

Reforms in the erstwhile Federally Administered Tribal Areas of Pakistan: a critical analysis

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Abstract

The ex-FATA reform processes have been comprehensive since the establishment of Pakistan in 1947 and have short, medium, and long-term dimensions. It was not an easy task that could be completed with certain simple legislative and administrative actions. The government of PML-N (2013-2018) formed an eleven-member task force to accelerate the implementation process, with a focus on suggested law reforms, FATA's development, and FATA's mainstreaming. In 2017 a high-powered National Implementation Committee was established to monitor this process and to review the implementation of the said reform based on monthly Task Force reports. Apart from envisaging reforms in several domains, the suggested reform packages also aim to improve the tribal areas' socio-economic prospects. It may be stated that the reforms also aim to improve the tribal people's socio-economic situation. This study critically analyses the merger and examines the reforms' consequences for FATA.

Keywords: FATA, FATA Reforms, FATA's merger, erstwhile FATA, ex-FATA, FATA's mainstreaming, tribal areas, reforms in tribal areas.

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1. Introduction

Different military operations conducted in the tribal regions have been completed and Temporary displaced persons (TDPs) are being returned. The military concentrated its efforts on clearing land mines, which posed a serious threat to civilians. The operation is a big undertaking that is proceeding slowly, forcing the recovery of all TDPs to be delayed. The threat posed by land mines is clear in the casualties, with 22 non-combatants hurt and killed and fifty–eight military personnel injured and killed. In Tirah, 95% of land mines have been cleared, with considerable operation also taking place in Orakzai and Mamuzai. TDPs will be aggressively aided in their return once demining is accomplished. Meanwhile, the military is working to strengthen border administration in order to bring the region back to normality. There are no organized threats in KP or FATA at the moment. Although there remain some criminal activities in the region, to a great extent militants have been defeated.

Since 2000, FATA was dubbed the epicentre of terrorism and it was not easy to even recapture a mile from militant control. Combat in FATA differs from conventional warfare in that it spreads swiftly and with few means of discriminating between friend and foe. Not only border barrier has been in place since 2016 but also recovery of ammunition, small guns, heavy weapons, and explosives. In FATA there is no no-go areas presently, and development activity has begun. Due to the fact that the merger of FATA and KP was heavily backed by the same interests. The plan's perceived influence on FATA as a whole.

In this battle, the people and tribes of the erstwhile FATA have made numerous and exceptional sacrifices. Despite being victims, the people of FATA have been affected by the tense Pak-Afghanistan relations and the US engagement in Afghanistan. Violations of peace agreements by US drones, terrorists, or security forces have consistently hampered the peace-making effort in erstwhile FATA. In Pakistan's Parliament, 12 members of the lower house represent foreigners and eight more members are elected indirectly to the total members of 104 of the Senate. Members of the aforementioned legislative assembly are free to participate, speak, and give their points of view on any topic of public importance that may be of political or administrative nature with the exception of concerns affecting their own territory, which they have no influence over.

The Reforms aim to give the Fata people constitutional protection by expanding the official legal system, implementing contemporary policing, forming local government system, and through launching different social and economic development activities. Articles 246 and 247 of Pakistan's 1973 constitution deal with the political and administrative situation in FATA. Citizens' fundamental rights are spelled out in detail in the constitution. These rights must be protected by constitution, with no one being allowed to infringe on them. The alarming part is that basic rights of Pakistani citizens outside of FATA are concerned are ensured. FATA inhabitants, on the other hand, will be able to enjoy their legal rights on an equal footing with their peers following the adoption of FATA reforms. This has a very positive and well-deserved effect on the FATA.

Pakistan's legal structure considers both tribal and mainstream people to be citizens. However, in terms of rights, their essential rights are not given to the tribal. Aside from that, provided that the president does not order directly for the extension of these rights to the region, various measures act of le of the legislative body do not apply to FATA. Political agents [now DC] are

in charge of all levels of the tribal system through their administrative personnel. Lack of answerability and accountability system as for as administrative affairs are concerned is a source of corruption; not only local tribal members but journalists also agree that FATA Secretariat (now merged in civil secretariat) was riddled with harassment, wooing, and commissions. Locals breathed a sigh of relief after the FATA merger, as a well-ordered governmental apparatus is now available to deal with the looming difficulties. The proposed adjustment has been warmly received and endorsed by the people of FATA (Zubair, 2017).

