

**FATA MERGER REFORMS AND ITS SPILLOVER EFFECTS WITH RESPECT
TO GOVERNANCE**



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CERTIFICATE

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DEDICATED TO

I dedicated my thesis to my parents. I am nothing without my Parents who give support at every stage of my life. They guide me and I found a way to move forward

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All admirations for Almighty Allah, who enables us to know about certain unknown things in the universe and helps us to overcome a lot of difficulties. All the respect for Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) who clearly mentioned the difference of right and wrong path, to ensure the success in our lives.

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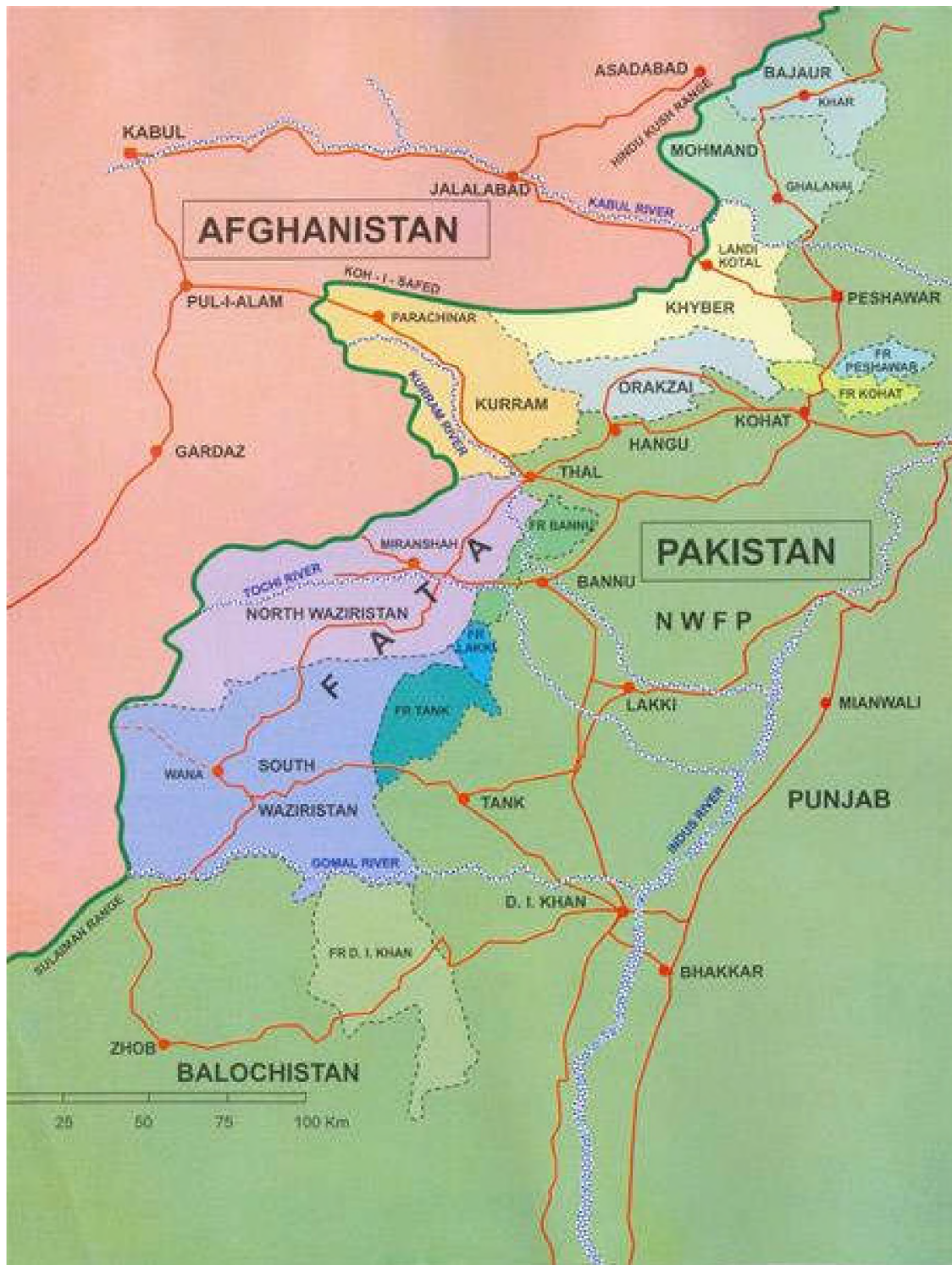
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Abstract

The merger of Federally Administrated Tribble Area (FATA) is one of the new and significant changes in the governance structure of federally administrated areas. This study is devoted to analyzing the perception of locals and concern authorities about FATA mergers with KPK with respect to spillover effects of mergers on governance structure and community welfare. In ordered to investigate the perceptions of locals about new governance structure an acceptance index has been developed. To meet the objective of the study field survey has been conducted taking perception of communities and jirga members. The study used narrative and case study approaches to draw a conclusion from collected data. Findings of the study reveal that majority of the people think that merger is far beyond different from their expectations. The community is not on one page with advocates of mergers and people argued that favoring members of FATA merger were portraying in different way before the implementation of merger but after the implementations nothing match their words and merger is implemented in a very different way. The acceptance for new governance structure is quite high but people are not happy with new reforms. Hold on resources from government authorities is their first concern after merger. People are happy for new court system and at the same time uncertain about new system to deal with zero knowledge.

Keywords: FATA Merger, Power distribution, new governance and spillover effect

MAP of Merging Districts (X-FATA) with KPK



Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of Research

Pakistan's north western area, officially known as the Federally Administered Tribal Area (FATA) along the Afghan border has been marked as flash point since 2001. Hundreds of militants, including al-Qaeda fighters, withdrew from the fall of Taliban Government in Afghanistan entered FATA. The neglected and economically backward region gave rise to the local Tehreeka Taliban Pakistan (TTP or Pakistani Taliban) disrupted the centuries-old tribal Traditions and dynamics of the region's power. FATA soon became a haven for all types of militants, including both local Pakistani militants and mainly from outside Pakistan Afghan, Arab, Uzbek, Chechen and Uighur. Disabling this unmanaged hotbed Militancy is of utmost importance for Pakistan's peace, security, regional stability and terrorist moreover it is in the Global interests of both East and West.

