

**FATA REFORMS: COMMUNITY PERCEPTION AND IDENTIFICATION
OF CONSTRAINTS IN IMPLEMENTATION**

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Abstract

This research article contains comprehensive and detailed analysis of community perception towards FATA reforms, to be implemented gradually and to identify various constraints in its implementation. Efforts have been made to remain focused on the measures if taken, to integrate and mainstream tribal belt in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Further, it aims to explore expected outcome of FATA reforms. This research study has been undertaken in Bajaur Agency FATA where the data has been collected through Likert Scale Questionnaire from a sample of 280 respondents which were selected randomly from different areas of Bajaur Agency. The study found that the people of FATA were very optimistic about the FATA reforms and welcome FATA merger into KP. Regarding community perception, majority of the respondents were apprehensive about implementation of FATA reforms due to presence of major gaps. Moreover, it demonstrates consent of general public of FATA as they believe their financial, social, political, judicial structure and economic condition will improve on pretext of FATA reforms and human rights condition will improve in the area which is long due. The

study recommended that FCR programme cannot be improved through amendments and FATA should be merged with Khyber Pakhtunkhwa without further delay.

Keywords: *FATA; Reforms; Community perception; Constraints; Tribal Area; Merger*

1.1. BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

The people of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, casted vote to join Pakistan through a referendum on 6-7 July 1947 and 99.5% votes were cast in favor of Pakistan. This guide was adopted by all the tribes up to Durand line and the Heads of the Princely states of Dir, Swat and Chitral. Tribal areas expressed their consent through special Jirga and made agreement to accept Pakistan as their new colonial power on the same term that existed with the British, though famous instrument of agreement. Tribesmen also attended a Darbar/Joint Jirga in Governor House Peshawar on 17 April 1948 presided over by Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. (Pervez, 2005). The present constitutional position of the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) is enshrined in Articles 246 and 247 of the 1973 constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan (Article 246 and 247, 1973). FATA constitutes along Pak-afghan border and accounts for 27,220 sq. km or 3.4 percent of Pakistan's territory. According to 1973 constitution, FATA take apart from the KPK where FATA is located although the constitution decrees that there should be no racial, sectarian, tribal and provincial differences between the people of Pakistan (Raza, 1973).

The significance of FATA and its location on Pakistan-Afghanistan border offer a distinctive test to Pakistan on different fronts. Historically, the area remained a hub to contests and also feasible offensive route, the region has consequently been used as a launching pad for maintaining hegemony in Afghanistan. More recently it has emerged as a harbor of terrorist

and criminals menace for the national security of Pakistan. The area has a geographical, economic and political importance in that it is a possible route for the fiscal progress of the upcoming newly born Central Asian States. FATA has been a component of the battlefield on which the 'Great Game' of colonial supremacy was executed in the 19th century (Dichers, 1967).

FATA faced the brunt of problems with the invasion of Russian on Afghanistan in 1979. It shared the major brunt in terms of refugees and the resultant narcotics and weapon influx. (Cheema, 2005). There is thus a requirement to fully integrate these strategically important but neglected areas into the national mainstream while addressing the problems prevalent there. The current account of FATA happened in late 1970s and remained till beginning of 90s, with the attack of the USSR in Afghanistan. Pakistan became a leading country in the Afghan war, of struggle against USSR and the FATA belt of Pakistan became the core logistics course, the induction base and the reinforcement camp for the freedom fighters to wage jihad against the attacking army of USSR. In the most recent past a new phenomenon in the political history of the area started after the happening of 9/11 and the consequent choice of the government of Pakistan to stay united with the global states, led by the USA in the 'war against terrorism'. This time also Pakistan became the leading state and the FATA has the focus of international attention due to its strategic location. These terrorist attacks on twin towers brought the FATA into the international limelight, the USA and its allies are fighting this menace for over thirteen years in Afghanistan, speculates that these tribal areas are the safe place for terrorists attacks in Afghanistan on US forces. Keeping in account the serious concerns of the international community to fight war against terror and flush out the miscreants from FATA and from the geographical boundaries of Pakistan to maintain law and order, establish the writ of the government, addressing the US concerns, the government of Pakistan decided to launch a

military operation in FATA with the primary focus to finish the terrorism from Pakistan. (Force Commander, NWA S. O.M., 2006).