The merger of erstwhile FATA helped to defeat the harsh FCR and expanded the country's court system to this region. A long-awaited desire of the people is extension of the authority of the higher judiciary and the High Court to the tribal territories, which has a very favourable impact. The present socio-political infrastructures are largely unsatisfactory to the majority of people. The mainstreaming action aims to bring the ancestral region into line with the rest of the country - fundamentally, politically, legally, and economically. The FRC's findings were thorough, definitive, and holistic in this way, since it envisioned a full-fledged mainstreaming for the erstwhile FATA region. The report's recommendations can be divided into two categories: multiyear progress toward reconciliation and multiyear coordinated improvement toward equality. (Shad & Ahmad, 2018).

The recognition of these objectives necessitates, first and foremost, a change in erstwhile FATA's protected status. As a result, the sense of terror, defencelessness, and the resulting extremism would be reduced. People's morale will be boosted even more by these modifications, which will help them blend in with the rest of the country.

Meanwhile, because of its poor and delicate nature, journalism in FATA is still in its infancy. More than 300 journalists make up the Tribal Union of Journalism, the majority of them are government employees. Journalists, then again, suffer frequent security dangers. The war on terror had a negative impact on them. U. S, Hayat Ullah Khan, and S. Shazad were among the martyred journalists. By breaching the law, criminals were able to get away with little trouble, allowing impunity to flourish. In this regard, it is critical to recognise that as long as mass media in the region and other underdeveloped areas of Pakistan is strengthened, we will be incapable to find issues and solve these issues. Media has proven to be a "blessing in disguise" for people both in Eastern part of Punjab and Sindh Province, as it has exposed the dilemma, misery, and extreme scarcity in these areas for the first time. Similarly, after military operations in FATA began, many issues were raised (Dawar, 2015).

There are a variety of good effects that media may have on FATA society, but there are also a few drawbacks that must be considered. On several occasions, the media has acted inappropriately, leading us to doubt its position in a conflict situation. Only a small minority of reporters in the region make a living from their work. The majority of journalists have no job security and are frequently underpaid for their efforts. To strengthen the media in FATA, more support for journalists is needed, as well as an understanding of the medium that is suitable to the inhabitants. Radio and social media, in particular, have grown in fame in the said area because national media will have occasional exchanges/contacts with local media and mainstreaming FATA will benefit the media and journalists.

In FATA there are certain causes of radicalism, for example Afghan Jihad, Anti Americanism. All of these causes robbed the inhabitants of FATA of any sense of security and serenity. Their

innate radicalism resulted as a result of this. According to Gul's (2009) research, 100 percent of the extremists in FATA were jobless, with 80 percent of them being between the ages of 15 and 28 and bachelor. Nobody of them were orthodox religious adherents, while 10% were liberal secularists. Identity issues, rising regional, ethnic, and sectarian strife, a lack of self-ruled platforms, and dwindling human disposition have all fuelled radicalism. The erstwhile FATA people will have a shared citizenship status as a result of the ongoing merger process. They would be able to take part in political activities of their choice in a peaceful manner. The opportunities for employment will keep them from engaging in unlawful activities.

The erstwhile FATA's management is already significantly reliant on the provincial government of KP: 52 thousand workers of KP government are already employed in different departments of FATA. Likewise, the FATA Secretariat, which serves as the regional headquarters for FATA issues, employs some of 700 people and is part of the provincial administration. Many administrative chores are also delegated to the KP Government machine by FATA personnel in various agencies (districts). According to officials, the merger will not only involve just the KP Government contributing workers in other vital sectors such as health and education services. However, if international agencies in FATA are not brought in to comply with the KP regions, synchronizing will be difficult. (Ali, 2018).

According to the requirements of the collective responsibility of the extended families of the tribes and the Modus Operandi by which it operates, even a simple allegation can result in the family's and the tribe's demise. Many homes and villages were left in shambles as a result of the procedure, and the authorities confiscated property without regard for paying compensation. If implemented, FATA reforms will put an end to this clause and hold the perpetrator accountable for its own wrongdoings. This change will almost certainly pay off handsomely.