Following military operations in the North and South Waziristan agencies during the last five years (starting in the summer of 2014) and a large number of local populations was displaced, Pakistani military officials claim that the war has broken down the backbone of militancy in the tribal area, many think it is still a challenge. In order to enjoy the benefits of these military operations and keeping the FATA area free from Taliban insurgency requires the region's political, administrative, and macroeconomic investments Integrating infrastructure into Pakistan's national mainstream.

Afterward the passage of 25th constitutional amendment, the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) constitutionally merged into KPK. However, the decision that was taken at the end of the outgoing PML-N led government has left a lot of questions to be answered. To that end, the government formed a high-powered task force on the FATA merger into KPK to identify gaps, ambiguities and barriers for the smooth sail of the merger process. The researchers and government officials identified developmental issues and planned actions for further development in FATA region.

The Governor KPK heads the task force for FATA to ensure that FATA has been given proper attention because FATA is comparatively backward in terms of development indicators and suffered due to militancy in the recent past. During the last decade, long militancy, the FATA has suffered a lot both in terms of human and material losses. The infrastructure got damaged and FATA faced a mass level displacement as a result of militant major activities and subsequent military operations. Military calls this stabilization operation in professional documents. Mugah, R. (Ed.). (2013) have connected stabilization operations and development in public policy literature.

The basic objective of the FATA merger was to plug in the political vacuum that existed in FATA since long and provide a workable and efficient legal and administrative structure to the people of the marginalized area, achieving the desired results would, however; require huge financial and administrative commitments on part of the federal government and as well as provincial governments over the period. However, the question arises that how much the government is ready to take up the challenge? To digest and discuss these questions, One-day Round Table Conference on “Integration of FATA into KPK; Challenges and Way Forward” was jointly organized by Riphah Institute of Public Policy (RIPP) in collaboration with Tribal Youth Organization Pakistan at RIPHAI International University, ETB campus, Islamabad on 16th October 2018. The conference discussed many

dimensions of FATA merger and its socio economic impacts but somehow the research on governance structure and acceptance was rarely discussed.

Keeping in the view the potential gaps in research on the topic, this study is devoted to investigate the merger effects on governance structure in FATA with respect power distribution and acceptance status from elder and FATA leaders and also to bring together; parliamentarians, civil society, and media leaders, leading policy and governance experts, security experts, political analysts, academicians and scholars to discuss and debate the modalities of FATA merger with KPK and its implications for the governance and work out the recommendations as way forward. The importance of this work can be seen through the lens of governance structure reforms and its implications for changes in power structure in the region.

There are a lot of studies, which mentioned the FATA merger as still not clear stance from the leaders and social workers, for instance Kubota, & Khan (2019) argued that most of the political leaders are in favor of this policy. To further contribute to this discussion, this study investigates the spillover effects of merger on governance of tribal leadership and welfare of society. This is quite expected that merger of FATA with KPK will affect the decision-making structure, totally new and alien to this society, However, the connectivity or merging of FATA with KPK has an advantage for the people of FATA that they can understand the new structure easily and it is expected that they will expect it with certain limitations.

1.2. Problem Statement

The decision of FATA merger into KPK has been portrayed the most desirable and feasible decision taken for the purpose of development and peace in the region. But It appears that the government authorities and political leadership have ignored the spillover effects or chained effects of mergers on governance structure in FATA and its implications to

community welfare in terms of judicial facilities and overruling the local laws, on which communities have built their norms and values. To see how far people of the region are happy and accepting the new governance structure in new hands. The study is designed to explore and to examine the acceptance of new reforms and FATA merger among FATA people. This is quite plausible to think; how new governance can fit best to the old governance system with minimum disagreements from community and local leaders. It is quite an issue to understand that, how the new governance structure will have chained effects from culture to culture or society to society in Fata region.

1.3. Significance of the Study

Before the merger, FATA was administrated by federal government but after merger it will be administrated by provincial government. It is expected that the proposed reforms will additionally enable the provision of fundamental legal and human rights to the local people in line with the Constitution of Pakistan.

Jurisdiction of the Parliament and the Superior Courts will be extended into FATA during the process of mainstreaming while the proposed legal framework also acknowledges the importance of customary justice and Jirgas in FATA for resolving local disputes. The outcome of this will be improved access and delivery of justice in FATA.

1.4. Objective of the study

- To examine the perception of local people and different stakeholders about FATA mergers KPK and spillover effects of mergers on governance structure and community welfare.
- To calculate the acceptance index of change in new governance structure of FATA.

1.5 Organization of the Study

First chapter of the study is introduction that covers background of the study, problem statement, objectives of the study and significance of the study. Chapter 2 presents relevant literature on the subject. Chapter 3 presents methodology, which includes sampling, nature of data and analysis tools and techniques. Chapter 4 presents results of the study and chapter 5 is the conclusion and policy recommendations of this study.

Chapter 2 :

Literature Review

This chapter of the study presents review of studies, carried out on the subject. The literature is quite rich in terms of FATA culture, life style, and terrorism and governance structure prevailing in FATA. However, as far as government structure is concern no such study has been carried out. In this context this study is an attempt to fill the gap, which is policy relevant and worthy enough for policy makers to understand for the better social structure and management across the entire region.