Geo-Politics of FATA

It is group of seven Administrative units called Agencies (Survey of Pakistan, 1995) namely Bajaur, Mohmand, Khyber, Aurakzai, Kurram, North and South Waziristan along with six frontier regions while moving from north to south on the Durand Line, there are different passes which shapes out as main routes of trade and between the subcontinent and Central Asian States. The people and trade caravans used to come to sub-continent by one of the many routes and famous main road, passing through the KPK through Nava pass of Bajaur, Torkham of Khyber agency, Pawaarkotal of Kurram Agency, Ghulam Khan of Tochi and Gomal in the south and thus reached Peshawar, Dera Ismail Khan and to the India. All these routes, fall into tribal belt across the Durand Line are open for regular and irregular traffic. Different empires that ruled India in the past having control of the plains through one or two of the passes in mountainous terrain(Olaf, 1957). Tribal belt lie Northwest of KP along Durand line. It is a strip of land 1200 km long and 130 km wide. Geographically, FATA region are the knots of three the highest mountain series in the world: the Hindu Kush, the Pameer ranges and the Karakorum mountains (Dichers, 1967). Administratively, FATA is divided into seven political agencies: Khyber, Bajaur, Mohmand, Aurakzai, Kurram, North and South Waziristan and six Frontier Regions: Peshawar, Kohat Bannu, LakkiMarwat, D.I.Khan and Tank. The geographical proximity and contiguity of borders with the neighboring state of Afghanistan and shortest possible road links with newly born Central Asian Republics have created a major stir among the political, industrial and commercial circles of Pakistan and tribal areas. The

map of tribal areas of Pakistan clearly shows the boundaries between the agencies and further with Afghanistan.

Currently in Pakistan, the most important issue of the tribal areas is the determination of its status. In 2016 Prime Minister of Pakistan Mr. Nawaz Sharif made a committee for the purpose of deciding the future of FATA in the form of FATA reforms. The committee chairperson was Mr. Sartaj Aziz (Adviser to the Prime Minister on Foreign Affairs) and the other members of the committee were Mr. Zafar Iqbal Jhagra (Governor Khyber Pakhtunkhwa), Lt. Gen. (Rtd.) Abdul Qadir Baloch (Minister for SAFRON), Mr. Zahid Hamid (Minister for Law & Justice), Lt. Gen. (Rtd.) Nasser Khan Janjua (National Security Adviser), Mr. Muhammad Shehzad Arbab (Secretary SAFRON). The committee after visiting to all the agencies of FATA recommend the following three options. The three options are 1) a separate province constituting the tribal areas; 2) the tribal areas being merged into Khyber Pakhtunkhwa; and 3) to continue with the status quo.

Geographically all these areas are linked and share borders with Balochistan and KP in Pakistan and with some provinces of Afghanistan. Almost all the tribal population is Pashtun and Muslim. Constitutionally, these areas enjoy a special status according to agreements signed by tribes with different governments. Interestingly, Afghanistan also had a tribal belt as a buffer zone but their status has been changed to provinces of Afghanistan. Every option Fata faces has its own pros and cons. Already larger provinces are causing administrative and ethnic problems in Pakistan. The final decision should be made by the people of the tribal areas through a referendum.

The first option FATA has is to become an independent province. A large number of FATA residents are in favor of an independent province for themselves. They want to lead their lives

according to their culture, customs and traditions. They are not used to police, courts and patwari systems. The tribal areas have a *khasadar* force to maintain law and order and a local jirga system operating under the political agent to settle their disputes. A representative local government system and independent administrative machinery can carry out development work. This may be a different system from the rest of Pakistan but, if successful, it may even be replicated elsewhere.

The problems with this option are that geographically all the tribal agencies are situated in the form of a bow along the Afghan border. Because of its particular geography, even consensus on a capital may be difficult. Access to the capital will be a problem unless a viable road network is constructed in this different terrain. Already, the proposed location of the FATA University at Dera Ismail Khan has been made controversial. There will be a problem also of linking this new province with the frontier regions situated within settled districts. Moreover, making a new province means huge expense and building new physical and institutional infrastructure.

The second option is merging FATA into KP. This seems to be the most convenient and workable option. All tribal agencies are situated adjacent to the settled districts of KP. Even the headquarters of the Orakzai agency is situated in Hangu, a settled area. Even the Frontier Regions can be easily merged with the adjacent districts. Already all KP departments are also operating in the tribal areas. FRs are being managed by the deputy commissioners of adjacent districts. A significant number of tribal people are already living in districts of KP. Almost all the tribal people are Pashtuns so they share language and culture with the Pashtun-majority KP. In order to safeguard freedom, culture, customs etc, FATA can be converted to

Provincially Administered Tribal Areas (PATA) which will be under the administration of the provincial government instead of the federal government.

