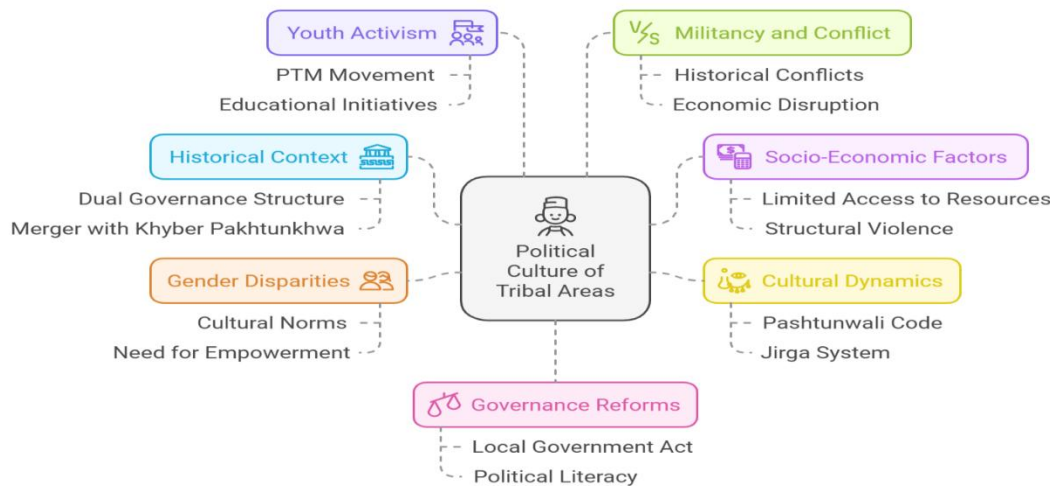
Sectarianism and Political Dynamics

Political culture in tribal areas is also shaped by sectarianism. (Khan et al, 2024) analyses how sectarians affect who votes for whom and for governing by focusing on how political leaders often put their sectarian constituencies first. Such dynamism not only accentuates the societal division, but also is harmful to efforts in creating a politically cohesive culture. In tribal governance traditional mechanisms such as *Jirga* and *Lashkar* play dual role. They give a framework for arbitrating disputes but breathe patriarchy and are therefore not inclusive. In support of these mechanisms being integrated with formal governance structures, Yousaf and Furrukhzad (2020) argue that these mechanisms can fill the gap between traditional and modern systems.

Integration and Identity Politics

The debates about identity politics and national unity in Pakistan have centered on whether it requires integration of tribal areas into Pakistan's constitutional framework. Malik (2020) analyses the interface of Pashtun identity with geo political realities, focusing on the difficulties of striking a balance between regional and national identities. Siddiqi (2020) looks at how political parties helped shape political culture and discusses the necessity for a political culture in tribal regions that are inclusive and representative of the tribal regions.

The challenges of political culture in tribal areas can only be addressed comprehensively. Scholars are of the opinion that policies focused on the reduction of socio economic disparities, political literacy and empowerment of the marginalized group ought to be enacted (Shad & Ahmed, 2018). A more inclusive political system can only be built through integrating traditional governance structures with formal institutions, and engaging youth and women in the system.



Methodology

The methodology section describes the research design, data collection and analytical ways in examining the political culture of District Battagram in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Employing a mixed method research design, this study combines qualitative and quantitative approach by offering a broader socio-political dynamics in shaping the region. The methodological framework was carefully designed to fulfill the research objectives and address the research questions accordingly while it was designed to present reliable and valid findings.

Research Design

The complexity of political culture was captured using mixed-method approach focused on District Battagram. With this design we were able to triangulate the data so that the findings were well rounded and representative of both individual and collective perspectives. The quantitative component offered statistical trends and patterns, and the qualitative component supplied depth through narrative accounts and context.

This was exploratory research, which sought to explore the interaction between historical, socio-economic and cultural determinants of political behavior. The study sought to bridge the gap between subjective experiences to objective data, by combining qualitative and quantitative methods.

Study Area and Population

The study area was located in District Battagram which is dominated by tribal governance structures influenced by socio-economic and cultural disparities. The tribal and non-tribal communities of the district are a representative case to study political culture in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. For the target population, adult residents of Battagram were selected, who belonged to varied socio-economic as well as educational and occupational backgrounds. Participants were chosen with a focus on inclusivity that incorporated representation by gender, age, income levels, and tribal affiliations. In designing the set, special attention was afforded to incorporating those on the margins, such as low income households and women, to get the full breadth of political participation and behavior.