The one comprehensive study has been carried out by Shinwari (2012) author conducted a research, which analyze tribal politics, religious and cultural sentiments and different value systems. The study was more specifically highlighting numerous issues that the poor and marginalized people of FATA are facing from last few decades. According to the study findings among others, FATA people are facing issues related to security, health, employment and education. It is one of the future hope that is alive on the expectations that the people of FATA will be better served by both national and international agencies so that the major goal of working toward peace and progress is achieved. This will benefit the residence of FATA at first hand. However, the uniqueness of FATA can have understood by the words of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah.

The tribal people were clearly defined in Quaid-i-Azam's historical speech to the tribal Jirga at the Government House, Peshawar on April 17, 1948. The address remains a valuable recommendation for Pakistan's frontier policy even today. In his speech, the Quaid emphasized Pakistan's two-pronged policy in the direction of the tribal region - non-interference and support for self-reliance and self-sufficiency.

Unfortunately, Jinnah's early demise resulted in abandonment of his vision of socioeconomic uplift of the tribal belt. Successive governments failed to pay much needed

heed to this geostrategic gateway to Afghanistan and Central Asia. Over decades, many changes occurred in the political nature and system of Pakistan, but the status of the tribal region remained untouched such that the country persistently failed to revamp Britain's colonial legacy (Muhammad Tayyab Ghafoor 2005).

According to Ahmed (2013) governance structure of FATA is the way that these administratively, each tribal agency was governed by a political agent. Usually a bureaucrat, who had almost absolute political, executive and judicial powers to serve as representative of the President in this region. The region remained outside the judicial system of Pakistan, and disputes were settled through a system called local Jirga. Historically, Pakistan failed to bring FATA under the mainstream politico-legal system. In other words, its tribal people have been experiencing a system which ensured neither a stake in their own country nor any certainty about and control over their own future. FATA's management under a rudimentary system reflects a phenomenon of one country with dual laws for citizens as was the case under the British Raj. While the tribal code or Rewaj Act incorporated in the FCR gave an impression of reverence for tribal sentiments,

The FCR functions within the traditional rewaj (tribal customs and traditions). The Jirga is very important part of tribal areas, which is a council of elders for resolving disputes in local area. Especially the best thing is Pashtunwali, which is the unrecorded code of conduct in this society that serves as the basis of the tribal Pashtuns. It is a collective behavior and way of life of all tribal people. The government person political agent (PA) exercises his authority with the help of tribal elders, locally known as masharan or malikan.

Tribal elders are the main actors in the Jirga system of tribal councils, resolving disputes and deciding other important matters. Tribal elders receive their status through internal selection, mostly on a hereditary basis, and the law of primogeniture also applies.

However, the official status, privileges, and benefits conferred by the PAs can also be withdrawn when elders fail to implement government directives. The jirga system is a decades-old conflict resolution mechanism in the tribal areas that functions as a customary judicial institution. Though youth can also attend Jirgas, it is only the elders who decide the dispute or adjudicate important matters. In a fair and free jirga, most decisions are based on the consensus of the jirga members in light of local traditions. Often Islamic sharia is also invoked in such decisions. Cases are tried and rewards and punishments assigned to parties involved in a dispute. The role of the jirga is not limited to deciding minor disputes between individuals; a jirga can also be called to resolve longstanding enmities, major conflicts between families, and intra tribal feuds. If jirga decisions are violated, the perpetrators may face anything from minor punishment to severe consequences such as the torching of houses or confiscation of property.

According to Naveed (2010) the researcher argued that these Federally Administered Tribal Areas has been divided into two categories i.e. 'protected areas' and 'non-protected areas'. There is a share governance structure in FATA and some of the specific region and activities are directly governed by the central government via its political appointees called political agents while the latter are administered indirectly by the local tribes.

Nawaz & Borchgrave (2009) argued that FATA has remained the most dangerous place of Pakistan after 911 and it has been targeted by Taliban and several operations are conducted. The major issue remains the governance structure, which is becoming less participatory. In order to maintain peace and security, Political Agent was assisted by tribal militia and levies recruited from local populace to look after as a police force in the political agencies. Furthermore, Haq, et al, (2017) added that forts, pickets and posts were constructed at different locations in the tribal areas where these forces are positioned.

Wazir, A. (2012) focused on system prevailing and FATA and the expected system after merger. The current study takes it from here to contribute to the existing literature, by adding the perception and experience commonalities and disagreements on merger of FATA and the new governance. Shinwari (2012) studied *Understanding FATA, Attitudes towards Governance, Religion and Society in Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas*. conducted Fata research center has also worked on FATA merger and organized several meetings and conferences, advocating Fata merger.

A study conducted in western Europe argued that changing governance laws has an impact on welfare of society it has a spillover effect due merger of borders. This study provides evidences of merger spillover effects on governance and welfare Martynova & Renneboog (2008). It is quite understood that the culture and norms are different in European countries and it is expected that their reaction and approach to challenges coming up for development purposes will be different. For the people of Fata, it will be quite interesting, to explore what they think and how they approach the same type of issue. Conducting a study on selected areas of fata after merger seems convincing after going through these papers, which helps in construction of a case for this study.

Chapter 3

DATA AND METHODOLOGY

Considering the nature of the study a mixed methods approach is adopted. For this purpose, a well-structured questionnaire is developed in order to take perception of locals Jirga members, because the changed governance structure affects the power structure of Jirga. In addition, acceptability index is calculated from questionnaire. Along with formal questions the questionnaire also includes semi structured interviews, which is conducted with FATA reforms experts and other relevant authorities. In addition, an acceptance index is calculated from the questionnaire.

This study has included the interviews as one of the tools to collect the data because it helps to understand the mechanism of the new governance structure and its implication to social benefits in FATA. This is a case study and narrative approach-based study, which conducts a survey and translates it into a discussion or description. In this case study more, focus is given to the combination of different tools to achieve the objective of study more effectively. This design of the study is quite flexible to adjust according to objectives of the study.