The consequences of this option are that the people of FATA may feel they are losing their identity and freedom. For decades KP has been ruled by the elites of the central districts of Peshawar, Charsadda, Mardan and FATA may be neglected the same way the remaining districts in KP feel they are.

KP's majority population is Pashtun according to the 1998 population census but the DI Khan division has 60 percent Seraiki population, the Hazara division has 80 percent Hindko population, and the Chitral district has a majority Chitrali population. These ethnic minorities will feel further marginalized if a large number of the tribal Pashtun population is added to the already-Pashtun dominated KP. Furthermore, FATA stands almost devastated due to the insurgency and continuous military operations. In order to rehabilitate FATA, a Marshall Plan like funding is needed. The merger of FATA into KP at this stage will put unbearable economic constraints on KP, which is already a backward and insurgency-hit province.

The third option is to continue with the status quo. This is really no option because it has not helped the people of FATA in the past. FATA will be developed if it can find the right direction. Another point of view is to establish an elected FATA executive council, agency councils etc, to run the area. This will co-exist with the political agent system. This may not solve the problem unless a clear direction of status of FATA is sought – by the people of the area, who have sole rights to decide about the future of the tribal areas.

1.2. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The demand for extending democracy to the tribal areas of Pakistan is not a new phenomenon. Often conflated with terrorism and border-fragility in international news, the Tribal Areas of Pakistan have become a symbol of Islamabad's negligence in building inclusionary structures for a wide swathe of strategically located terrain governed by archaic laws that spark outrage for their brutal, colonial autocracy. Today, given that an operationally patchy National Action Plan dictates the retooling of FATA and PATA policy in order to extend the fight against violent extremism, a high-level FATA reforms initiative from Islamabad finds its agenda in the crosshairs of animated public discourse in Pakistan.

Shrouded in centuries of tribal warfare, rugged terrain, archaic customs, political disenfranchisement and a parallel judicial structure, the Tribal Areas of Pakistan seem frozen in time as a relic of history. After nearly seven decades of independence, the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), the Pakistan Administered Tribal Areas (PATA), remain outside the circle of constitutional protections, popping up regularly in the news as a flashpoint of terrorism and governance in perpetual crisis.

1.3. THE NEED FOR REFORM

After a decade of militancy and the fight against it, sociopolitical pressures in the Tribal Areas have accentuated fragile fault lines. Despite billions in investments on reconstruction, rehabilitation and development in the Tribal Areas, the trajectory for extending basic social services, fundamental freedoms and political rights has plateau. The region continues to demonstrate some of the lowest human development indicators in Pakistan with literacy rates as low as 17 percent overall and as low as 3 percent among women. Infant mortality is recorded to be as high as 87 deaths per 1000 births and just 10 percent of the population has access to 'adequate' sanitation. An absence of representative local and provincial governments and

corresponding district administration structures explains, to some extent, the disparity in opportunities and access to public services faced by its citizens. Over the past decade, repeated military operations in the various agencies of the Tribal Areas have displaced over 1.8 million people. The process of relocation and rehabilitation has been equally hard. While a majority of the displaced population has now moved back, a significant number of displaced families from North and South Waziristan continue to live in temporary camps or with host families across adjoining settled districts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. This mass displacement of families has had an impact on livelihoods and social structures, adding to existing vulnerabilities of the region's inhabitants. Equally significant is the impact of displacement on the relationship between the Tribal Areas and the state. The very real challenges of ensuring that citizens of the Tribal Areas are provided the very freedoms and public services guaranteed under the Constitution, and that the writ of the state is extended to FATA has necessitated a long overdue reform process – a process that will extend access to justice, health, education, and representative government to the Tribal Areas. The legitimate demand for politically mainstreaming the Tribal Areas has gained renewed impetus as the need for reestablishing a new social contract between its residents and the state has gained velocity.

1.4. OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

2. To Understand the Community Perception towards FATA Reforms and expected goals of FATA reforms
3. To Identify the Major constraints in the Implementation of FATA Reforms
4. To explore likely contentions and Implementation issues in the FATA Reforms

1.5. METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

Methodology refers to the philosophy of research process which includes assumptions and values that serve as rationale for research and standard criteria researchers used for interpreting data and researchers to conclusion (Bailey, 1978). The following research methodology has been used in the current research study.

