



**REGIONAL INSTITUTE OF POLICY
RESEARCH & TRAINING PESHAWAR**

CONCEPT PAPER
Creating 13000 Jobs
in Waziristan

A Peaceful Pacification Proposal

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CONCEPT PAPER Creating 13000 Jobs in Waziristan

Introduction

1. Waziristan including North and South Waziristan has an estimated population of 973,377.¹ It covers an area of 5000 square miles and borders the volatile eastern provinces of Afghanistan. Waziristan has historically remained the most unstable area in British India. It has reverted to type after the US invasion of Afghanistan in 2001.
2. Waziristan has remained on the fringes of Pakistan's development efforts and even amongst the tribal agencies it is perhaps the most backward region. It has abject development indicators leading to the creation of an isolated society, which has developed a feeling of ennui. The long jihad against the Soviets brought this area into the forefront of active operations by the Afghan Mujahideen and Pakistan's intelligence services; these were the organizing areas and radicalized an impoverished population. Radical Islam was encouraged to generate recruits for the Afghan jihad. After the withdrawal of the Soviets from Afghanistan, the tradition of operating as jihadis found new employment when the Taliban rhetoric of Islam was superimposed in the context of the US invasion; it was easy to depict the US intervention as a conflict between Islam and unbelievers. According to one estimate the value of weaponry provided to the warring factions in Afghanistan from all sources from 1978 to 1992, totaled \$66 billion,² this translates to \$134 million per person for the population of Afghanistan and FATA. Secondly, a substantial portion of these weapons filtered back to the tribal areas, which have a huge demand for weapons. A large percentage of the weapons came to Waziristan.
3. It is evident that the additional weaponry entering Afghanistan since 1992, during the 2nd civil war of the Taliban further harmed peace in Waziristan. It is estimated that more than 100,000 young boys and men of the area were trained to fight the Soviets. Many of them were from Waziristan. Besides, the jihad years fomented a close relationship between the people of NWFP, Waziristan and Northeastern Afghanistan. This associative sympathy and common feeling has now been ingrained into the mind set of the population and it will require a Herculean effort and luck to battle the situation successfully. Waziristan is now fully militarized. Any action by the military is treated in the context of "Badal"³, and retaliation by the tribes is swift and random; it has brought equalization of sorts in this asymmetrical war by the

¹ Estimated population for 2007, based on 1998 census report.

² Coll, Steve. "Ghost Wars, The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan & Bin Laden: From the Soviet Invasion to Sept 2001", London, 2004, (P. 238).

³ Means 'revenge'.

use of suicide bombers. It has created fear in the mind of the population at large in NWFP and the rest of the country. The virus is likely to spread unless multiple measures are taken for arresting it.

4. Many Wazirs and Mahsuds joined the Taliban to fight the U.S forces after the latter's defeat in 2002. Simultaneously, the army moved into Waziristan in 2002 to evict the foreigners who had sought refuge. One of the unintended consequences of this occurrence was the decay of political institutions. The military commander eclipsed the Political Agent who is the kingpin for dealing with the tribes and maintenance of order. Another milestone in this sad story was the return of angry and belligerent tribesmen who were incarcerated in Guantanamo. Individuals like Abdullah, Nek Mohammad and Baitullah Masud have created a localized movement in North and South Waziristan, which cooperates with the Afghan Taliban and at times acts independently. It has battled the military and has put to stop government activities in the region. Government functionaries fear to travel in Waziristan. It has caused the loss of official influence; it is very difficult to plead one's case when one cannot talk. It is this link which must be broken and the political administration re-introduced into the tribal areas as a benevolent partner meaning good for the people.
5. Thus we see a region with hardly any development, poor human indicators, a war trained and radicalized population and no possibilities of basing a life on legal employment in industry, agriculture or commerce. It is this failure in Waziristan that has now come to haunt the government; it has caused death and violence and could sow the seeds of sub-nationalism. Regional experts are agreed that circumstances are not likely to change much as long as foreign forces remain in Afghanistan. The only ray of hope is to make the Waziristan tribesmen understand that there are limits on Pakistan government and what it can do. Since there is a difference of beliefs between parties, resolving the imbroglio will call for innovative attempts.
6. Result from research in parts of Africa, where non-state combatants have challenged governments, finds that trouble has arisen in countries, which have a demographic bulge in the 18 to 25 years old population band. If this bulge is around 20% or more of the population, that society was open to instability and radicalism because the state is normally unable to find employment for such a large segment of its growing population. Research also discovered that the two motives of non-state combatants to challenge authority were to find employment and obtain status in society. Both demands were fulfilled once they joined the rebels. It was further discovered through African research that 1 in 6 household was infected with "radicalism" in such cases. These findings are likely to be applicable to Waziristan.