Sampling Technique

To achieve representativeness and diversity of the sample, the study employed a multi-stage sampling technique. In the initial stage, all the geographical areas were divided into administrative units such as tehsils and union councils. In stage II stratified sampling was used to select subgroups that were defined by gender, socio-economic status and tribal affiliation. Finally, a sampling method was used within each stratum to pick up the participants. Using statistical power analysis, the sample size was established as 400 respondents for the size of quantitative data analysis. In order to analyze qualitative data, we carried out 30 in-depth interviews and six focus group discussions with tribal leaders, local politicians, educators and social workers.

Data Collection Methods

The region's political culture was explored using primary and some secondary data collection methods.

1. Quantitative Data Collection:

- A structured questionnaire was used to get quantitative data. Closed ended questions in the questionnaire sought to capture political preferences, voting behavior, and governance perceptions.
- Pretesting of the questionnaire was conducted with 30 respondents to ensure clarity and relevance of the questions.
- Data was collected through face-to-face interviews with respondents in their households to ensure accuracy and minimize non-response rates.

2. Qualitative Data Collection:

- Specifically, 30 key informants were interviewed semi-structurally to capture historical and cultural foundations of political behavior.
- Focus group discussions were organized to encourage interaction and generate collective insights into issues such as tribal loyalties, gender dynamics, and socio-economic barriers.
- Participant observation was employed to document traditional practices, such as Jirga proceedings, providing contextual understanding of governance and decision-making processes.

3. Secondary Data Collection:

- Secondary data was sourced from historical records, government reports, and academic literature to contextualize the findings within a broader framework.
- Statistical data on education, income, and political participation rates were obtained from official reports and databases.

Data Analysis

Quantitative and qualitative analytical techniques were used to interpret the data of the study.

1. Quantitative Data Analysis:

- Coding and entry of data collected using questionnaires into Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) software for analysis was done.
- Descriptive statistics, such as frequencies, percentages, and means, were used to summarize the data.
- Inferential statistical techniques, including chi-square tests and logistic regression, were applied to identify relationships between variables such as education, income, and political participation.

2. Qualitative Data Analysis:

- Data from interviews and focus groups was transcribed and analyzed thematically. Thematic analysis involved coding the data to identify recurring patterns, themes, and narratives.
- Qualitative data were managed and organized via NVivo software to systematically identify key themes.
- Interpretation of results was with triangulation of qualitative findings with quantitative data, thus ensuring a holistic interpretation of results..

3. Integration of Data:

- The results of the quantitative and qualitative analyses were combined to create a coherent picture of the political culture in District Battagram. However, this approach enabled us to validate and falsify findings, as well as detect contradictions or gaps in the data.

Ethical Considerations

A lot of care was taken to ensure that the ethical values for a study are not breached can be interfered with the research process.

1. Informed Consent:

- Before obtaining their consent, participants were informed of the study's objectives, methods and potential risks in detail.



- Consent was secured from all of the participants and, for those who were literate, a verbal consent was recorded.
- 2. **Confidentiality:**
 - To preserve participant's privacy and to encourage honest participation, participants' identities and responses were kept confidential.
 - As analysis and reporting, data were anonymized to avoid identification of respondents.
- 3. **Cultural Sensitivity:**
 - Methods of data collection were designed to respect the cultural norms and values. As illustrations, female researchers were employed to conduct interviews on female respondents in order to address sensitivities to gender.
 - Questions language / phrasing was localized to local dialects to make questions complete and void of ambiguity.
- 4. **Voluntary Participation:**
 - All participation in the study was voluntary and participants were advised of their right to withdraw at any time without any consequences.

Delimitations of the Study

However, the limitations of the methodology in terms of minimizing biases and achieving reliability were acknowledged:

1. **Geographical Constraints:**
 - Logistics of Battagram mountain areas were very difficult to reach to such remote locations which might have limited representativeness of the sample.
2. **Cultural Barriers:**
 - Women's responses may have been influenced by cultural norms related to women's participation, hence, ultimately underrepresenting their perspectives.
3. **Resource Limitations:**
 - Data collection was limited to the financial and time constraints, with qualitative methodology being limited even further.
4. **Potential Response Bias:**
 - On topics similar to political preferences and perceptions of governance, respondents may have answered in a socially desirable way.