The study has used mixed method because it is the combination of different tools and techniques to achieve certain objectives. These tools includes, quantitative index, development of questionnaire for it and qualitative interviews. This study has captured both sides of the understanding, which require both qualitative and quantitative tools.

3.1 Quantitative Methods

This section of the chapter presents the descriptive statistics of variables under the consideration and index development for the acceptance of new governance system in FATA.

The descriptive statistics includes mean/average values, maximum values and minimum values. The index is developed using structure questions, scored zero to one where zero means not acceptable at all and 1 means that the merger and new governance system is highly acceptable.

3.1.1 Data

The data has been primarily collected through semi structured questionnaire. In order to meet the objective, keeping view nature of respondent's author followed the purposive sampling format, as the population of Malakan and Jirga Members in FATA are unknown. More specifically this sampling technique helped the researcher to easily identify the next respondent because the Jirga members are extremely social in terms knowing each other. Collecting data from first respondent guided the research team to the home of second respondent and so on, which is snowball in nature but most of the time respondents were targeted on the basis of specific purpose. The study has used systematic random sampling from common people, while collecting the data through questionnaire for index development.

3.1.2. Sample size

The study has three different unites of data collection, where Jirga members are 50 in numbers, 50 local people are included and 20 Malakan or local; agents are included in this study. Jirga members and Malakan are included on the basis given population this is 5 percent of its total population of Malakan and jirga members approximately. We have followed 5 percent rule of sampling. In terms locals this study has taken researcher personal observation choice.

3.1.3. Data Analysis Techniques for Quantitative Part

The study has carried out some statistical analysis including frequency tables and cross tabs. In addition, to calculate acceptability to change index, the study used the index. The index score from 0-1. Zero means the change in governance structure is not acceptable at

all. Greater than 50 is moderately high acceptable and vice versa. While, Score one means perfectly acceptable with all the terms and conditions. All the questions were arranged in same format for development of index. The questions include information about acceptance of the new governance structure after merger.

3.1.4. Index development

The study has used indices to score the choices of jirga members and other Malak community. The index score varies from 0-1. Zero means the change in governance structure is not acceptable at all for the respondent. Greater than 0.50 is moderately high acceptable, lower than 0.40 is moderately acceptable. Malak's and other respondents will be given few options for each question same options for all the questions used for index development. The study will use correlation techniques to assess the reliability and validity of indices. Person's scores greater than 0.95 for each indicator it will express that the measure index is good reliable and vice versa.

3.2 Qualitative Method

This part of the study is covered with help of interviews with experts or focus group discussions with Jirga members, which is conducted with concern authorities. The tool is interview guide. The guide is designed with almost all the semi structured questions. This study has conducted a survey in three regions of FATA, which include Orakzai agency, North Waziristan and South Waziristan. The research team conducted 50 interviews. The researcher has use Snow Ball sampling technique.

Looking at location map in Google we started from the right side of Orakzai Agency, which is close to Hangu, moving to North Waziristan using the Bannu road and finally to the South Waziristan, which is close to Tank and D.I.Khan areas. This indicates there is significant number of Kilometers between these areas, which covers whole FATA region. The research team conducts total 65 interviews, where 10 interviews were uncompleted and

discarded those and five interviews got totally irrelevant responses which were also removed from discussion.

3.2.1. Data Analysis for Qualitative Part

The study has used latent content and thematic analysis to ensure that each of the themes is explored and described in a thematic style, which is helpful to understand by connecting themes to reach the conclusion on given research questions. The study has focused on Governance history in FATA is an important aspect of society and its informal institutions. Status of knowledge on reforms with common people and their stance on it should be taken seriously and to understand it more easily the Merger and existing governance contradictions should be understood and compared. This is connected to Challenges which the new governance structure in FATA will face. But it is also compensated by the already existing commonalities in proposed and implemented Merger policy and Jirga power distribution.

3.2.2. Theory behind the Study

This study is based on grounded theory approach, which refers directly to use the findings of researcher data and compare it already existing theories. In this regards we have list of theories in the literature. First theory we found in the literature was, the relative deprivation theory. The theory explains how people feel deprive and increase their tendencies towards militancy (Shah & Faqir) but this theory is not specifically related to over lens of examination and study. Further exploring the literature the author of current research came across a study of Zeb, K., & Ahmed, Z. S. (2019), which is based on theory of structural violence. Theory of culture violence also prevails at fata but there is new dimensional lens of seeing fata mergers from power perspective that how malakan feel after they understand that the merger will affect their power in governance of local laws at tribe region of fata, so theoretically splitting the study in parts we can see that contract theory can be also associated

in terms of offer given by state actors to fata has formed their mind for accepting new governance structure or they reject it. But in our case the acceptance of offer is based on decision makers not the receivers of merger policy, we have added to the study of acceptance of new governance structure to reach over purpose, which is to understand the merger effects either multiple or not across the region in terms of power changing new structure acceptance or rejection and several other challenges they are facing. I propose the research community to associate the links of our study with other theories to gain new insights in terms of Fata merger.

Chapter 4 :

RESULT AND DICUSSION

This chapter presents the results and perception extracted from interviews, field survey and FGDs with local people and concern authorities about FATA merger reforms. This chapter contains two major parts namely, quantitative part and qualitative section respectively. As discussed earlier, that the study is based on mixed method, which includes quantitative and qualitative actions on methods and analysis. The quantitative section is covered through questionnaire and qualitative part is covered through interview guide and focus group discussion.

4.1. Quantitative Analysis

This part includes descriptive analysis, which presents results of questionnaire and major components of jirga members. It also includes the index of acceptance of new governance structure in FATA. The score for index tested for reliability person's test re-test is 0.97 which good reliability signs to use indices. The study has also used cronbch alpha α for internal consistency of items.