The current study has been conducted in Bajaur Agency. Bajaur Agency is the smallest of the agencies by size in FATA, Pakistan. It shares a 52-km long border with Afghanistan's Kunar province. Its population is estimated to be 850,000 to 900,000 (SDC, 2009). The headquarters of the Agency Administration is located in the town of Khar. Bajaur is inhabited almost exclusively by Tarkani (Tarkalani) Pashtuns, and the main sub-tribes in Bajaur are the UtmanKhel, the Tarkalani, the Mamund (Kakazai, Wur and Salarzai) as well as a small population of Safis. The UtmanKhels are at the southeast of Bajaur while Mamund are at the southwest and the Tarkani are at the north of Bajaur. The current research study is based on quantitative approach which according to Babbie, (2005) is a type of inquiry explaining phenomenon by gathering numerical data analyzed using mathematically based methods i.e. statistics. Quantitative research design refers to the numerical representation, manipulation and analysis of data e.g. the use of statistical and mathematical tools is dominant in such design (Denzin,1978). Sampling refers to the procedure of application of technique for the selection of a sample where sample represent a subset of the population that is taken to be the representation of the entire population (Wimmer and Dominick, 1993). In the current study, researcher has selected 280 respondents from the total study area through simple random sample technique. Data collection is one the important steps in the research process which is a stage in the research process where information is gathered through different means i.e. Questionnaire, Interview schedule, or observation (Singh, 2007). Thus, the current study utilized Likert scale questionnaire as a tool of data collection.

As discussed earlier that the current study is quantitative in nature and the analysis has also been framed under quantitative format. In explanation, quantitative data is a numerical evidence or record that results from course of measurement and on which basic mathematical operation can be done. Thus, the current study presents the analyzed data in the form of tables along with frequencies, percentage.

1.6. COMMUNITY PERCEPTION TOWARDS FATA REFORMS

Table-1. Community Perception towards FATA Reforms

Statements	Strongly Agree	Agree	No Opinion	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
There are huge gaps in FATA Reforms	102(36.4%)	88(31.4%)	23(8.2%)	45(16.7%)	22(7.8%)	280(100%)
Wealthy people are likely to get most out of FATA Reforms	21(7.5%)	43(15.3%)	22(7.8%)	122(43.5%)	72(25.7%)	280(100%)
People with political influence get the most benefit	85(30.3%)	70(25%)	15(5.3%)	83(29.6%)	27(9.6%)	280(100%)
General public will get the most benefit	145 (51.7%)	86(30.7%)	12(4.2%)	32(11.4%)	05(1.7%)	280(100%)

In tribal areas people have different opinion towards FATA reforms. In this study different various dimension has been discussed and respondents showed their response in the form of

strongly agree, Agree, no opinion, disagree and strongly disagree. Among the various dimension the very first is that there are huge gaps in FATA reforms.

The data elucidates that 102(36.4%) respondents strongly agreed whereas 88(31.4%) agreed with the notion while 45(8.2%) have no opinion about this. Similarly, 45(16.07%), 22(7.85%) respondents disagreed and strongly disagreed with the notion that there are huge gaps in FATA reforms. The statistics depicts that majority of the respondents i.e. 122(43.5%) disagreed with statement that wealthy people are likely to get most out of FATA Reforms but also 72(25.7%) strongly disagreed which as well shows us that FATA reforms will increase the benefits of wealthy peoples. On the other hand, 43(15.3%) and 21(7.5%) agreed and strongly agreed with that statement whereas 7.8% didn't shows their consent and remain neutral.

The data further illustrates the opinion of the respondents about the option that People with political influence get the most benefit. Regarding that 85(30.3%) strongly agreed, 70(25%) agreed, no opinion 15(5.3%) while 83(29.6%) disagreed and considerable i.e. 27(9.6%) respondents strongly disagreed with that statement. Furthermore, the available statistics shows that more than half i.e. 145(51.7%) respondents strongly agreed and 86(30.7%) agreed while 32(11.4%) and less than all i.e. 05(1.7%) disagreed and strongly disagreed respectively with the idea that general public will get the most benefit and 12(4.2%) have no opinion about this concept.