The Jirga system, which serves as a customary law firm in tribal communities, has been in place for decades as a means of resolving conflicts. Although youth are welcome to participate in the Jirga, only adults have the authority to resolve disputes or postpone crucial decisions. Most decisions about local customs in a fair and free Jirga are made with the consensus reached at by the members of the Jirga. Such judgements frequently contain Islamic sharia. Cases are heard, and the parties involved in the disagreement are given awards and sanctions. The Jirga's role is not only resolving minor issues between individuals; it also serves as a forum for resolving age-old rivalries, key family skirmishes, and inter-tribal confrontations. If the Jirga's rulings are broken, the violators incur significant penalties ranging from a short term to vandalism or property confiscation.

Corruption is a result of a lack of accountability in the FATA administrative structure; local tribal people and journalists have detailed reports on kickbacks, bribes, and commissions. The Jirga system is popular among Pashtuns, who see it as a conflict-resolution mechanism in their community. They believe it is better and speedier than the Pakistani court system, which takes years to resolve minor cases. Numerous intellectuals from Pashtun and West based researchers understand it as a domestic conflict resolution and peace building group. However, a countless number of learned tribes have moved to the Jirga system, arguing that ancient dispute settlement approaches are not suitable for modern justice systems, which demand simply a fair and justice based judicial system as well as legal training (Shad & Ahmad, 2018).

Many youngsters in FATA claim that conclusions of Jirga are not just and highly prejudiced by a powerful party in the war, according to talks with youth in FATA as well as with the FATA Reform Committee's report. The Jirga system has been roundly criticized for its men's creation in the absence of women's representation. Patriarchal tribal norms disproportionately affect women. Women, for example, are viewed as a tool in the Swara tradition for resolving disagreements between two families or tribes. Younger females are also given in matrimonial relationship to older men for settling a long-standing feud or make up for a loss. Another horrible crime against women is honour killing. Because women are not permitted to participate in the Jirga, they are unable to defend themselves or counter charges in the old-style tribal Jirga, and they are being penalized (Firdous, 2018). The inhabitants of FATA are looking forward to the judicial reforms that will be implemented as part of the merger proposal. Locals are calling for a modification in the legal system of FCR, but they need not be disheartened by the sluggish judicial system.

The FRC, which is led by the governor of KP, has issued a ten-year special programmed for economic development. Good governance, Agriculture, manufacturing development, energy sector, mineral enhancement, health and education, among other initiatives, received a total of 21 billion dollars (Shad & Ahmad, 2018). A restricted quota for work chances is to be maintained for them for at least a decade, in addition to this developmental package. People who are on the receiving end of such benefits are those who live in locations where their native lands have been declared off-limits. This is especially evident when it comes to the most prestigious civil service competitive exam, when the beneficiaries are given positions based on their reserved quotas for FATA, despite the fact that their residents live in settled areas. This job initiative has been embraced by the locals and surely, merit-based implementation will help to bring literacy and employment to the FATA. (Ali, 2018).

That is, Afridi and Shinwari are predominantly found in the Khyber tribal district, South Waziristan's Wazir and Mehsud, and North Waziristan's Dawar. Despite the fact that the region's unemployment rate is expected to be between 60 and 80 percent, a considerable number of Pashtuns have relocated to cities in order to reap the benefits of the occupation. Karachi is now the largest Pashtun metropolis, according to some estimates. Many members of the FATA tribes have gone on to become successful business people in Pakistan. He owns and controls a truck convoy as well as a state-wide road transport company. Economic and, more recently, large-scale migration as a result of the Pashtun conflict. The population of this tribal region was about five million people, according to the census. While full migration figures from the new census are not yet available, some observers believe that FATA people may be living in established areas as a result of economic migration or forced relocation owing to military and police activities. Between eight and ten million Pakistanis are thought to be of FATA origin. Regardless of the veracity of the count data, the implementation of FATA reforms will stimulate economic activity in the region, preventing mass movement of Pashtuns to urban regions. They will also choose to do business and trade in their own communities (International Crisis Group, 2018).

The most important aspect of the FATA is its safekeeping environment. FATA is regarded as one of the world's most dangerous places. The plight of FATA is due to two factors: the security environment and ineffective institutions. The region was further pushed behind by successive Pakistani governments' disregard or lack of attention to FATA concerns. The current reform process and merger with KP, on the other hand, has provided a glimpse of hope. Despite the

current reform process, there are a few key areas to be concerned about: First, population estimates in FATA are dubious due to major complaints about the census procedure's precision. The administrations as well as the people of FATA, bear responsibility for this certainty. Many persons were unable to provide complete information to census takers due to cultural, traditional, and gender-based inhibitions. As a result, an accurate estimate of the population in FATA is required to assuage public concerns regarding the reform process in FATA. Second, FATA's annual development money has never been fully utilised. The grounds for this are the current security condition, institutional capability, and government initiative. A budget of several millions of dollars cannot be spent without basic institutions such as education and health care. Third, mine dismantling is an important issue that has been addressed but according to some reports of occurrences in a few regions. Finally, the issue of FATA's part of the NFC award must be addressed.