Table 4-1: Descriptive Statistics of Jirga Members

Statistics	Age	Education	Experience in Jirga	Employment status
Maximum	76	8.00	45	1.00
Mean/Average	62	3.50	35	0.38
Minimum	54	0.00	20	0.00
S.D	17.50	4.70	18.50	0.19
N	50.00	50.00	50.00	50.00

SD = standard deviation and N is observation

Statistics presented in the table no 4.1 indicates that, the respondents (Jirga member) with highest age is 76 and minimum is 54 years, whereas the average age of respondents is 62 years. None of 50 persons interviewed, was a graduate. Interestingly, high level of education is just 8 years of schooling and minimum is zero, whereas most of the respondents have under primary education. Beside the fact that most of these were never enrolled in formal school education but almost every one of these was significantly experienced and well-trained dispute resolver and also well informed. No one was on other job.

Table 4-2: Descriptive Statistics of Local People

Statistics	Age	Education	Monthly Income	HH Size
Maximum	52.00	18.00	85,000	38.00
Mean/Average	37.00	13.00	45,000	17.00
Minimum	26.00	0.00	20,000	5.00
St. Div.	19.00	14.50	18,550	16.00
No. obs.	50	50	50	50

Table 4.2 presents descriptive statistics of data set collected from local people of North Waziristan and South Waziristan. The results of the study indicate that the age of local people selected for questionnaire survey, lies between 26 to 52 years. This indicates that the view of 4 generations is collected on mergers and its perception about its implications to society. The sample of the study includes highly qualified people and the people never enrolled to school. On average selected sample is educated, as the average year of education is 13. The monthly income is varying across respondents with maximum of 85,000 PKR and Minimum of 20000 PKR. The household size is quite large on average in FATA region. However, the minimum household size is 5 members on a single kitchen.

Table 4-3: Acceptance Index For local leaders

	FATA merger	New Reforms	Hold on natural resources	New Governance
Maximum	1 ¹ .00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Mean/average	0.25	0.30	0.45	0.78
Minimum	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
St. Div.	0.40	.70	0.50	0.30
No. obs	20	20	20	20

The range of the index score is 0 to 1, where zero means not acceptable at all and 1 means highly acceptable.

Table 4.3 indicates descriptive statistics of acceptance Index for certain components of order and laws in FATA region. As discussed in methodology chapter that index score is 0 to 1, where close to zero means less acceptance and close to 1 means high acceptance, where zero score means not acceptable at all and one indicates perfectly acceptable. As the average value of new governance is 0.78, which indicates that new governance received significant acceptance. Out of 20 Malakans only few were of the view that they are happy with the merger of FATA. Most of them were not satisfied with what they had been promised and what they are observing in recent days.

4.3 Qualitative analysis

This part of the study will be covered with the help of interviews with experts or focus group discussions with jirga members, which will be conducted with experts. The tool for this part of the research is an interview guide. The guide is designed with almost all the semi-structured open-ended questions.

¹ If the person agrees with state takes value one otherwise zero

4.4 Status of Knowledge of Reforms and feedback of locals.

The author asked about knowledge on reforms from all the respondents selected for study. The specific responses of these respondents are as follows:

Merger means we are now with the KPK province and since we are integrated with a province we are entitled to get all the facilities that KPK is using. This includes education, health, infrastructure, new institutions etc. People are expecting compensations for what they lost due to terrorism. People responded that, we were expecting this merger to be like Swat and Malakand merger to KPK, but in actual no one asked about our overall opinion about the FATA merger with KPK province. There was supposed to be referendum before deciding anything. Few very basic things that might not sound goods for others, mainly my concern is that, our opinion is not heard properly and only few among us were linked to government and their opinions were taken however, ignoring the general public.

The common people were of the view that First of all, we should talk about Law and our legal rights. If it's about FATA or other districts, according to constitution 1973, act 247 if the president wants to change the status of FATA then he should take the opinion of common people. Repeating the statements as it's a cruel decision that government did not asked from all common people. We have mandate to take a right decision. If we have the right of vote then we are under the constitution of Pakistan, so we have right on our decision. FATA is not a part of Pakistan according to British laws although we are raising the flag of Pakistan and its slogan *Pakistan Zindabad* and consider Quaid e Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah as a founder of Pakistan.

People argued that, we were feeling glad on this decision because we were trying to get rid of the existing system, FCR. We were looking for a good and positive change but Alas! it didn't happen yet practically. FATA reforms report was published in 2016 and it is 2019 and no practical work of development has been observed. Even we are deprived from

basic rights and facilities. I have no home now. I used to have a three stories home having 36 rooms which was demolished, and I was only compensated 4 and half lak rupees and it's not fair.

People are argued that we have given many sacrifices. We are called freedom fighters. We have fought for peace in our land, even in Kashmir, So why do we not get our rights? The promises made in the initial draft are not fulfilled till now. Settled areas of Pakistan are functioning under a codified law, however, FATA is left in middle of nowhere. There is no law in FATA.

The process needed to be more inclusive and a referendum must have been held. The speedy nature in passing the bill of FATA reforms has placed it in the controversial league. We have no law backed by 1973 constitution. I am astonished on high authorities, ministers and policy makers that they didn't have any roadmap for the implementation of FATA reforms. Here we are 5 people if someone asks us to prepare law or constitution for Orakzai agency. If the reforms are implemented in its true spirits, then we are expecting benefits. If we get our due share in NFC Award, then we will progress like developed countries. We have infrastructure, although damaged. The situation will be better if the funds are used with good intentions. The renovation of schools is also needed after the whole war on terror fiasco. We are hoping for more funds in Annual Development Fund.

Everyone spoke well and surly they think on our basic problems, everyone has right to speak. As much as we are concern with previous system political agents; a king without crown, FCR and cruel laws *Qazi* dealing all matters, almost all parties and individuals agree on the decision to change that system. Fazal Ur Rehman was against this decision and tried his best to sabotage it. All agree on the point that previous *kala-kanoon* was not good.