Table-2. Community Perception about the Goals of FATA Reforms

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	No Opinion	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Fata Reforms are extremely good for the society	231(82.2%)	34 (12.1%)	00 (00%)	14 (5%)	01 (0.3%)	280(100%)
FATA Reforms will help to improve justice in the region.	220(78.5%)	32 (11.4%)	95 (33.9%)	23 (8.2%)	03(1.07%)	280(100%)
FATA Reforms will help to improve justice for poor people	185(66%)	45 (16%)	07(2.5%)	21(7.5%)	22 (7.8%)	280(100%)
FATA Reforms will help in eliminating corruption.	45(16%)	98(35%)	45(16%)	56(20%)	36(12.8%)	280(100%)
Fata Reforms will improve the governance system.	234(83.5%)	34(12.1%)	00(00%)	04(1.42%)	08(2.8%)	280(100%)
FATA Reforms will improve participation of women in the societal activities.	30(10.7%)	60(21.4%)	30(10.7%)	71(25.3%)	89(31.1%)	280(100%)
Fata Reforms will enhance the political environment of the region	146(52.1%)	87(31.1%)	07(2.5%)	22 (7.85%)	18(6.42%)	280(100%)
There are no gaps or shortcomings in FATA Reforms	07(2.5%)	34 (12.1%)	09(3.2%)	128(51.1%)	102 (36.4%)	280(100%)

The tabular data shows the results of the information gathered from the respondents about the Community Perception regarding the goals of FATA Reforms. The very first perception is that Fata Reforms are extremely good for the society. About that more than all i.e. 231(82.2%)

respondents strongly agreed whereas 34(12.1%) which demonstrate that FATA reforms are very helpful for the future of tribal areas. Similarly, 220(78.5%) strongly agreed, 32(11.4%) agreed whereas third quarter i.e. 95(33.9%) opted no opinion which maybe the lack of confidence on current justice system in the country. On contrast some respondents i.e. 23(8.2%) disagreed and 03(1.07%) strongly disagreed about the statement that FATA Reforms will help to improve justice in the region.

In this juncture another question was FATA Reforms will help to improve justice for poor people. Regarding this majority i.e. 185(66%) strongly agreed, more than all of the remaining i.e. 45(16%) agreed, 07(2.5%) have no opinion about this whereas 21(7.5%) and 22(7.8%) disagreed and strongly disagreed respectively. The statistical data also demonstrates the results of information about FATA Reforms will help in eliminating corruption. In this connection the views of respondents seem dividing and approximately percentage is equal i.e. 45(16%) each strongly agreed and of no opinion while disagreed 56(20%) and 36(12.8%) while majority of them i.e. 98(35%) agreed with this statement. Further, regarding Fata Reforms will improve the governance system the mention tabular information clarifies that all the respondents shows their response about this and majority of the respondents i.e. 234(83.5%) strongly agreed with that and 34(12.1%) agreed which makes the majority of the remaining respondent which clearly confirm that FATA reforms will improve the governance system in tribal areas.

Similarly, 30(10.7%), 60(21.4%), 71(25.3%) and 89(31.1%) strongly agreed, agreed, disagreed and strongly disagreed respectively about FATA Reforms will improve participation of women in the societal activities which shows that respondents didn't expect much about women participation with that while significant i.e. 30(10.7%) respondents didn't record their response in the favor of this statement. The numerical data also validates the results of the

field respondents about Fata Reforms will enhance the political environment of the region which shows that majority of the respondents i.e. 146(52.1%) and 87(31.1%) strongly agreed and agreed respectively about that and only 07(2.5%) had no opinion which might be lack of political awareness among that respondents.

But on the other hand, some i.e. 22(7.85%) and 18(6.42%) disagreed and strongly disagreed with that statement of improvement of political atmosphere in the targeted area with FATA reforms. The last statement in the community perception about FATA reforms were about the implementation of FATA reforms in the tribal areas which is there are no gaps or shortcomings in FATA Reforms.

The data about that explains that more than all i.e. 128(51.1%) and 102(36.4%) disagreed and strongly disagreed respectively about that which shows that there is shortcoming in the FATA reforms whereas 07(2.5%) and 34(12.1%)strongly agreed and agreed respectively about that and only 09(3.2%) respondents opted no opinions about that which might be the lack of access to the information about FATA reforms.

Table-3 FATA Reforms and Expected Outcome of Reforms for the community

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	No Opinion	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
It will increase rule of law	176(62.8%)	67(23.9%)	07(2.5%)	23(8.21%)	07(2.5%)	280(100%)
It will increase transparency	67(23.9%)	165(58.9)	05(1.78%)	27(9.64%)	16(5.71%)	280(100%)
It will bring Accountability	101(36.7%)	89(31.7%)	11(3.9%)	57(20.3%)	22(7.85%)	280(100%)
It will increase the participation of common people in decision making process	54(19.2%)	70(25%)	28(10%)	83(29.6%)	45(16%)	280(100%)
Improve living condition of people in FATA	165(58.9%)	67(23.9%)	12(4.2%)	16(5.71%)	20(7.1%)	280(100%)
Improve Justice disposition system	68(24.2%)	89(31.7%)	22(7.85%)	56(20%)	45(16%)	280(100%)
It will bring greater employment opportunity	56(20%)	75(26.7%)	32(11.4%)	87(31%)	30(10.7%)	280(100%)
It will improve education and Health facilities	67(23.9%)	106(37.8%)	07(2.5%)	60(21.4%)	40(14.2%)	280(100%)
It will improve the Human right system	189(67.5%)	56(20%)	05(1.78%)	22(7.85%)	08(2.85%)	280(100%)