2. Literature review

As significant number of books, magazines and research work are available regarding history, geography, tribal culture, FCR and socio-economic life of the people of FATA. However, limited number of books and research works were found about the crux of the research i.e analysis of the proposed FATA Reforms' Proposals. Thus, the major portion of the research is based on the extracts of 'FATA Reforms Report' presented by the Reforms Committee to the PM. Personal interviews/ meetings with the relevant stakeholders have also been arranged/ conducted to get their point of view about these proposals. Thus, an appropriated level of primary source has also been incorporated during the research.

Cheema and Nuri (2005) have highlighted the looming threat of Taliban's insurgency in the tribal areas of Pakistan during the past. He has mentioned that the Taliban would exploit the name of religion to gather local populace support for fuelling their insurgency. He has further stated that the rise of Taliban will cause a dent in the governance system of FATA and will tilt the balance of power in favour of Mullah against Malik. Despite having requisite hard tool for response, the State should first mould the public opinion in their favour and after winning the popular support should hit the Terrorists in their hideouts. During this process, the locals would also suffer as a result of so-called collateral damage.

Hasrat (2012) discusses the complex situation involved in negotiations with Taliban in FATA. The foremost challenge in this case is that the Constitution of Pakistan doesn't allow recognition of armed groups/ lashkars blackmailing the State for their own vested interests. Such like efforts receive widespread international condemnation also. Taliban in Pakistan were functioning under various commanders/ameers and had varying agendas and goals; thus, handling them with the same yardstick was a gigantic task for the Government. In so many cases the Taliban took an initiative in turning down the peace talks and violated the cease fire against the State.

Garland (2014) in his report "Afghanistan after the Drawdown: U.S. Engagement in Afghanistan Post-2014" has stated that US forces and ANA troops are losing their control of the far-flung areas in Afghanistan. He categorically admits the increasing dominance of Afghan Taliban in the internal affairs of the country. The US troops and their Afghan counterparts couldn't devise an efficient and effective border control system with Pakistan. Thus, terrorists

from Afghan side could easily sneak towards Pakistan causing disturbance in FATA and other parts of the country.

3. Methodology

This study is a review of the reforms which were implemented in erstwhile-FATA. It is based on the content analysis of the FCR and other structural reforms of the previous governments. Moreover, books, reports and research articles consulted that provided a background. On the basis of all these materials, the researchers systematically analyzed contents. The analysis and findings have been recorded as a descriptive and exploratory research.

4. Analysis and discussion

Critics of the merger contend that recognizing such large areas as a single geographical entity and attributing all problems in the territories primarily on the FCR was inappropriate. Whatever the compulsions of time may have been, any perception of maintaining business as usual, whether in the area of FATA, Gilgit Baltistan, or the former states of Swat, Makran, Bahawalpur, and Kalat, was a violation of democratic standards. As a result, the concepts that congress wished to share with the states were called democratic. Similarly, there will be disagreements on how the merger should be carried out. The fact is that if two out of nine members of the parliamentary assembly had spoken out against the policy, it would have been a breach of the country's constitution. The remaining members declined to take part in the voting procedure. In this sense, the Quaid e Azam's fourteen points are also equated. "No law or resolution, or any part thereof, shall be passed in any legislature or other elected body unless three-quarters of the members of any community in that particular body oppose it as being harmful to the interests of that community" the eighth point states (Warsi, 2018).

The stated fact brightly dilates on the word "oppose it" but when we contextualize the point, the spirit of the point emerges as that at least 25% of the communal members are questioning the move if it impacts them. In this sense, contextualizing Quaid Azam's fourteen points would imply that FATA is a different group that will be impacted both directly and indirectly by the merger. In addition, 3/4 of the community has declined to participate in the election process. It would be impossible to follow both the letter and the spirit of the law in such a situation. At the altar of others, anyone could be sacrificed. Similarly, the hurry with which a key policy issue was submitted to a vote goes against democratic principles. The 2013 elections were not the ones that were fought over FATA reforms. In short, it could be argued, and it could have been preferable, if the problem had been left to a new coming government with a renewed mandate, and it had already been encompassed in their manifestos.