Now there were three options. First one to was that FATA be a separate province, or like GB status, or merge tribal belt with KP. Everyone has different opinion. Among the

option of separate province, state like GB and its merger in KP, I personally agree on FATA merger option. Separate province was not a good option because we have a large area having diversified geographical location like Waziristan on one corner and Mohmand on another. If Peshawar central is nearer to me and after a separate province I might travel to Waziristan or the people of Waziristan comes to Khyber or Mohmand for any issue. On basis of such issues if we lose the benefits of separate province but we get benefits of merger like this one. Although we lived in tribal areas but we have Pakistani CNIC. It is not possible that we become a separate part from Pakistan.

Today if we are backward, this is the mistake of our elders because they were not allowing roads, schools, hospitals. They considered opening up to the world as a bad omen. There was a conspiracy which is that Taliban are still here and we cannot merge it right now. But few people actually benefitted from this while the poor public suffered. State has many strategies and we cannot compete with state. Now we are crying that I got little compensation. I think it is good that we are now merged and we are crying for rights I think it is not only FATA all cities are facing critical condition.

Some of the respondent argued that, If it's a system of government of FCR or Mughal emperors both are cruel and bad for us. We were against FCR, the black law. Today if we are far back, unemployed, it is all due to FCR and *kala-kanoon*. It was not a matter of the capital of separate province. There is also a distance between D.I.Khan and Peshawar. In FATA there is a project work of CPEC motorway from Bajaur to Waziristan distance will be covered in 4 hours. Then why it is not possible to come to Dara Adam Khel from there if Dara Adam Khel becomes a central.

Lower Tehsil people have better facilities, but upper Tehsil people are not as he talks about kettle and cups. There is a difference between the displaced and non-displaced people. These are the points that should be considered by government. People who were displaced

due to war on terror faced a lot of miseries. Government should consider them. Unemployment is a serious issue as well. Before war on terror, people of FATA used to earn a respectable livelihood. But there are no businesses and nor any jobs. Like Gilgit Baltistan, Swat, Dir and Malakand we should also be facilitated after Pakistan these states merge into Pakistan, someone should go there to check their facilities than come towards us.

Unfortunately, funds taken by any institution are not utilized for efficiently and effectively. Reality is that there is no penny from our funds to be utilized properly, so accept this reality and there was a huge difference in mind sets of our elders. When someone talks about schools and roads they will show their weapons. One of our area's colonels was very close to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and he was in security of Bhutto he brought Bhutto in our area and Bhutto asked if you people need something then let me know. Our elders replied that you are in our area and our guest if you need something you should tell us, so colonel told Bhutto that there is a need of cadet collage for our area, he replied that select a place for Cadet College after when Bhutto left colonel talk to elders about cadet collage. When he talked with elders he was threatened by the elders, so there is a good sign that no such mentality exists in today's time.

Coming to the point government should fulfill their promises; 120 million rupees in NFC award should be released for our development. Recently government has been talking about financial crises. If they can take a decision about merger within 48 hours then they should also take decision on NFC funds for us, it's not that much a big deal. Our poor people gave many sacrifices for this country, spend worse time in bad weather now should be facilitated in proper way. 4 lak rupees are not enough compensation for those IDPs. The receiver will accept it nonetheless as it is better than having nothing. In 1965 war tribal people knot bomb with their bodies to destroy the tanks of enemies without thinking about their families for the sack of this country. Now if government is not considering these

sacrifices then it's not fair. Now it is our demand that we all are equal and we should be equally treated. If these people are deprived from their rights then people start to build organization like PTM from Waziristan. Their patience breaks and they start rebelling and it's not a good solution. It's my request government should fulfill their promises of 20 thousand jobs and our budget should be properly utilized. FATA merger is a good step. Going back to 2001 before 9/11 and NATO intervention in Afghanistan we should accept this reality that FATA was the most peaceful part of the Pakistan. Although people were not educated, no development work was there but there was a rich culture, norms and values.

A member of jirga argued that, due to war on terror the ratio of orphan and widow has increased in our area and they have the worse and tough life in our area. There are no institutions which may teach skills or a welfare organization where they learn and earn to spend a better life, some of them have lost their whole families. I was in hospital when two women of 65 ages come to me and said that we have no one then I asked how? One of them said that I was a mother of one son and I lost him. I don't know where we will be alive or dead, then someone said to me that they are widows and have no one left in their home due to war on terror, so their land will be occupied by someone else and Right to information act, women empowerment programs for unskilled women should be extended to our areas, so there should be a research on such topics. Yes, we have expectation. We have problem like in snowfall our landline and other network connections become disconnected, some of the respondents were to hear that everyone is talking about our basic and important rights. I will only say that our PM announces to build 50 lak homes for poor people in whole country. I think it should be built for only the people of FATA. The second issue is that we have only one senator in senate house. There is an urgent need of 4 tehsils and 2 MNA's to develop our agency and we need our development. We want to progress like others. Third one is we generate 3 billion annually only form Torkham Border with Afghanistan and FATA hills,

mountains, the rich source of minerals and natural resources. Yesterday ministry of minerals resources visits FATA. If FATA is now merged with KP so there should be some benefits for us. Next is FATA *Jirga* system which was providing justice to everyone. Basically, the assembly system is the outcome to *Jirga* system we are accepting the decision of FATA merger but in FATA reforms the promises made by government should be fulfill as soon as possible. One more thing I have heard that underdeveloped districts have age relaxation in different platforms like jobs etc. But our agency has no age relaxation, without any facilities our agency is listed in developed districts.

4.6. Perception of People on FATA Merger

This section of the study will help to achieve the objective about people perception on FATA merger and implementation of new governance structure. A person argued that, there should be dialogue between people of FATA and government. We become Internally Displaced People and our own area was completely destroyed. I spend 20-25 lak rupees on my house building and it became sand after operation. Now to support people like us and to build infrastructure, schools etc it need some practical implementation. People are in ignorance if they didn't get education they will be the same for whole life.