7. Although exact and precise data is not available, however extrapolating from the 1998 Agency Census Report provides the following information, which is important for the development of the present concept into an employment based project rooted in the tribal culture; specifically anchored through treaty/agreements with each major tribe and intended on mobilizing positive behaviour in favour of the state through collective responsibility:

Table: Statistical data (2007)

| Item | S. Waziristan | N. Waziristan | Total |
|------------------------------|---------------|---------------|------------------|
| Population | 521,386 | 451,991 | 973,377 |
| Total households | 61340 | 49129 | 110,469 |
| Average Household Size | 8.5 persons | 9.2 persons | Av 8.6 persons |
| No of Tehsils | 8 | 9 | 17 |
| No of Villages, Pop 900 or + | 73 | 74 | 147 |
| Male youth 18-25 | 41291 (14.7%) | 39104 (16.3%) | 80395 (Av 15.4%) |

8. The government of Pakistan with the help of the US in the form of ROZs is planning long term economic inputs in the area but this will face two handicaps. The first being the resistance to anything carrying the label “made in USA” and secondly, the long time it will take for the program to materialize. Some other solution has to be found which will reduce Jihadist tendencies in this volatile region as early as possible.
9. According to the above narration the most vulnerable are males between the ages 18 to 25 years who number 80395 which come to 15.47% of the male population who need to be targeted for employment on a war footing. If one job is to be provided to every 6th household it will mean the creation of 13000 new jobs approximately. There are certain difficulties in matching statistics with houses, which are infected and are to be weaned away from radicalism. However, it is hoped that randomness will even out the statistical anomalies with agreements with the tribe doing the rest. Such a project should have been introduced much earlier. Sadly, Waziristan and FATA have not been center stage for the government in the past. Neglect has thus imposed a heavy price; it cannot be delayed further.

Approach

10. This project will provide 13000 new jobs to the Waziristan youth. This will roughly cover 1 in 6 households. This will be done in a phased but speedy manner.

11. The idiom of the tribal area has to be used. Therefore, these entrants will be gradually recruited as trainee khassadars on the recommendation of the tribes, who will receive the distributed share of employment as Khassadar, based on "Nikat". The maliks will make the final recommendation in consultation with his tribe.
12. The Political Agent will initiate the dialogue with the tribes which should result in agreements based on principles of cooperation and assistance by the tribe to the government. Violation of principles contained in the agreement will result in suspension and forfeiture of securities kept in the form of guns or money.
13. Simultaneously capacity of building infrastructure and manpower for training the youth in basic employable skills will be undertaken. Capacity development will be needed in creating enough master trainers, subject trainers, purchase of mobile training units, which will visit cluster of villages to impart training and replenish training consumables in the static training and servicing establishments.
14. The staff at the hub will also monitor and provide mentoring support to the master trainers. A central employment exchange will also be created to provide placement opportunities for those who wish to be employed either in other locations of NWFP or Pakistan. The Ministry of Manpower will be requested to keep a quota for Waziristan youth in employment overseas. It is planned that special courses of a minimum of a year's duration should be devised covering skills and provision of teaching up to basic literacy level. At the same time the Scouts, Frontier Constabulary and Army will be requested to lower entry standards to recruit those, who come from Waziristan and are trained in skills.
15. Enrollment into the special Khassadar pool will be based on minimal health and education standards. Basic literacy should be adopted as the qualifying yardstick. The aim is to throw the net wide and to accept that we may have candidates who are not properly educated. Upon selection, the candidate will receive the basic emolument of a Khassadar, which is Rs. 2754 per month. During the course of his training the Khassadar will continue to receive this amount. When a candidate passes out with the relevant qualification, another candidate will take up his place from the same tribe. With the start of training capacity building and other related matters will also be addressed.
16. The total cost of the project in the first year is about Rs. 1.2 billion, assuming that all 13,000 khassadars are recruited (not likely). This will include the cost of equipment, staff, rentals and pays. After the first year the cost will come

down slightly as only the pays and consumables will be involved. At present the cost of training per Khassadar will be Rs. 90,000 approximately.

17. As soon as approval for the concept is provided all the stakeholders, who are interested in the field will be approached and asked to assist. Both the ILO and GTZ have expressed a positive response to this approach in informal discussions and are willing to take up the matter after a request is received from the FATA secretariat. Secretary Manpower has been approached and awaits further developments. There will be other supporters for the project who may be consulted.

Aim

1. The aim is to provide immediate employment to 13,000 male youth in Waziristan to make them employable and offer them an alternative to fighting.