Thus, the developments it will bring about are likely to aggravate the discretionary math of some ideological groups. The KP Assembly now has 124 seats (99 general seats, 22 women's seats, and 4 non-Muslim seats), and the FATA merger will add another 23 seats (18 general, 4 ladies and 1 non-Muslim) (Mehdi, 2017). This dubious difference has always been present in the inborn regions. They were given 7 seats in the country's first directly elected parliament (National Assembly). In terms of population, this was slightly higher than the offer made by FATA. But the offer proportionate to population had no rhyme or reason at the time because the races in FATA were held under a limited setup that only granted democratic rights to a select few thousand Maliks. FATA has been allowed some leeway in a share of seats in the

National Assembly on the grounds that the region lacks representation in a commonwealth gathering and that this needs to be addressed. In any scenario, if the Constitution's 30th Amendment is approved from the parliament earlier than the delimitation, this argument will be invalidated.

One of the most basic recommendations is to establish a dedicated execution unit. Rather than relying on a non-permanent organisation to oversee the incorporation process, the KP government must take the lead. From the beginning, there was a shared understanding of the FATA region's reforms in terms of attitudes, perspectives, and motivations. However, there was no longer any disagreement about the substance of the reforms or how they should be implemented. As perplexing as this reform strategy might appear, it is in no way, shape, or form impractical if there is political willingness and pledge to see it through. Regardless, a number of enthusiastic supporters who support the merger do not believe Mr. Sharif is incapable or unwilling to achieve it. When historical events are viewed in context, they take on new meanings. Given the region's combativeness and the circumstance that it is in the North Western area, history will not forgive us if we fail to get benefit of this fortunate break, and with time running short, we may not have another similar opportunity.

According to preliminary population numbers from the 2017 registration, the proportion of KP area in the NA equal to its population will increase by five seats (from 35 to 40), while the offer for Ex, FATA will decrease from 12 to 6 seats. This means that jointly the area of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and the area of FATA will have to deal with a one-seat reduction. This dispersion will benefit Sindh and Punjab in any scenario, as the former will gain two seats and Punjab's typical loss of seven seats would be reduced to four. In any case, not only Baluchistan but Islamabad as well will gain two and one more positions. The merger of FATA and KP will also be part of the agreement. As a result, the new region will surely miss one seat in the popularly elected house of the parliament (342 members) and eight seats in the upper chamber. While, increasing the number of seats in the shared governing body by 23 seats. Currently, ideological groups are interpreting this asset report in a variety of ways. The groups that focus on common legislative issues see it as beneficial, but those that are increasingly interested in using their local base as a source of inspiration in federal government issues are wary of the merger and oppose it (Firdous, 2018).

The planned preparation envisions a 3% allocation from the NFC Finance distribution mechanism. Also, the national government will continue to handle all aspects of the Annual Development Program for a long period. This type of structure includes establishing a council under the leadership of KP's legislative leader, as well as lawmakers from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and erstwhile FATA. The KP government's role, which will eventually claim and purchase the entire 27,200-kilometer land, including the inborn territories, has been blurred. Currently, the KP government does not believe the FATA secretariat and the FATA development authority are capable of taking on such a massive assignment. As a result, they demand some sort of revaluation (Zetterlund, 2009).

The decision to extend the constitutional rights is a positive step in the right way. The right activist movement, on the other hand, has faded from view in this debate, as it is opposed to individuals who disregard the country's constitution and courts. As one of the activists put it, the future is a long way off. There is also a developing belief that all those who signed the law were doing so for political reasons in order to get votes. The unification of FATA, which has

been maintained on the political periphery by Pakistan's forefathers and is still largely immature, will mean that Pakistan will no longer have any ungoverned regions or no-go zones—terms that have frequently been used to describe the region's wilderness. If FATA's sacred union with KP is successfully implemented, it can pave the way for the development of a influential security mechanical assembly to regulate cross-border criminal and fear-based oppressor activities. Furthermore, the improvement and democratization of the region will most likely aid in the reduction of extreme powers in the region. Furthermore, FATA is not recognised as a political party under Pakistan's Political Parties Act, which prevents residents of the district from participating in national politics and forming their own political organisations. As a result, the people of FATA have been estranged from the country's larger political processes. It is undoubtedly the most unfortunate location, with more than 60% of the population living below the poverty line and no state-run educational or health-care system (Khan & Wazir, 2014).

