

Implications of Reforms for Erstwhile FATA: A Critical Analysis

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Abstract: *The FATA reform process is not a one-time exercise that could be completed through certain legal and administrative action but is a multi-dimensional process with short, medium and longer-term dimensions. The government has set up an 11-member task force to speed up the implementation process and pay special attention to the proposed legal reforms, FATA's development and the security mainstreaming of FATA. To oversee this process, a high-powered National Implementation Committee, set up in 2017, is tasked to regularly review the progress of the FATA reform on the basis of periodical reports of the Task Force. The proposed reforms packages, besides envisaging reforms at different spheres, also aims to bring bringing about brighter socio-economic prospects to the tribal areas. It could be said that the reforms are also pivoted around boosting the socio-economic status of the tribal people. This paper presents a critical analysis of the merger plan and also critically examines the implications of reforms for FATA.*

Key Words: FATA Reforms, FCR, Political Implications, Social Implications, Governance Issues

Introduction

In FATA, various military operations have been concluded, and the return of TDPs is underway. The focus of the military was the clearance of land mines which presented a significant danger to the civil population. The demining effort is a major undertaking that is proceeding at a slow pace and cause a delay in the return of all TDPs. The danger caused by the land mines is evident in the casualties, with twenty-two people injured and dead from the civilian side and fifty-eight injured and dead from the military. Ninety-five percent of land mines have been cleared in Tirah, with significant demining efforts made in Orakzai and Mamuzai as well. Once demining is completed, the TDPs will be actively facilitated in their return. In the meantime, the military is also making efforts to improve border management to restore normalcy to the region. As of now, there is no presence of organized threats in KP or FATA. Small-scale criminal activity is happening in the region, but militant groups have been eliminated.

In 2000, FATA had been declared the epicentre of terrorism where even recapturing a mile from militant control could take weeks. The dynamics of warfare in FATA are different from conventional warfare as it spread quickly and integrated throughout with little means of distinguishing between friend and foe. Since 2016, the fencing had started at the borders along

with recovery of ammunition, IEDs, small arms, heavy weapons and explosives. As of present, no-go areas no longer exist in FATA, and that development work has been initiated. A speedy FATA merger is needed for the region to move forward. The consolidating conditions for this process are necessary to sustain security, border management, normalization of cleared areas, populace-centricity, transition and draw-out of the Army and the FC. FATA mainstreaming is one of the leading agenda points of NAP. Because the same stakeholders strongly favoured the merger of FATA with KP. Perceived impact of the plan over FATA itself.

The Impacts of Pak-Afghanistan relations on FATA need to be understood in the context of GWOT. The sacrifices of the People and tribes of FATA in this war are exemplary and innumerable. Despite being the victims, the people of FATA have suffered the backlash of the bitter Pak-Afghanistan relations and US role in Afghanistan. The process of peace-making in FATA has always been marred by violations of peace agreements by US drones, militants or government forces. However, now the Ilaqa Ghair connotation has faded away, and the sanctity of the FATA will be equally ensured by the Government of Pakistan.

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Political Implication

In the Parliament of Pakistan, 12 assembly members represent foreigners in the lower house, besides eight more are indirectly elected to the 104 members of the upper house known as the Senate of Pakistan. The member of the said legislative assembly can participate; can talk and present their views points on any issues of national, regional, political, administrative and international significance except when it comes to the issues of their own region, where their carries no importance.

The proposed reform package will bring tribal areas on par with mainstream Pakistan through multiple positive and inclusive reforms in the political, legal, administrative, security and economic sectors. The aim of the reforms is to provide constitutional protection to the Fata people by expanding the official legal system, initiating modern policing, establishing local government and initiating full-scale operations for economic and social development.¹

Constitutional Implications

Under Pakistan's 1973 constitution, Articles 246 and 247 pertains to the political and administrative dispensation in FATA. The constitution stipulates the basic rights of citizens in a comprehensive manner. The constitution also provides that these rights are to be protected as no one is to be allowed to encroach upon those rights. However, the ominous aspect is that the fundamental rights are enforced and protects as long as the people of Pakistan other than FATA are concerned. However, after the implementation of FATA reforms, FATA people will enjoy their legal rights in parity with other fellows. This is really a very encouraging and well-deserving impact on the FATA.