Methodology

- 1- ACS FATA must handle this policy measure at the start and later shift it to his agencies after it begins to take shape.
- 2- Stakeholders' discussion and analysis will be carried out. The concerned department of FATA secretariat will invite Federal Ministry of Manpower, ILO, GTZ, other donor organizations and stakeholder to discuss the initiative and obtain assistance in capacity building.
- 3- A new category of certification will be developed to accommodate those under this programme.
- 4- Political Administration will be pivotal for inputs and will lead the introduction of this project by discussing with their maliks/tribes and building momentum for its introduction. The Taliban will see the project as a threat to their mastery. The tribes are likely to resist them if they are ensured benefits. Advocacy for the proposal will be undertaken to win the support of the tribes. This by itself will be considered as an alternative offer to the one provided by the Taliban.
- 5- Agreements will be drafted in consultation with the tribes and later signed with those tribes, who in return for employment promise good behaviour and generally assist the P.A under collective responsibility. They will also provide sureties, which will be called if the terms are contravened.
- 6- The Khassadars will be inducted based on 'Nikat' and recommendation of respective Maliks

- 7- Eligibility rules will be notified to tribes for providing the prospective khassadar candidates according to the agreed yardstick and proposed by the sub section Malik.
- 8- It is proposed to discuss the lowering of entrance criteria for induction into Frontier Corps, Constabulary and Army.
- 9- Capacity building of existing vocational and skill development institutions will be undertaken both for producing master trainers and to act as service center for the mobile training units.
- 10- The vocational/skill training departmental leadership in FATA will be enhanced to deliver the programme.
- 11- Delivery of training will start on pilot as soon as basis agreement with some tribes is signed. The khassadar candidates will be inducted for a one-year training course for vocational skill training.
- 12- Trained candidates who show excellence will be retained if they wish, as master trainers to enlarge capacity.
- 13- The graduates should be provided with diplomas as recognition, which will enhance their status and encourage others to join in.
- 14- Credit facilities will also be made available to enhance the opportunities of entrepreneurship based on the learnt trade / skill.
- 15- In addition to imparting basic literacy, there will be specialized courses in skill development in various trades including livestock, carpentry, electrician, construction skills and more advanced skills like computer operators etc. This list can be finalized after discussions with the stakeholders.

Salient financial features

1. The tentative figures show that an insignificant amount of Rs. 90,000 will be needed per year to train one youth.
2. A total sum of Rs. 1.2 billion will be the financial outlay for the first year of a fully functioning programme. However, all the funds will not be required at the start. Subsequent years the capital cost would be reduced.
3. The budgetary summary is attached at Annex-1.
4. The detailed financial plan with deliverable outputs is attached as Annex-2.



ANNEXURES

| Budgetary Summary Vocational / Skills Training Waziristan | | |
|--|--------|----------------------|
| Khasadars | 13,000 | 433,920,240 |
| Master Trainers | 25 | 13,100,000 |
| Technical Institutes | 5 | 17,000,000 |
| THQ Training Centers | 17 | 30,464,000 |
| Cluster Centers | 68 | 26,112,000 |
| Mobile Units | 17 | 433,551,000 |
| Credit Enterprise | 500 | 15,000,000 |
| Employment Exchange | | 4,000,000 |
| Programme head Office | | 97,314,724 |
| Social Mobilization | | 48,657,362 |
| Contingency | | 48,657,362 |
| Grand Total | | 1,167,776,688 |