Radicalism and militancy have flourished in FATA as a result of the administration's actions, which include failing to adequately address need, disregarding fundamental human rights, and restricting the populace from protected and financial enterprises for an extended period of time. The Pakistani military has been fighting a war against fanaticism in the FATA region for more than ten years. The proposed expansion of the protected systems to FATA provides a huge opportunity for policymakers in Islamabad to handle the district's administrative and security concerns, which have so far eluded widespread political agreement throughout Pakistan's history (Ahmed, 1983).

It is widely believed that several Pakistani foundations, particularly the military, have only sometimes expressed interest in bringing FATA into the mainstream. This is most likely because such a move would increase control of the military's approach to dealing with the district, perhaps jeopardising the country's local security policy against various radical groups that have found refuge in Pakistan's indigenous regions. The military appears to have a motive to ensure that there are few management, legitimate, and bureaucratic balances in their management and administration of the region. In any case, the Pakistani military's current leadership has made significant efforts to ensure that FATA is treated equally to the rest of Pakistan in terms of political, economic, and administrative rights and opportunities. To begin with, the military recognises that in order to integrate the counterterrorism gains made in recent years, FATA's soundness and political standards are essential. Regardless, this will not become a reality unless the region approaches far-reaching and structured business, authoritative, and political opportunities.

The Pakistan Army, which must make quick decisions about the country's security strategy, may believe that Pakistan's internal security threat is significantly greater than any potential foreign threat. Placing FATA by expanding the existing adjustments to the area and presenting a far-reaching outskirts the board structure near Afghanistan's fringe appears to refer to the military's attempt to oversee and fortify Pakistan's internal security structures. After overcoming the critical administrative hurdle associated with FATA's merger with KP, there is now time to implement adjustments, with political and monetary improvements being a key priority. In the short term, the breakaway government should ensure that the people of FATA are able to participate in the upcoming general election and that the right to form ideological groupings is legitimately available to them (Malik *et al.*, 2019).

Furthermore, the state should ensure that the district's current legal structure, which is primarily guided by a Jirga mechanism is repealed and a functional legal structure is established to safeguard the Supreme Court's writ in the zone. A comprehensive financial plan should also be developed to motivate the community and provide enough job opportunities for its residents. Pakistan can underestimate fundamentalist powers in FATA by establishing a monetary and law-based society. As long as FATA is cut off from the rest of Pakistan and no verifiable protected improvements are implemented on the ground, the people of FATA, like the rest of Pakistan, will continue to bear the brunt of the district's current precariousness. If Pakistan's legislature is serious about combining its counter-terrorism successes and effectively transforming the FATA experience, it must resolve border disputes with Afghanistan and manage the fringe for fear mongering and criminality. Furthermore, unlike the rest of Pakistan, FATA lacks systematized neighbourhood law authorization organization.

5. Conclusion

People of tribal areas were ignored, according to the conclusions of the aforementioned study, and their rights were infringed despite the fact that they were entitled to them. The governance norms in FATA are out-of-date and unreasonable. This action was seen as a negotiation between different cultural interests and different rebels because it permitted immigrants to be ruled by their own countries. Pakistan must take an all-inclusive line to handle the security and political tests posed by FATA. Journalists and women are among the groups whose rights have been repeatedly infringed due to a lack of an adequate system of modern laws. Free and impartial media must be effective for proper implementation of the said reforms, which include educating citizens of the region of their rights i.e., legal and political rights, emphasis on accountability system and to monitor spending on world forums. The administration surely includes free press in the package, but the safety and security of the journalists must also be given preference. Likewise, the women should also be accommodated and included in the reform process.

Not only should seats in the National and Provincial Assemblies be reserved for women as part of a package of comprehensive reforms, but the government should also take bold steps to ensure women's involvement in the election process. In the end, the government will be unable to make all of these measures on its own. FATA people and tribal elders have responsibility for utilising and descending on them, many of whom still adhere to archaic rituals. They must realise that numerous troubling events have occurred in the last ten years, obstructing the continuation of the past. That is unattainable, and the majority of the country no longer wishes for it. FATA and its people will suffer if the old system is preserved at the expense of modernity in the twenty-first century. Aside from cultural relativism, the international community's old guard must assist the new guard, the young warriors, in daily matters. The nations' elders must look to the future for future generations. The majority of ethnic teenagers feel uncomfortable with traditional practises.

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