The people of tribal areas expecting more outcome of reforms in the area and it was basic objective of the study. In this regard, various indicators have been discussed in the above table where the first indicator is that FATA reforms will increase rule of law in tribal area. 176 (62.8%) and 67(23.9%) were strongly agreed and agreed with the indicator which is the majority of the respondents which indicates that FATA reforms will increase rule of law whereby 07(2.5%) opted for no opinion about that while 23(8.21%) and 07(2.5%) disagreed and strongly disagreed about that indicator. Another indicator in this category is that FATA reforms will increase transparency. Regarding that all the respondents opted whereby 67(23.9%) and 165(58.9%) agreed and strongly agreed with indicator respectively which shows

that people of FATA expecting that FATA reforms will increase transparency in the area. However, 05(1.78%) have no opinion about this and 27(9.64%) disagreed 16(5.71%) respondents were strongly disagreed. Furthermore, 101(36.7%) strongly agreed, 89(31.7%) agreed, 11(3.9%) have no opinion while 57(20.3%) disagreed and 22(7.85%) strongly agreed with the statement that FATA reforms will bring accountability in FATA. About the statement that FATA reforms will increase the participation of common people in decision making process the statistical information shows that 54(19.2%) and 70(25%) strongly agreed and agreed with that statement whereby 28(10%) opted no opinion while 83(29.6%) and 45(16%) disagreed and strongly disagreed with the statement respectively which makes the majority of the respondent which indicates that the people of FATA didn't expect more participation of common people after FATA reforms in the area. The general conditions of FATA are not better like other parts of the country. Therefore, one indicators is also part of the study which is that FATA reforms will improve living condition of people in FATA whereby the tabular data portrays that 165(58.9%) and 67(23.9%) strongly agreed and agreed with the indicator respectively which strongly shows that the people of FATA is expecting that it will improve their living conditions after implementation in FATA. 68(24.2%) respondents were strongly agreed, 89(31.7%) agreed while 22(7.85%) of the no opinion whereas 56(20%) disagreed and strongly disagreed were 45(16%) about that FATA reforms will improve Justice disposition system.

The next indicator is about the employment opportunity which is that FATA reforms will bring greater employment opportunity. The data regarding this indicator describes that 56(20%) and 75(26.7%) strongly agreed and agreed respectively about that indicator which makes the majority of the respondents which shows the strong support of this indicator while considerable i.e. 32(11.4%) opted no opinion whereby less than majority i.e. 117 (41.7%) strongly disagreed

and disagreed with the indicator FATA reforms will bring greater employment opportunity. As discussed above the basis needs of people i.e. education and health in tribal areas are not good up to greater extent. The views of the respondent have been also recorded as an aspect of the study like that FATA reforms will improve education and Health facilities. The statistical data reveals that 67(23.9%) and 106(37.8%) strongly agreed and agreed with the aspect respectively, very less i.e. 07(2.5%) didn't record their views about this aspect while on the hand 60(21.4%) respondents disagreed and 40(14.2%) strongly disagreed with the aspect. Similarly, in the study one aspect were about the protection of human right which is that FATA reforms will improve the Human right system in the tribal areas of Pakistan whereby majority i.e. 189(67.5%) and 56(20) strongly agreed and agreed respectively which indicates that the people of FATA expecting that FATA reforms will improve the human right system and will protect it with implementations.