| FATA Vocational / Skills Training Budget | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|-------------------------|-------------|-----------|------------|------|-------|--------|-------------|--------------------|--|
| Main Exp. | Expenditure heads | Cap / Recur | Units | Time frame | | No. | Rate | Sub. Totals | Totals | Details / Remarks |
| | | | | Month | Days | | | | | |
| Khassadars Allowance SW Agency | Basic stipend | R | Monthly | 12 | | 6,500 | 2,754 | 214,812,000 | | In total 13,000 young males of North & South Waziristan Agency |
| | Miscl. /bank charges | R | Percent | | | 1% | | 2,148,120 | | Total 18-25 yrs of male youth are 41291, every sixth youth would be addressed through the initiative. |
| | | | | | | | | | 216,960,120 | |
| Khassadars Allowance NW Agency | Basic stipend | R | Monthly | 12 | | 6,500 | 2,754 | 214,812,000 | | In total 13,000 young males of North & South Waziristan Agency |
| | Miscl. /bank charges | R | Percent | | | 1% | | 2,148,120 | | Total 18-25 yrs of male youth are 39104, every sixth youth would be addressed through the initiative. |
| | | | | | | | | | 216,960,120 | |
| Master Trainers SW Agency | Master Trainers salary | R | Monthly | 12 | | 12 | 35,000 | 5,040,000 | | 8 tehsil based & 4 AHQ based MTs (already skilled i.e. specific to 10 skills) will be hired for covering S Waz. Agency |
| | MTs Refresher Trainings | R | Bi-annual | 2 | | 12 | 10,000 | 240,000 | | Initial Workshop for MTs to grasp the concept and one more training to refresh his own skills |
| | Accommodation | R | Monthly | 12 | | 12 | 5,000 | 720,000 | | Rent of a local house |
| | Hard area allowances | R | | 12 | | 12 | 2,000 | 288,000 | | |
| | | | | | | | | | 6,288,000 | |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|----------------|----|--|----|-----------|-----------|-------------------|--|
| Master Trainers NW Agency | Master Trainers salary | R | monthly | 12 | | 13 | 35,000 | 5,460,000 | | 9 tehsil based & 4 AHQ based MTs (already skilled i.e. specific to 10 skills) will be hired for covering N Waz. Agency |
| | MTs Refresher Trainings | R | bi-annual | 2 | | 13 | 10,000 | 260,000 | | Initial Workshop for MTs to grasp the concept and one more training to refresh his own skills |
| | Accommodation | R | monthly | 12 | | 13 | 5,000 | 780,000 | | Rent of a local house |
| | Hard area allowances | R | | 12 | | 13 | 2,000 | 312,000 | | |
| | | | | | | | | | 6,812,000 | |
| Strengthening of Existing Technical Institutions S W Agency | Reconstruction / Rehabilitation / Upgrading | C | nos. | | | 2 | 1,000,000 | 2,000,000 | | Refurbishing the existing 2 technical institutes in the S W agency. To vitalize and motivate the existing staffing as well |
| | Replenishing tools/ items | R | lumsun/monthly | 12 | | 2 | 200,000 | 4,800,000 | | Tools availability is vital for successful completion of skill based courses and students motivation |
| | | | | | | | | | 6,800,000 | |
| Strengthening of Existing Technical Institutions N W Agency | Reconstruction / Rehabilitation / Upgrading | C | nos. | | | 3 | 1,000,000 | 3,000,000 | | Refurbishing the existing 3 technical institutes in the N W agency. To vitalize and motivate the existing staffing as well |
| | Replenishing tools/ items | R | lumsun/monthly | 12 | | 3 | 200,000 | 7,200,000 | | Tools availability is vital for successful completion of skill based courses and students motivation |
| | | | | | | | | | 10,200,000 | |
| Tehsil HQ Training Centre S W Agency | Rent of Tehsil THQ Training Centers | R | Nos. | 12 | | 8 | 35,000 | 3,360,000 | | 08 THQ centers (tehsil headquarter based) will be operationalized to cover most tribes |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|--|---|-----------|----|--|----|--------|-----------|-------------------|--|
| | THQ Center Instructor Incharge salary | R | Monthly | 12 | | 8 | 25,000 | 2,400,000 | | 6500 candidates / 8 THQ Centers. Each will be managed by a Instructor Incharge and facilitated by required trainers. |
| | Instructor/ Incharge Refresher Trainings | R | Bi-annual | 2 | | 8 | 10,000 | 160,000 | | Initial training workshop for trainers to grasp the concept and one more training to refresh his own skills |
| | Accommodation | R | | 12 | | 8 | 3,000 | 288,000 | | Rent of hostel or 2 room |
| | Hard area allowances | R | | 12 | | 8 | 1,000 | 96,000 | | |
| | THQ Center Trainer salary | R | Monthly | 12 | | 16 | 15,000 | 2,880,000 | | Each of the 8 THQ Centers will have 2 Asstt trainers. Each will be managed by a Instructor Incharge. |
| | Trainers Refresher Trainings | R | Bi-annual | 2 | | 16 | 8,000 | 256,000 | | Initial training workshop for trainers to grasp the concept and one more training to refresh his own skills |
| | Accommodation | R | | 12 | | 16 | 2,000 | 384,000 | | rent of hostel or 2 room |
| | Hard area allowances | R | | 12 | | 16 | 1,000 | 192,000 | | |
| | Support Staff per THQ Center | R | | 12 | | 16 | 6,000 | 1,152,000 | | 2 assisstants for each of THQ centre for accounts and admin work |
| | Auxiliary Staff per THQ Center | R | | 12 | | 8 | 3,000 | 288,000 | | 1 person for each THQ center for watch and ward |
| | Replenishing tools/ items | R | | 12 | | 8 | 30,000 | 2,880,000 | | tools and other items required for practical applications will be replenished on monthly basis. |
| | | | | | | | | | 14,336,000 | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| Cluster based Training Centre S W Agency | Rent of Cluster center | R | | 12 | | 32 | 5,000 | 1,920,000 | | Each of the THQ center will have its cluster based centers in the periphery. |
| | Cluster Center Trainers | R | | 12 | | 64 | 10,000 | 7,680,000 | | Each of the Cluster center will be managed by 2 Trainers. |