Results

This study shows how tribal affiliations, socio economic conditions, levels of educational attainment, gender norms and trust in different governance structures are competing forces in shaping the political culture of District Battagram. Data is collected using surveys, interviews and focus group discussions, and analyzed using quantitative and qualitative methods, to find out.

Table 1: Tribal Loyalty and Political Preferences

Response	Percentage (%)
Tribal affiliations influencing vote choice	78%
Independent political decision-making	22%

Key Insight: Over 80 percent of the respondents accommodate their political outputs on tribal loyalty.

Table 2: Political Participation by Socio-Economic Status

Income Group	Participation in Voting (%)	Feeling Excluded from Political Processes (%)
Low-income households	35%	65%
Middle-income households	60%	40%
High-income households	75%	25%



Key Insight: In economics, political participation depends on the status of the person significantly. Individuals from higher income groups are more likely to report greater voting and lower feeling of exclusion.

Table 3: *Gender-Based Political Participation*

Gender	Participation in Voting (%)	Participation in Political Activities (%)
Men	90%	85%
Women	20%	15%

Key Insight: Due to socio cultural barrier, only 15% of women take active part in political activities and women are underrepresented in political process.

Table 4: *Trust in Governance Structures*

Governance Structure	Preference (%)
Jirga (Traditional System)	72%
Formal Courts	28%

Key Insight: While faith in traditional Governance mechanisms, e.g., Jirga system is still strong, it is perceived that formal Governance structures are inefficient and corrupt.



Table 5: *Awareness of Local Government Reforms*

Reform Awareness	Percentage (%)
Aware of KPK Local Government Act, 2022	21%
Unaware of the Act	79%

Key Insight: Despite continuing change in governance reforms, there is still a wide awareness gap among those responsible for implementation in local governments.

Table 6: *Influence of Education on Political Awareness*

Education Level	Desire for Transparent Governance (%)	Knowledge of Governance Structures (%)
Literate Respondents	84%	76%
Illiterate Respondents	37%	22%

Key Insight: Finally, we find that education serves as a crucial antecedent of both political awareness and a propensity for transparent governance.

Table 7: *Barriers to Women's Political Participation*

Barrier	Percentage (%)
Cultural restrictions	62%
Lack of education	55%
Economic dependence	48%
Fear of social ostracism	40%

Key Insight: The barriers that hinder women from engaging in political processes are, therefore, cultural norms and lack of education.

Table 8: *Impact of Socio-Economic Disparities on Governance Perceptions*

Perception	Low-Income (%)	Middle-Income (%)	High-Income (%)
Satisfied with governance	25%	45%	70%
Dissatisfied with governance	75%	55%	30%

Key Insight: Governance is found to be good for overall development: satisfaction with governance rises with socio economic status which indicates that there are inequalities in accessibility of resources and services.

Table 9: *Role of Religion in Governance*

Belief	Percentage (%)
Religious values should guide governance	68%
Secular principles should guide governance	32%

Key Insight: But a majority of respondents said that governance should be guided by religious values, a conservative indication of the socio political landscape of the district.

Table 10: *Preferred Conflict Resolution Mechanisms*

Mechanism	Preference (%)
Jirga (Traditional System)	72%
Formal legal systems	28%

Key Insight: Perceptions of efficiency and trustworthiness, adequate to defining formal law, have motivated traditional conflict resolution mechanisms like the Jirga system over formal legal systems.



Table 11: Youth Participation in Political Processes

Participation Type	Percentage (%)
Active involvement in political campaigns	30%
Membership in political organizations	18%
Social media activism	52%

Key Insight: Increasingly, youth engagement is digital, as over half engage in political discourse digitally, using social media platforms.

Summary of Findings

These results reveal the several critical dimensions of the political culture in District Battagram:

1. **Tribal Dominance:** Political decision making remains dominated by tribal loyalties and not by individual preferences.
2. **Economic Inequalities:** Socio economic disparities are important determinants of political participation and people’s understanding of governance.
3. **Gender Inequality:** Cultural restrictions and lack of empowerment have kept political participation of women to a minimum.
4. **Trust in Traditional Systems:** Formal systems are mistrusted and traditional mechanisms such as the Jirga are widely accepted.
5. **Education’s Role:** Education is a primary motive for progress in political awareness and also for democratic demands concerning politics.
6. **Religious Conservatism:** Preferences for governance are based on religious values.
7. **Youth Involvement:** Although traditional patterns of political participation among youth continue to be low, digital activism is growing very quickly.