The legal framework of Pakistan deems both tribal and mainstream people as one citizen. But as far as their rights are concerned, the former is denied to enjoy the fundamental rights associated with being a citizen. Besides that, the legislative measures and many of the acts of the national parliament do not apply to FATA, as long as the president of the country does not specifically call for their extension to the tribal areas. Political agents, through their administrative staff, are taking care of every level of the tribal system. Lack of accountability in FATA administrative delivery is a source of corruption; Local tribal members and journalists report rampant harassment, wooing and commissions within the FATA Secretariat. The FATA merger provided a sigh of relief to the locals as now a well-organized and time-tested state machinery is available to look after the impending issues. FATA people have warmly

welcomed and supported the proposed change. (Zubair, 2017)

FATA's merger will repel the draconian FCR and will assist in the extension of the country's judicial system and regular court system. Amendment in Article 247 of the constitution stretch out the powers of the higher judiciary and HC to the tribal areas is also a long-awaited demand of the people, which has a very positive impact.

Social Implications

Most of the people are dissatisfied with the existing socio-political infrastructures. The mainstreaming activity targets getting the ancestral locale equality with the remainder of the nation - intrinsically, politically, officially and monetarily. In such a manner, the findings of the FRC were comprehensive, definite and holistic as it imagined a full-fledge mainstreaming for the FATA region. In general, suggestions of the report can be arranged into two plans: multiyear progress to reconciliation and multiyear organized improvement towards equality. The progress time frame would be centred on the recovery of IDPs, presentation of legal changes, the foundation of neighbourhood government; the recreation of framework; and building the limit of the law implementation organizations. (Shad & Ahmad, 2018). The acknowledgement of these goals needs, in the first place, an adjustment in the protected status of FATA. This would, consequently, decrease the feeling of dread, vulnerability and resulting fanaticism among the individuals of FATA. These changes will further boost the morale of people and will help in blending them with the rest of the country.

Meanwhile, journalism in FATA is still nascent, owing to its weak and fragile nature. The Tribal Union of Journalism constitutes more than 300 journalists, which were mostly Government servants (including teachers). On the other hand, journalists also face numerous security threats. The war against terrorism affected them adversely. Numerous journalists were martyred, namely Umer Syed, Hayat Ullah Khan and Salim Shazad. Offenders got away easily by breaking the law and thus created room for impunity. In this regard, there is an urgent need to understand that unless media is strengthened in FATA and other underprivileged parts of Pakistan, we would not be able to identify issues in order to address them proved to be a 'blessing in disguise for people in Eastern Punjab and Sindh Province, as media showed for the first time the plight, suffering and sheer poverty in these areas. Similarly, many issues were highlighted after the military

operations started in FATA. 2_[Safdar: *Journalism in Tribal belt*, 2015]

There are a number of positive impacts that media may have on the society in FATA, but there are few negatives as well, and these cannot be neglected. The media has acted irresponsibly on various occasions, which make us question its role in a conflict situation. Only a small percentage of journalists in FATA enjoy money and fame. 99 per cent of the journalist community live without any job security, and they often don't get paid for the work they do. In order to make media strong in FATA, there is a need to increase support for the journalist community and understand the medium which is acceptable by the locals. Particularly, radio and social media have gained popularity in this area. Mainstreaming of FATA will be beneficial for the media and journalists as National media will be infrequent exchange/contacts with the local media.

The cause of radicalism in FATA is due to pre-independence communalism, the Muslim-Hindu tensions, the anti-Ahmadi campaigns of the 1950s, the Afghan Jihad in 1979, the anti-Americanism and the anti-imperialism or anti-colonialism. All these events deprived the people of FATA of any peace and security. This led to their inherent radicalization. According to Mr Imtiaz Gul's research, 100 % of the terrorists from FATA were unemployed, out of which 80% were from the age group of 15 to 28 years and unmarried, and none of them was an orthodox religious follower, whereas 10 per cent of them were liberal seculars._(Gul) The radicalism has further been nurtured by identity problems, increasing provincial, ethnic and sectarian strife, a lack of democratic forums and depleting human deployment. The ongoing merging process of FATA will provide a common citizenship status to all the residents of FATA. They will be allowed to participate in political activities as per their own choice through peaceful means. Employment opportunities will prevent them from indulging in illegal means.