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|---|--|---|-----------|----|--|----|--------|-----------|-------------------|--|
| | Auxiliary Staff per THQ Center | R | | 12 | | 32 | 2,000 | 768,000 | | Each cluster will be provided with one person by the tribe |
| | Replenishing tools/ items | R | | 12 | | 32 | 5,000 | 1,920,000 | | Replenishing of tools |
| | | | | | | | | | 12,288,000 | |
| Tehsil HQ Training Centre N W Agency | Rent of Tehsil THQ Training Centers | R | nos. | 12 | | 9 | 35,000 | 3,780,000 | | 09 THQ centers (tehsil headquarter based) will be operationalized to cover most tribes |
| | THQ Center Instructor Incharge salary | R | monthly | 12 | | 9 | 25,000 | 2,700,000 | | 6500 candidates / 9 THQ Centers. Each will be managed by a Instructor Incharge and facilitated by required trainers. |
| | Instructor/ Incharge Refresher Trainings | R | bi-annual | 2 | | 9 | 10,000 | 180,000 | | Initial training workshop for trainers to grasp the concept and one more training to refresh his own skills |
| | Accommodation | R | | 12 | | 9 | 3,000 | 324,000 | | rent of hostel or 2 room |
| | Hard area allowances | R | | 12 | | 9 | 1,000 | 108,000 | | |
| | THQ Center Trainer salary | R | monthly | 12 | | 18 | 15,000 | 3,240,000 | | Each of the 9 THQ Centers will have 2 Asstt trainers. Each will be managed by a Instructor Incharge. |
| | Trainers Refresher Trainings | R | bi-annual | 2 | | 18 | 8,000 | 288,000 | | Initial training workshop for trainers to grasp the concept and one more training to refresh his own skills |
| | Accommodation | R | | 12 | | 18 | 2,000 | 432,000 | | rent of hostel or 2 room |
| | Hard area allowances | R | | 12 | | 18 | 1,000 | 216,000 | | |
| | Support Staff per THQ Center | R | | 12 | | 18 | 6,000 | 1,296,000 | | 2 assistants for each of THQ center for accounts and admin work |