Table-4. Identification of Major Hurdles in the Implementation FATA Reforms

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	No Opinion	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Malaks are the main hurdles in FATA reforms	231(82.2%)	34(12.1%)	00(00%)	13(4.64%)	02(0.7%)	280(100%)
Federal government is not interested in reforms	176(62.2%)	56(20%)	05(1.7%)	32(11.4%)	11(3.9%)	280(100%)
Major Political Parties do not want FATA reforms	54(19.2%)	78(27.8%)	25(8.9%)	56(20%)	67(23.9%)	280(100%)
Local Political Movements do not want FATA reform s	08(2.85%)	23(8.2%)	09(3.2%)	56(20%)	184(65.7%)	280(100%)

Political administration is a big hurdle	143(51%)	76(27.1%)	04(1.4%)	28(10%)	29(10.3%)	280(100%)
Common masses do not want FATA reforms	23(8.21%)	12(4.2%)	07(2.5%)	72(25.2%)	166(59.2%)	280(100%)
Religious leader (Mullah) do not want FATA reforms	13(4.64%)	34(12.1%)	17(6%)	87(31%)	129(46%)	280(100%)
Religious political parties are big hurdles in the way of FATA reforms	67(23.9%)	179(63.9%)	16(5.7%)	08(2.85%)	10(3.5%)	280(100%)

Understanding the various hurdles in the implementations of FATA reforms in tribal areas is the key objective of the current study. Multiple indicators have been discussed in table-4 whereby respondents showed their response in the form strongly agree, agree, no opinion, disagree and strongly disagreed to each indicator. The very first indicators are that Malaks (local elders of the tribal areas) are the main hurdles in FATA reforms whereby the tabular information confirms that 231(82.2%) were strongly agreed and 34(12.14%) agreed about this indicator which makes the total of 94.34% which indicates that according to the views of the respondents Malaks are the key hurdle in the way of implementation of FATA reforms. Regarding the role and interest of in FATA reforms the data illustrates that 176(62.2%) and 56(20%) respondents strongly agreed and agreed respectively that federal Govt of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif is not interested in the implementations of FATA reforms which designates that Federal Govt is also the main hurdle. 54(19.2%) strongly agreed, 78(27.8%) agreed while 25(8.9%) opted no opinion whereas 56(20%) disagreed and 67(23.9%) respondents strongly disagreed about the indicator that Major Political Parties do not want FATA reforms which shows that the views of the respondent are divided about this indicator. Respondents were also asked about the role of Local Political Movements regarding FATA

reforms whereby the statistics depict that 56(20%) disagreed and 184(65.7%) strongly disagreed about the indicator that Local Political Movements do not want FATA reforms which specifies that local political movements are strongly in favor of FATA reforms. 143(51%) were strongly agreed, 76(27.1%) agreed, of no opinions respondents 04(1.4%) while 28(10%) were disagreed and 29(10.3%) strongly disagreed about the indicator that Political administration is a big hurdle which clearly states that political administration is a big hurdle in the implementation of FATA reforms. About the wishes of common masses an indicators is also the part of the study which is that common masses do not want FATA reforms whereby 72(25.2%) and 166(59.2%) respondents disagreed and strongly disagreed respectively with the indicators which strongly shows that common masses are in the favor of FATA reforms in tribal area. In all Pashtun inhabited area religious scholar (Mullah or Imam) are very respectful and they play very dominant role in each and every matter of the area. The current study also undertakes the desire of those religious people about FATA reforms whereby 87(31%) disagreed and 129(46%) respondents were strongly disagreed with the indicator that Religious leader (Mullah or Imam) do not want FATA reforms which also describe that these people wants reforms in tribal areas. Lastly, in this juncture respondents were also asked about the role of Religious political parties as the leader of JUI (Jumait Ullama Islam) Maulana Fazal-u-Rahman in every forum opposes the FATA reforms. In this regard tabular data clarifies that 67(23.9%) and 179(63.9%) respondents were strongly agreeing and agreeing respectively that Religious political parties are big hurdles in the way of FATA reforms which need no explanation further.

Table-5 Disagreements and Implementation issues in the FATA Reforms

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	No Opinion	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Resistance from current Jirga system	87(31%)	116(41.4%)	19(6.7%)	43(15.3%)	15(5.35%)	280(100%)
Resistant from wealthy, affluent, landlords	79(28.2%)	68(24.2%)	24(8.5%)	55(19.6%)	54(19.2%)	280(100%)
Lack of understanding	34(12.1%)	54(19.2%)	13(4.6%)	129(46%)	50(17.8%)	280(100%)
Lack of institutional capacity	36(12.8%)	98(35%)	54(19.2%)	76(27.1%)	16(5.7%)	280(100%)
Lack of finance	89(31.7%)	139(49.6%)	12(4.2%)	25(8.9%)	15(5.35%)	280(100%)
Lack of political will	19(6.7%)	45(16%)	43(15.3%)	96(34.2%)	77(27.2%)	280(100%)
Pressure groups and lobbying	108(38.5%)	83(29.6%)	18(6.4%)	48(17.1%)	23(8.21%)	280(100%)