Effects on Governance

The management of FATA is already heavily dependent on the KP Government: at present, about fifty-two thousand employees of the KP government are in various FATA departments. Similarly, the FATA Secretariat, which is considered to be the headquarters for FATA affairs, has about 700 employees and belongs to the provincial ministry. FATA people in various agencies also rely on the KP Government machine for many administrative tasks. Authorities say that in other key sectors, such as education and health care, the merger will involve

more than just because the KP Government is already providing staff. However, syncing would not be easy if FATA international agencies were not brought in to comply with the KP regions. These reforms aim to provide Constitutional protections for the people of FATA by extending the highest level of justice, introducing modern policing, establishing local government and establishing a range of economic and social development activities. On the one hand, this will facilitate the KP Government in the successful launching of reforms, while on the other hand will address the long-awaited demand of FATA._(Ali, 2018)

Though a number of relaxations were given to the people belonging to the tribal areas, such as paying taxes and relaxation in terms of answerability to the judiciary and police, the end-point is that it has become the precinct of the tribal people in lieu of their collective responsibility to maintain law and order in their hometowns. As per the requirement of the collective responsibility and the Modus Operandi through which it operates, even mere allegation can bring about the disaster of the family involved and the tribe a large. In the process, many of the homes and villages were rendered dilapidated; property was confiscated by the authorities concerned and without due regard to pay the compensation for the same. Implementation of FATA reforms will bring an end to this clause and will make the culprit responsible for his own ills and wrongs. This change will surely accrue rich dividends.

The Jirga system is a decades-long conflict resolution mechanism in tribal areas, serving as a customary law firm. Although the youth may also join the jirga, it is only the adults who decide the dispute or postpone important matters. In fair and free jirga, most decisions in terms of local customs depend on the consent of the members of the jirga. Islamic sharia is often included in such decisions. Cases are heard, and awards and punishments are made to the parties involved in the dispute. The role of the jirga is not limited to determining minor disputes between individuals; It is also a jirga to resolve long-standing hostilities, major conflicts between families, and inter-tribal conflicts. If the jirga decisions are violated, the perpetrators face serious consequences ranging from a minor sentence to vandalism or confiscation of property. Lack of accountability in the FATA administrative system is a source of corruption; Local tribal members and journalists report extensively on kickbacks, bribes and commissions. Pashtuns often take pride in the jirga system and regard it as an anti-conflict system in their community. They think it is better and faster than the Pakistani legal system, where

trivial cases take years to decide. Many Pashtun intellectuals and Western scholars regard it as a domestic conflict resolution and peacebuilding organization. However, a large number of educated tribes have turned to the jirga system, pointing out that such traditional dispute resolution methods are incompatible with modern justice systems, which require only a free and fair judicial system but are legally trained. , Neutral Mediator.

Based on conversations with FATA youth and the report of the FATA Reform Committee, many youths complain that jirga decisions are not fair and are heavily influenced by a strong party in the conflict. In the absence of women's representation, the jirga system has come under full criticism for its men's creation. Women are the main victims of patriarchal tribal traditions. For example, the Swara tradition views women as a tool for resolving disputes between two families or tribes. Minor girls are also married to older people to resolve a long-standing dispute or compensate for the loss. Honour killing is another inhuman crime against women. Since women are not allowed to participate in the jirga, they cannot fight against the charges in the traditional tribal jirga or defend themselves and are increasingly punished. Fata people are eagerly awaiting the implementation of judicial reforms as part of the merger plan. The locals demand a change in the FCR related legal system, but they should not discourage the sluggish justice system.

Prospects of Administrative and Economic Uplift

For economic development, ten years special package has been announced by FRC, which is headed by the KP governor. They allocated 21 billion for different developmental projects that are, agriculture, good governance, industrial development, energy sector, minerals improvement, education and health etc. [\[Shad & Ahmad, 2018\]](#)

Besides this developmental package, a reserved quota for employments opportunities is to be maintained for them for a decade at least. Still, those who are the reaving-end of such benefit are those who are living in areas and for whom their indigenous areas have become off-limit. This fact is the most conspicuous when it comes to the highest prestige civil services competitive exam where the beneficiaries get the position through their reserved quotas for FATA, albeit their inhabitant are living in the settled areas. This employment scheme is well received amongst the locals and, if implemented on merit, will assist in bringing literacy and employment to the FATA also consists of six Frontier Regions, which are