| | Auxiliary Staff per THQ Center | R | | 12 | | 9 | 3,000 | 324,000 | | 1 person for each THQ center for watch and ward |



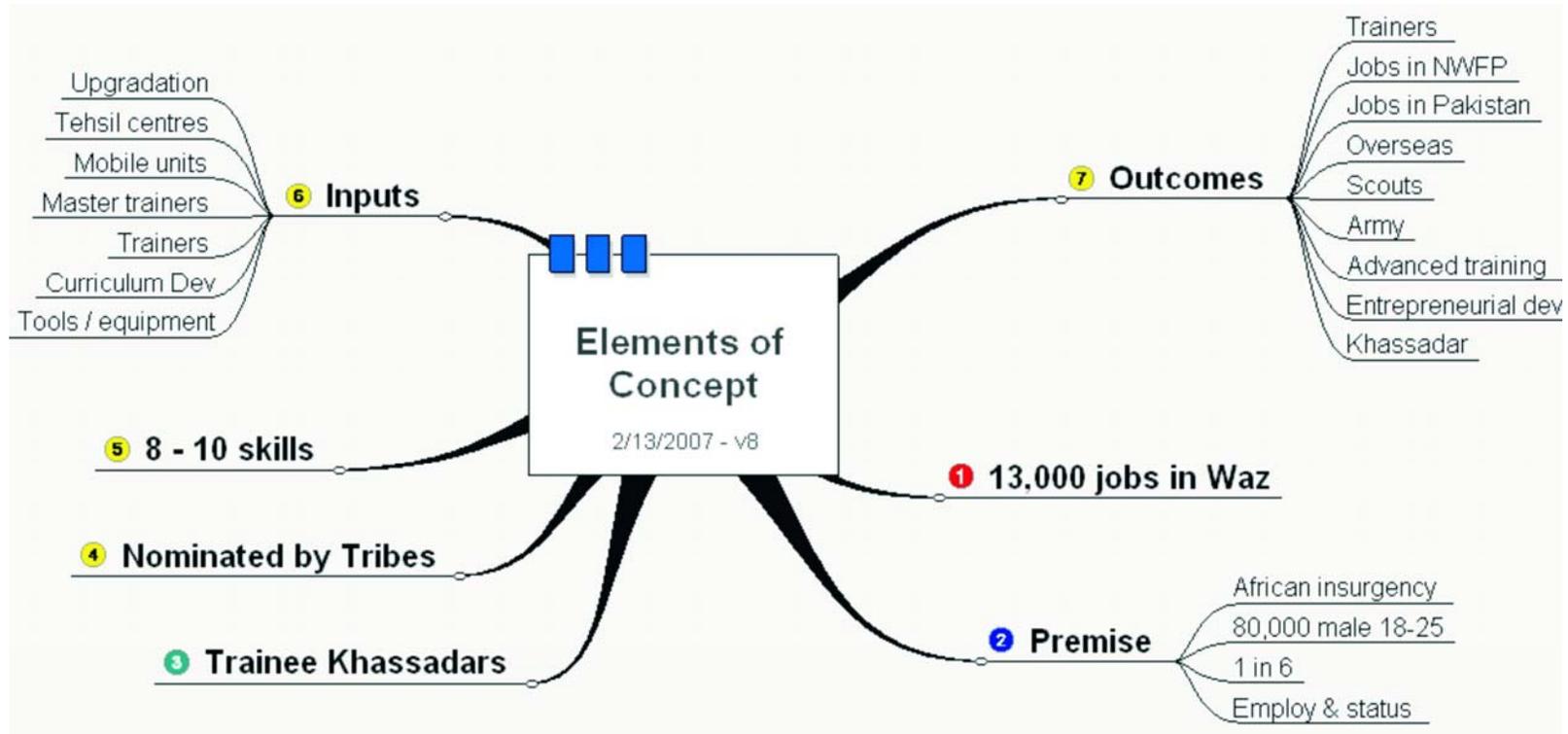
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|---|--------------------------------|---|------|----|--|----|------------|-------------|--------------------|---|
| | Replenishing tools/ items | R | | 12 | | 9 | 30,000 | 3,240,000 | | tools and other items required for practical applications will be replenished on monthly basis. |
| | | | | | | | | | 16,128,000 | |
| Cluster based Training Center N W Agency | Rent of Cluster center | R | | 12 | | 36 | 5,000 | 2,160,000 | | Each of the THQ center will have its cluster-based centers in the periphery. |
| | Cluster Center Trainers | R | | 12 | | 72 | 10,000 | 8,640,000 | | Each of the Cluster center will be managed by 2 Trainers. |
| | Auxiliary Staff per THQ Center | R | | 12 | | 36 | 2,000 | 864,000 | | Each cluster will be provided with one person by the tribe |
| | Replenishing tools/ items | R | | 12 | | 36 | 5,000 | 2,160,000 | | Replenishing of tools |
| | | | | | | | | | 13,824,000 | |
| Mobile Units SW Agency | Mobile unit's Vehicle | C | nos. | | | 8 | 25,000,000 | 200,000,000 | | Each of the 8 THQ centers will have a mobile unit. |
| | Mobile unit's equipment | C | | | | 8 | 300,000 | 2,400,000 | | Tools and equipment |
| | Mobile unit Master Trainers | R | | | | 8 | 35,000 | 280,000 | | Each mobile unit will have its own MT, |
| | Mobile unit Driver | R | | 12 | | 8 | 4,000 | 384,000 | | With a driver |
| | POL / M&R | R | | 12 | | 8 | 10,000 | 960,000 | | |
| | | | | | | | | | 204,024,000 | |
| Mobile Units NW Agency | Mobile unit's Vehicle | C | nos. | | | 9 | 25,000,000 | 225,000,000 | | Each of the 9 THQ centers will have a mobile unit. |
| | Mobile unit's equipment | C | | | | 9 | 300,000 | 2,700,000 | | Tools and equipment |