Among the people of tribal people there are different opinion and disagreement about different aspects of FATA reforms and everyone have their views about one aspect and another that this or that one is the major disagreement among the stakeholders. Therefore, in the current study the various disagreements about FATA reforms has been incorporated to know the major disagreement and implementation issue in reforms of FATA. The statistical information elucidate data about different aspects of disagreement whereby the very first is the Resistance from current Jirga system as Jirga is the main and dominant conflict resolution mechanism in tribal areas which will lost their value after coming of formal judiciary in tribal area. Regarding that 87(31%) were strongly agreed and 116(41.4%) were agreed which shows us that Jirga system is resisting in the way of FATA reforms while very less number of respondents were

disagree with that aspect and considerable number of respondents picked no opinion. 79(28.2%) were strongly agreed, agreed were 68(24.2%) while 24(8.5%) didn't showed their response whereas 55(19.6%) were disagreed and 54(19.2%) respondents were strongly disagreed about the aspect that wealthy, affluent, landlords are hurdle in the way of FATA reforms. Similarly, regarding Lack of understanding about FATA reforms among the people of FATA the data shows that 34(12.1%) and 54(19.2%) were strongly agreed and agreed respectively whereby very less i.e. 13(4.6%) have no opinion however majority i.e. 129(46%) were disagreed and 50(17.8%) were strongly disagreed with the aspect which shows that people have the understanding about FATA reforms. After FATA reforms different institutions will start work in FATA and current there is no such type of institution exists in the area. Therefore, regarding the Lack of institutional capacity respondents also documented their views which specify that 36(12.8%) were strongly agreed, majority i.e. 98(35%) were agreed while many respondents i.e. 54(19.2%) opted no opinion which will be the lack of knowledge about institutions whereas 76(27.1%) were disagreed and 16(5.7%) were strongly agreed about the aspect. Furthermore, majority of the respondents i.e. 81.3% were of the opinions that due to lack of financial problems FATA reforms is not possible. However, regarding the Lack of political will the data postulate that 19(6.7%) were strongly agree, agrees were 45(16%) whereby considerable i.e. 43(15.3%) chosen no opinion while majority of the respondents i.e. 96(34.2%) were disagreed and less than that i.e. 77(27.2%) were strongly disagreed. Lastly, about the role of pressure groups and lobbying the tabular data explicates that majority i.e. 108(38.5%) were strongly agreed while less than that i.e. 83(29.6%) were agreed about that indicator which undoubtedly shows us that pressure group and lobbying are very proactive to stop the FATA reforms in Pakistan.

1.7. CONCLUSION OF THE STUDY

The study concludes that the people of FATA were very optimistic about FATA reforms and especially merging FATA into KP. As far as the community perception is concerned majority of the respondents were of the views that there still exist major gaps in implementation of FATA reforms and further shows their consent that the life of general public will improve after FATA reforms in the special context of merging with KP as they governance system, freedom, women participation, political rights, social service and human condition will improve gradually. Moreover, about the goals of FATA reforms the respondents think that FATA Reforms is much needed initiative and would improve condition of the society. It will also help to improve judicial system in the region as well as it will enhance the political environment of the region. Furthermore, On Expected Outcome of Reforms for the community, the study analysis that reforms will increase rule of law, transparency and participation of common people in decision making process and will improve living condition of people in FATA. Also, Regarding major constraints in the implementation of FATA reforms, the study conclude that Malaks and Political administration are blocking FATA reforms whereas Federal government is also seems to be reluctant to fast track the recommendations on political interest with lack of political will. The views of the field participants about Disagreements and Implementation issues in the FATA Reforms depicts that in the current Jirga system, wealthy, affluent, landlords were the main resistance in the way of FATA reforms. Lack of understanding, institutional capacity, finance and the role of Pressure groups and lobbying were also identified as impeachments in the implementation of FATA reforms.

1.8. RECOMMENDATION OF THE STUDY

- Most of the respondents were of the opinion that FCR is the draconian and Black Law and mentioned that FCR programme is negating them their rights and should be removed from the region. Further they said FCR programme cannot be improved through amendments and FATA should be merged with KP as soon as possible.
- On other hands some respondents believed improvements can be made to FCR programme. They stated that public should be given easy access to the courts and authority and powers of Political Agents should be reduced.
- The respondents further suggested that system of Maliks, Khasdars and PA's should be replaced with the system of Lawyers, Police and Courts.

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