separating them from the province of KP. In most of the agencies, their reign of tribes reign supreme. That is, Afridi and Shinwari mostly live in the Khyber tribal district, Wazir and Mehsud in South Waziristan and Dawar in North Waziristan. Although the unemployment rate in the region is projected to be 60 to 80 percent, a significant number of Pashtuns have turned to cities for the ultimate benefit of the occupation. By some estimates, Karachi became the largest Pashtun city; Immigration scores from various FATA agencies among Pashtun immigrants. Many FATA tribes have become Pakistani businessmen. He operates a truck convoy and runs a nationwide road transport business. Migration of the Pashtun conflict on the economic and, more recently, extensive scale. According to the census, Fata had a population of about five million. While detailed migration statistics are not yet available from the new census, some analysts estimate that FATA-originated individuals may live in settled areas due to economic migration or forced relocation from military and police operations. The total number of Pakistanis of FATA origin may be between eight and ten million. Irrespective of the accuracy of the count details, I mplementation of FATA reforms will generate economic activities in the area, which will check the mass migration of Pashtuns into the urban areas. They will also prefer trade and business in their own areas. [_\[Shaping a new Peace in Pakistan's Tribal Areas, 2018\]](#)

The most impactful thing pertaining to the FATA is its security landscape. FATA is regarded as one of the dangerous regions in the world. Two reasons account for the plight of FATA: security situation and incapable institutions. Disregard or lack of attention to FATA affairs by successive governments in Pakistan further shoved the region into backwardness. However, the present reforms process and merger with KP has emerged as a ray of hope. Despite the ongoing reforms process, there are critical areas that are of concern: First, the estimates of population in FATA are uncertain as there are serious allegations on the precision of the census process. The onus of this certainty lies not only on the government but the people of FATA as well. The chains of culture, traditions and inhibition about women prevented many people from giving incomplete information to census takers. Hence, the correct estimate of the population in FATA needs to be made to dispel misgivings in public about the FATA reforms process. Second, the annual development budget of FATA has always been underutilized. The prevailing security situation, lack of capacity in institutions and government initiative are the reasons behind this. The budget of several millions cannot be spent in

the absence of basic institutions like education, health etc. Third, dismantling of mines is another critical issue that has been catered to, but there have been reports of incidents in few areas. Forth, the issue of FATA's share in NFC award also needs to be addressed. People of FATA claim their due share in FNC in proportion to their population and needs. All these points are interlinked and needs to be addressed for proper mainstreaming of FATA into KP.

Critical Analysis of the Merger Plan

Critics of the merger of FATA with KP asserts that it was erroneous to treat such an important areas as one geographical entity and to held responsible only the FCR for all the problem sod the areas. Any perception of supporting the business-as-usual, whenever it might have been whether in FATA, GB or in the former states of Bahawalpur, Swat, Makran, and Kalat was contrary democratic norms, and whatever there could have been the compulsions of time. Therefore, the ideas that congress wanted principles states with it was deemed democratic. Similarly, the merger will trigger a discrepancies on the opinion over how it could be done. The fact is that whether two members of the legislative assembly out of nine could have opposed the policy, then such a move could have amounted to a violation of the constitution of the country. The rest of the members refused to participate in the voting process. In this context, we are also equate the fourteen points of the Quaid e azam. The 8th point pertains to, "No bill or resolution or any part thereof shall be passed in any legislature or any other elected body if three fourths of the members of any community in that particular body oppose it as being injurious to the interests of that community or in the alternative." [\[Warsi, 2018\]](#)

The mentioned point vividly dilate on the word "oppose it", however, when we contextualize the point the spirit of the point come out as that at least 25% people of the community is question should the move impacting them. Contextualizing the views of the Quaid Azam fourteen points in this context would mean that FATA is separate community and that the merger will directly and indirectly impact them. The fact is also that 3/4th of the community have refused to participate in the voting process. In such a situation it would not be possible to adhere to both letter and spirit. Anyone could be sacrificed at the altar of other. Likewise, the haste with the major policy decision was put into vote flies in the face of democratic norms. The 2013 election were not the one which were contested on the name of FATA reforms. In short, it could be asserted, and it could have been desirable had the issues was left to upcoming

government with a fresh mandate and might could have been included in their manifestoes.

All the more in this way, the progressions it will trigger are probably going to aggravate the discretionary math of some ideological groups. The KP Assembly presently has 124 seats (99 general, 22 ladies, 4 non-Muslim) and the FATA merger will acquire extra 23 (18 general, 4 ladies and 1 non-Muslim). [\[Mehdi, 2017\]](#)

The inborn regions have consistently had this somewhat questionable differentiation. They were granted seven seats in the nation's first straightforwardly chose National Assembly (with the present four areas at that point having a sum of 131 seats). That was to some degree higher than FATA's offer in populace. However, the offer proportionates to populace had neither rhyme nor reason then as the races in FATA were held under constrained establishment that gave democratic right just to a chosen few thousand Maliks. FATA has been given the bit of leeway in portion of seats in the National Assembly on the appearance that the region doesn't have portrayal in a commonplace get together and along these lines should be redressed. Assuming, in any case, the 30th Amendment in the Constitution is passed before the delimitation, this contention will lose ground.