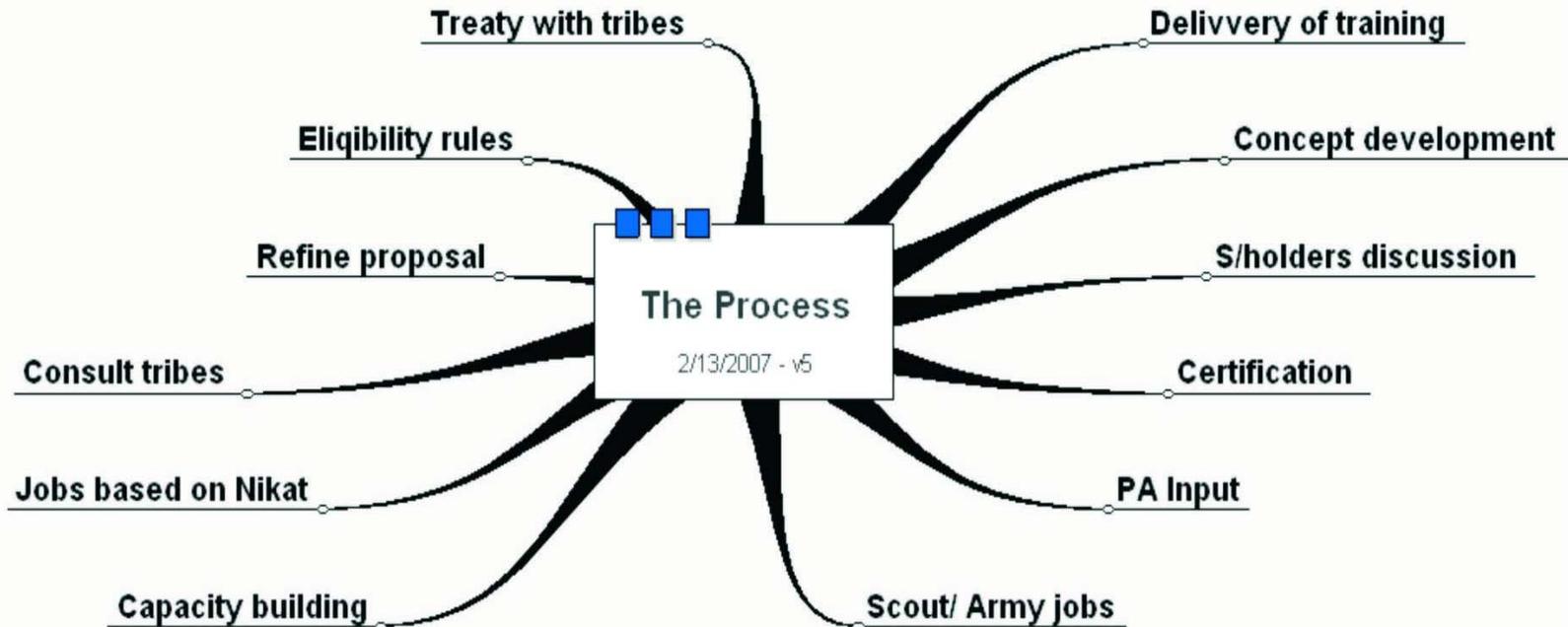
| | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|------|----|--|-----|--------|--------------------|----------------------|--|
| | Mobile unit Master Trainers Salary | R | | | | 9 | 35,000 | 315,000 | | Each mobile unit will have its own MT, |
| | Mobile unit Driver | R | | 12 | | 9 | 4,000 | 432,000 | | With a driver |
| | POL / M&R | R | | 12 | | 9 | 10,000 | 1,080,000 | | |
| | | | | | | | | | 229,527,000 | |
| Credit / Enterprise Development | Credits / soft loans | C | nos. | | | 500 | 30,000 | 15,000,000 | | 500 exceeding young skilled persons would be given credits for enterprise development. |
| | | | | | | | | | 15,000,000 | |
| Employment Exchanges | | | | | | | | | 4,000,000 | A cluster of Employment Exchanges will be set to link up with the Agency Centers to provide employment needs data and opportunities, Camp offices will be set up in major industrial hubs with feed back into the respective Chambers of Industry & Commerce |
| Sub Total of Programme activity | | | | | | | | | 973,147,240 | 973.1 16.0 million Rs. million \$ |
| Programme Head Office | Administrative / Secretariat / Coordination / Logistics | R | | | | | | 10% | 97,314,724 | Programme office, secretariat costs, administrative staff salaries, stationary, refreshments and miscellaneous costs |
| | Social Mobilization component | R | | | | | | 5% | 48,657,362 | To carry out social mobilization, stakeholders analysis and cluster organization |
| | Contingency | R | | | | | | 5% | 48,657,362 | To cover up unforeseen and to absorb the inflation effects |
| Grand Total of all activities | | | | | | | | Grand Total | 1,167,776,688 | 1,167.8 19.1 Million Rs. Million \$ |
| Per unit cost | | | | | | | | | 89,829 | |