The results point to the importance of developing targeted interventions to remove various barriers to political participation; raise awareness about specific governance reforms; and connect traditional and formal governance structures in order to build inclusive and effective political systems.

Findings and Discussion

The study analyses the political culture of District Battagram, identified in the study, characterized by a tribalized socio-economic culture, embedded in institutional culture that sustains governance and citizen participation. Contemporary research gives the findings additional context and validation.

- One of the key findings in this study is the dominance of the role of tribal affiliations in political decisions making. This may be in harmony with the work done by Yousaf and Wakhu (2020) by asserting that as a parallel system to formal state institutions, tribal governance structures built in the narratives of *Pashtunwali* have historically focused on loyalty and traditional conflict resolution mechanisms
- Another aspect of the political disenfranchisement of lower income groups is the economic marginalization. Poverty and socio-economic deprivation in tribal areas further makes them feel excluded and tie their hands against political participation (Ifejika, 2023).
- Patriarchal norms may be the other factors in developing a sense of deprivation amongst the women circle to keep them away from political participation of the country and particularly in *Pashtun* society. This may again show close resemblance to the works of Hasnat and Awan (2021), who indicate that the prevailing patriarchal norms coupled with a limited avenue to education hinder women from political involvement. Besides, limited representation, these systemic barriers perpetuate socio- political inequalities that need to be addressed for the making the women more empowered.
- The preference of *Jirgas* over formal state institutions is in accordance with the findings of Yousaf and Furrukhzad (2020). Perceptions of inefficiency and corruption have led to distrust of formal systems. Cheema and Yousaf (2021) suggest that the absorption of tribal regions into the constitutional framework in Pakistan has been long and difficult, all of which is undermining trust of state institutions.

- Education appears to be an important ingredient in cultivating political awareness and a demand for governance reforms. In their work, Ahmed et al. (2021) draw attention to this finding, as education serves to facilitate political literacy in citizens allowing them to make informed decisions and advocate for accountability.
- The study identifies a number of significant barriers to successful modern governance structures in tribal areas. Pasha et al, (2023) point that new institutions have to be hindered by political interference and also the level of scarcity but will function if a contextualized institution-building attempt is done.

Conclusion

The study's findings are located within broader academic discourse and contextualize the challenges and opportunities for political development in District Battagram as multi-dimensional. In compiling contemporary research, the complexity of political culture within tribal regions, and the requisite of targeted interventions to foster inclusivity and accountability, is emphasized. Besides, the findings of the current study illustrate the dynamics of socio-political relations that shape governance in Pakistan's tribal areas. The political culture of District Battagram represents a complex interweaving of historical, socio- economic, and cultural dynamics underlying the process of governance and citizen participation in tribal areas of District Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Tribal affiliations continue to be the most important factor for political decision making, adding strength to the traditional power structures and restricting the room available for independent political behavior. Political exclusion is worsened by socio economic disparities whereby women and the low income households are more adversely affected in political exclusion because of broad structural inequalities.

The results emphasize the paramount contribution education makes by developing political awareness and the demand for transparency and accountability. Participatory governance is more favored by literate respondents and educational reforms that are needed to fill the awareness gap, which this thesis has identified. Additionally, trust in traditional means of governance including *Jirga* system remains because the marginal population sees the formal state institutions as both corrupt and ineffective. Moreover, the layering of religious values in governance and a conservative socio-political landscape that invites mining when set against the aspirations of younger, more politically aware cohorts. Youth digital activism is heralding increased progressive and inclusive political participation. The results show that there is an urgent need for specific reforms to tackle socio-economic inequalities, improve political literacy and empower marginalized people, especially women. Ensuring a bridging bond between the old and the new governance systems is critical for creating a culture of inclusive and participatory political systems. District Battagram is suggested to be a model for its integration with tribal regions into the broader democratic framework of Pakistan thus creating a trajectory towards stability and sustainable development when these challenges are addressed.

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