One of most basic suggestions includes the foundation of a devoted unit for execution. Rather than an impermanent association administering the incorporation procedure, the KP government needs to lead. From the very get-go, there was consensus of opinions and views and motives about the reforms of the FATA region. However, the lack of consensus was over as to ought to be the substance of those reforms and how those reforms could be implemented. Mind boggling as this change plan may show up, it is in no way, shape or form unfeasible gave there is political will and assurance to oversee the procedure to its end. Be that as it may, a number of eager supporter who want merger do not deem Mr. Sharif is the one who is not capable or otherwise not eager to implement it.

Historical events, when put into perspective, resurrect itself in different hues. The fact that the region is battered by militancy and the fact that is northwest region, history won't pardon us on the off chance that we neglect to take advantage of this lucky break and with time running out, we might not have a similar open door once more.

As per the temporary populace figures from the 2017 registration, the portion of KP region in National Assembly proportionate to its populace will go up by five seats (from 35 to 40) yet the offer for FATA under a similar recipe will go down

from 12 to 6. This implies that the joined area of KP and FATA should confront the aggregate loss of one seat. This dispersion will, in any case, be advantageous for Sindh and Punjab as the previous will increase two seats and Punjab's normal loss of seven seats will be diminished to four. Baluchistan and Islamabad will increase two and one extra situate under any situation. The merger of FATA with KP will likewise part of the arrangement it is having eight separate seats in the Senate.

In this way, the new area will lose one seat in the 342-member lower house and eight in the upper house of the parliament. While increasing 23 seats in the commonplace governing body. Presently the ideological groups read this asset report in various ways. The gatherings with more spotlight on common legislative issues think of it as useful however the ones progressively keen on utilizing their nearby base as influence in national governmental issues are hesitant and contradict the merger. [\(Firdous, 2018\)](#)

The proposed arrangement visualizes a three percent designation from the Finance distribution mechanism NFC. On the other hand, federal government would keep on taking care of everything pertaining to the Annual Development Program for a long time. Such kind of arrangement accommodates a council under the legislative leader of KP besides establishing parliamentarians from KP along with FATA. The function of the KP government, which will in the end claim and acquire the whole 27,200-kilometer territory including the inborn areas, have been rendered indistinct. As of now, the government of KP does not deem the FATA secretariat and the FATA development authority to undertake such a gigantic task. They, therefore, clamour for some kind of reevaluation.

The move to stretch out the constipation rights is a positive step in a positive direction. In this debate the right activist movement, however, lost in horizon, as it is against those who do not pay heed to constitution and the courts in the country. The way ahead is far-off as one of those activists said. There is also a growing perception that all those who signed the bill was meant for political consideration of acquiring the votes.

The merger of FATA, which has truly been kept at the political edges by Pakistan's pioneers and remains to a great extent immature, will imply that there are no ungoverned spaces or no-go zones in Pakistan—terms which have regularly been utilized to characterize the locale's wilderness. On the off chance that FATA's sacred merger with KP is actualized effectively, it can prepare for the advancement of a powerful security mechanical assembly to control cross

outskirt criminal and fear-based oppressor exercises. Besides, the advancement and democratization of the locale is probably going to help minimize radical powers in the zone. Besides, FATA has not been a piece under the Political Parties Act of Pakistan, keeping the inhabitants belonging to district from challenging in the general political decision and shaping their own political associations. This has prompted FATA's populace to be distanced from the bigger political procedures of the nation. It is probably the most unfortunate area within excess of 60 percent of individuals living beneath the neediness line and there is no state-run instruction or medicinal services framework.

The administration's activities—neglecting to enough address neediness, overlooking fundamental human rights, and barring the populace from protected and financial undertakings for a considerable length of time have made space for radicalism and militancy to flourish in FATA. For over 10 years, the military in Pakistan has been battling a war against fanaticism that remaining parts established in FATA. The proposed expansion of the protected systems to FATA offers a significant chance to policymakers in Islamabad to address the district's administration and security challenges, something that has so far resisted wide political accord all through the nation's history.