According to a local leader, there should be talk on referendum. We are Pakistanis as well and our concerns must be taken on the issues that affect us. People were expecting of facilities on different fronts from government but since May 2017 till now we are going towards the worse situations. Nowadays when someone goes in DC office to discuss issues he simply says that these things are in progress and paper work is in progress and I didn't get full authority. People instead of getting facilities, are facing issues. It is my opinion about the merger.

Minor numbers of respondents were against FATA merger in a way because people were expecting that after FATA merger, FATA will be totally developed. Jobs opportunities

will be created for our youth and they thought that there will be progress towards bright future. A person argued that FATA is full of resources and I believe people of FATA should have hold on them. That is why I am in favor of a separate province option. FATA as a separate province is a good idea. It will have its own capital city, own resources and up to 25 departments and own government persons like bureaucrats, technocrats, MNAs, and a Governor. FATA youth will have ample opportunities of jobs once we have our own province. We will have share of funds from federal government and a separate share in NFC. FATA is under develop it is not developed yet no hospitals etc. The basic things are houses. Our first demand is the completion of rehabilitation process. We are given 400,000 rupees per household. This amount is not enough. In fact, we do not want this amount; government should make arrangements for us and compensate us for our sacrifices for the country. They should build house schemes, hospitals, schools, colleges, and universities, and road networks. The government should empower us in deciding our future.

As response a person argued that, you mentioned that everything will take some time but what should be preferred. As our friend speaks well on prior activities that first thing should be creating job opportunities. In old khasadar system our leaders (malak) or employed people were getting salaries without performing their duties in proper way. It's okay that old system is abolished. Now there should be a proper channel of job criteria in education department, health department and also in different security forces i.e. police, levies, FC etc. No one should be unemployed. When people get jobs their mind set will change and will perform their duties with honesty and dignity, so the first important thing is creating job for youth of FATA.

One of the respondent said that there income source is drugs (opium/chars) and orders are regulated by government that stops such kind of activities, so job opportunities for people are the most important one. There should be job opportunities that will lead us towards peace.

We have best tourism spots and mineral resources so both departments can generate enough job opportunities for our people. Third one is education and health department that can provide many jobs. Our BHU's are almost completely demolished.

I think education and health are the most important infrastructure should be preferred over other problems. Instead of 4 lak rupees there should be 4 corer rupees for each household and without roads, houses, and infrastructure it is difficult to carry on routine daily life. There are 4 options in FATA reforms report one was to make FATA independent province, second one was FATA inzemam, third one was council like GB, and forth one was to merge FATA with KP. They implement 4th option on us, and have no positive results yet. There is no monitoring for us. We cannot raise our voice, nor someone try to listen to us. These are our big problems

4.7. Challenge for new governance structure

The registration process of land is the most sensitive aspect of FATA reforms. In FATA some lands are registered, and some are not even registered, and both have a significance difference in price. No one has individual lands in most of the regions. It's a collective land on the name of Khel not on the name of individuals. These lands will be now computerized, what are the implications of reforms for land issues. There are negative sides of this issue. Let's me explain through some example as it happened to a person who was abroad. When he came to homeland he goes to farming land and opened fire on some women and said that he is the owner of this land. When he was arrested and investigated he claimed that I am the owner of this land and these women have seized my land. When we asked about the issue people were saying that the females are the owner of this land. It became a big issue, so in such issues the opinion of our elders and leaders play an important role and I think there is no best option than this one because our elders have information so during registration of lands there should be a role of our leaders. As the issue of 1300 *gerab* land is controversial

between *ferozkhel* and *torikhel*, and this case is pending from last 12 years in PA office without any solution, so such issues will be raised and there is a need of opinion of our elders who can talk fairly on such issues.

There are issues in land registration process. It's very important to involve our elders in this issue. There should be access to everyone for the registration of his land. Most of the lands are clear but somewhere if issue arise then it will be listed in pending case and judiciary will handle these controversial lands, somewhere lands having without ownership like hilly regions will become a government property having minerals and resources.

Maybe this problem might be not relevant with topic but I am highlighting this issue that in our area there is a problem of land ownership. Kurram agency has no such issue like that. It was easy in early days, system was strong, *Jirga* system and others. In our agency a widow was considered having more power than any other person or leader if someone try to harm her or her son was killed by someone else, people destroyed the house of that person and put a heavy fine on him, so the point is some issues can be solved locally but land issue cannot be solved by locals so government should do something for the ownership of collective land of any tribe. Although our mountains have minerals and government will come to extract these minerals and resources so before it someone comes and occupy my land or our tribal collective land then how we will solve the issue so government should do something for the ownership (*intakal*) of land. Everyone should have to get their land because they have done very hard work to get these lands and if someone occupies someone else lands so how it will be proved that who is the real owner of land.

Once a Pashtun start fighting with Hindu on land, Pashtun said to Hindu that this is my land leave this place. He replied, it is mine, then Pashtun come with cows and try to plough that land. Hindu tells him that we have to talk on this issue but Pashtun didn't agree, so Hindu put out weapon and said that yes I am Hindu but this gun is not a Hindu, then

Pashtun untie animals and left that land due to the fear of gun. Elders solve this case and example of justice was made for weak people, so Hindu get his right over the land nowadays I have vote and identity card but if something happen with me like that I cannot take gun for such issue. Many people in our area were strong than my father but no one dares to look towards us because my father always says that I will not fight with stick but with gun. He was saying that no one wants to face gun whatever how much stronger he is. We face any hurdles due to this.

The case of 1300 *gerab* land should be highlighted because it will lead towards domestic fight and violence. One of our elders talks about resources that will be taken by government. I am saying that government will utilize these resources for us as like Gas is supplied in Baluchistan because it's their resource, so what I am saying is we will be beneficiaries of our resources and if our lands have such resources so we should be get some benefits from it.