MIND MAPS

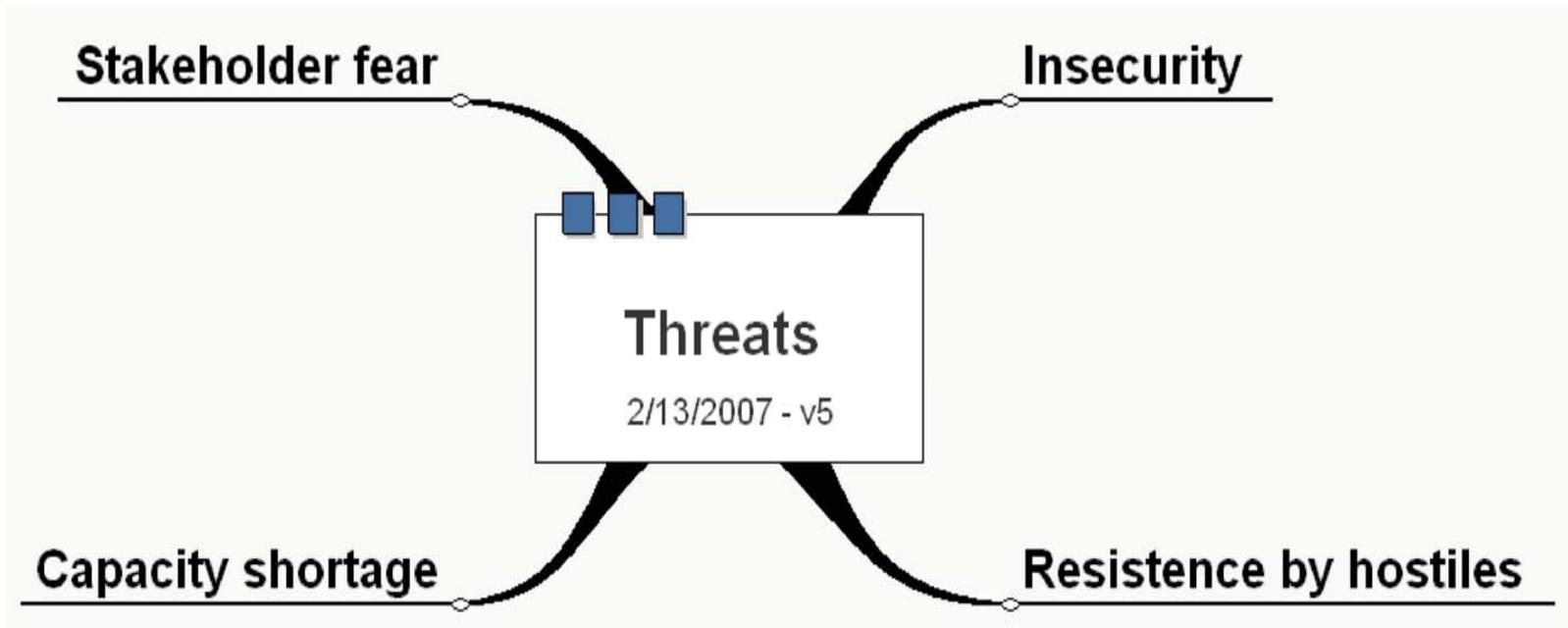
Skilled Development FATA-1



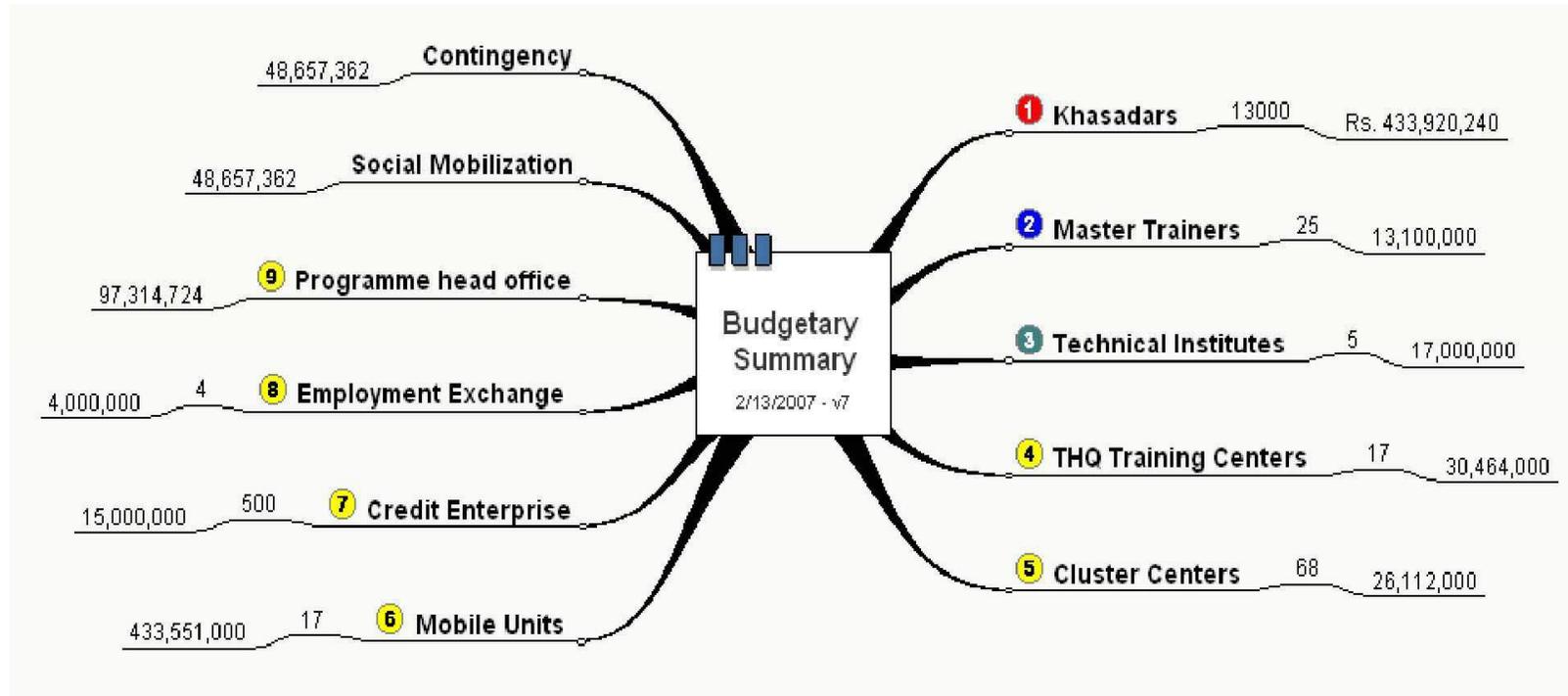
Skilled Development FATA-2



Skilled Development FATA-3



Skilled Development FATA-4



Grand Total = Rs.1,167,776,688