It has been generally contended that different foundations in Pakistan, especially the military, have only from time to time been keen on bringing FATA into the standard. This is likely on the grounds that such a move may build oversight of the military's methodology toward dealing with the district, which could undermine the nation's local security strategy on the side of different radical gatherings that have discovered asylum in Pakistan's innate regions. Seemingly, the military has a motivator to guarantee there are not many managerial, legitimate, and bureaucratic balanced governance on their administration of the area. In any case, the present authority of the Pakistani military has attempted critical endeavors to guarantee that FATA joins the remainder of Pakistan as far as having the equivalent political, monetary and administration rights and openings.

This adjustment in strategy with respect to the military may have occurred for two reasons. To start with, the military understands that so as to combine the counterterrorism picks up, they have accomplished in the course of recent years, soundness and political standardization of FATA is basic. Be that as it may, this can't turn into a reality except if the area approaches far reaching and organized business, authoritative and political chances. Pakistan Army, which takes urgent

choices with respect to the nation's security approach, may hold the view that Pakistan's interior security risk is far more prominent than any provincial outside danger. Placating FATA by stretching out established changes to the area and presenting far reaching outskirts the board structure close by Afghanistan's fringe seem to point toward the military's endeavour to oversee and fortify Pakistan's interior security structures.

Having passed the vital administrative obstacle identified with FATA's merger with KP, it is presently time that changes be set up, with political and monetary changes a top need. In the short run, the break government ought to guarantee that the individuals of FATA participate in the up-and-coming general political race and the privilege to shape ideological groups is legitimately accessible to them. Additionally, the state ought to guarantee that the current legal structure of the district that is predominantly lead by a Jirga framework (chamber of seniors) is cancelled and a productive lawful structure is set up which ensures the Supreme Court's writ in the zone. A thorough financial arrangement ought to likewise be created to inspire the district and furnish its kin with sufficient work openings. By making a monetary practical and law-based society in FATA, Pakistan can underestimate fanatic powers in the area.

Inasmuch as FATA keeps on being separated from the standard and certifiable protected changes are not actualized on the ground, the individuals of FATA just as Pakistan will keep on enduring the worst part of the current precariousness of the district. On the off chance that the legislature in Pakistan is genuinely keen on uniting its counterterrorism gains and seeing the transformation procedure of the FATA experience effectively, there is a desperate need to settle outskirts debates with neighbouring Afghanistan and control the fringe for fear monger and crimes. Besides, FATA doesn't have systematized neighbourhood law authorization bodies, similar to the case with rest of Pakistan. The advancement of different managerial and law implementation bodies, for example, a customary police power, will be useful in both building up a wide security foundation, improving the general security circumstance in FATA, and limiting the military's immediate job in the organization of the district.

Conclusion

It is concluded from the above analysis people belonging Tribal areas were left unattended and

their rights being fluted despite the fact that it was their due rights. The rules of FATA governance are outdated and unjustifiable. This action was supposed to represent a compromise between cultural interests and revolutionaries, because it allowed foreigners to be ruled by their own nations. Implementing FATA Transformation Pakistan needs a comprehensive approach to engaging in security and political challenges posed by FATA.

Certain groups whose rights have been violated every time there is no effective system of modern laws including journalists and women. In order to successfully implement FATA reforms, including informing FATA people of their legal and political rights, emphasizing high-level accountability and monitoring public spending in international, free and impartial media must be effective. In this regard, the government must not only include the freedom of the press in the revolutionary package, it must also take steps to ensure the safety and security of the nation's journalists. Similarly, government must ensure the participation of women in the transformation process. Women account for more than half of the total FATA. However, they have been assigned an active role in the international community, not only in part of local culture but also because of the indifference shown by the government respectively to all the political, economic and social issues affecting FATA people and especially women.

As part of a package of effective reforms, and not only should the seats be reserved for women in the National and Provincial Assemblies, but government must also take strong steps to ensure women's participation in the election process. Ultimately, the government cannot implement all these changes on its own. The responsibility for using and descending on FATA people and tribal elders, many of whom still cling to old traditions. They need to understand that many disturbing things have happened in the past ten years that have stood in the way of continuing the past. That is impossible, and it is no longer the wish of the majority of the nation. The preservation of the old system at the expense of modernity in the 21st century is damaging to FATA and its people. Cultural relativism aside, the old guard of the international community needs to give the new guard, the young warriors in daily affairs. The elders of the nations must look to the future for the generations to come. Most ethnic youths are not comfortable with old customs.

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