Government should consider increasing the percentage of benefits for local people. For example, if coal mine is discovered in Orakzai agency so 60 percent benefit should be for local and 40 % for government.

Mine benefits should be distributed on basis of population of that local place, and every household should be benefited from that mine and if it is private mine than direct tax should be paid to government I think it's the best solution. Second thing is registration process of lands. It should be computerized while taking the locals in confidence, so that everyone gets his share in land.

4.8. Governance Structure and FATA reforms

Till now there was a political administration system in FATA like political Agent etc. now there will be new administrative like in Peshawar, Mardan and other parts of KP. Merger means there will be new system, so how much you are satisfied from the new system.

Respondent repeat the question of moderator again and explain it in local language and local accent, and contribute that we were against the old system of PA and FCR. One of drawback of the PA system was like when someone personally knows PA and he comes to our area than he was free to enjoy the power of the PA on basis of reference or relationship and friendship. When PA system comes to end and when new system starts equally treating people than there will be no trust issues and people will also cooperative.

People think that they will get rights, freedom of expression, and freedom of voice because of new system. Right to information act is a best step of KP government. People will be aware from their basic rights and if they face some problems they will contact DC to solve any issue. Locals will be facilitated than their problems will be solved. As MH is our *malak* and *malaks* always work under the orders of PA so he might disagree with this point (MK pointed MH on lighter note).

It's a clear point that PA system was not good for us and now this merger is a progress in right direction. If the whole country is running under a same system, why should FATA be not placed under that very same system? But we have one issue. When 9/11 accident happened our religious schools and institutions were targeted because someone use it for a bad thing although religious schools were not built for this. First it was said that these religious schools are registered with industrial sector and now it need to register with ministry of education. Different meetings have been called on this matter and for the time being this problem is unsolved that where it should be register with ministry of education or not. I was in one of the meeting and we agreed on the point that we will go to federal ministers for this issue. We have 5 religious institutions and the leaders of these institutions will join us to discuss the issue in Islamabad. Yesterday again in meeting of *mutahada ulema* meeting we discussed it again but then we didn't move to discuss it with government, so the point is we discuss this matter a lot but we didn't get some output and solution for this issue. A

respondent argued that, Sir for this issue I think there should be a proper rehabilitation system. Special task force should be created for these religious schools and *deni-madaris* and approximately 1000 to 1500 people will be needed to solve this issue. Agreeing with the statement respondents argued that, yes, there should be some steps for religious institutions and some relief as in previous year government of KP announced a salary for the *imam* of mosques. Than some of the *imam* felt happy and some consider it a bad step, but all the eligible *imam* of all mosques fills a form for this incentive but at the end they get nothing because nothing happened, someone said that it's a good step and on the other hand people like *Maulana Fazal e Rehman* consider it a bad step. Whatever they think but people in general considers it a step worth taking. Posts were vacant and were advertised by FATA Development Authority (FDA). My friends applied for the vacancies but till now they didn't receive any interview call. These were posts of 17 grades, and our friends decide to investigate about it so they went to FDA office and asked about the posts. They said that it is not our concern now because it is now under the KP ministry of IT. When the matter was discussed with IT minister, the minister refused and said that he has no concern with these posts, so the government body is confused about the matter that who has this responsibility. No one is in problem but only the common people are in trouble, so whatever is going on with government there should be some solutions for these problems on urgent basis, so people should be benefited. The community is happy with the fact that PA and FCR system is removed, and the institution for us should be established as soon as possible. It is a transparent system where everyone will be equally treated, and all funds will be properly utilized. SN: system will be better with local bodies system and everyone perform their job. One of the respondent was of the view one positive point is that, When local government start is function our *Nazim* will solve my issues in my hometown. There should be audit process behind this system so that our funds can be utilized in transparent way. It's a good step. In

local government system a local person will be available. It has a great importance. But there should be some authority with the assign person. We don't want *Nazims* to make excuses to us.

Local people argued that resources and power should be distributed from the upper administrative. Because often it happens that our counselors say that we are short of funds. According to the constitution is it possible that local body election will be held in FATA this time?

The respondent mentioned that the parliament has authority to allow election in FATA. Constitution is set of rules made by parliament and parliament has authority to bring any change or amendment in constitution.

Another respondent added that in local government system important thing is *halka bandi* and these *halka bandi* should be tappy wise because it will remain the effective way, so this should be considered an important point. I agree with the local government system.

4.9 Spillover Effects of Merger and New Governance System

This theme is expected to help in understanding the spell over effect of new governance structure in FATA region. Till now the people of FATA has solved cases through *Jirga* system and PA was the only person or authority in action to deal the issues but after the merger social issues and other issues will be dealt through judiciary system, someone rejects the decisions of *Jirga* then he will move to court. Police will give priority to court because it's a system of discipline. The question is how *Jirga* system is followed in traditional way in your area and secondly what your opinion about the judiciary system is. Is it a good step or bad? and how it can affect the existing system in one place and does this affect other places *jirga*. There are two or three parties in a conflict on any type of resources or right etc: each party has two or more representatives, which fight the case as court lawyers do.

The claims are taken in written or verbally from each party and their jirga representative talks on it during the jirga meeting. The parties are told to give their full right and authority of decision to jirga members, whatever the whole jirga decides will be accepted otherwise there is specific type of fines or sanctions which applies on conflict parties.

The people were of the view that judicial system is good, and it is already implemented in Hangu district. Hangu has own court and system and in our area, system is not built yet. All buildings are destroyed, and everything is a complete mess. Courts should be built in our areas. However, this will affect the jirga system badly and people will face more complicated issues as we are new with court system.

One of the respondents argued that sir for two years I was there in our area and I asked people about their response on that specific question and majority said that there should be judiciary system. These institutions should be built in our own area nearer to us. Like as I mentioned about widows and they are facing issues and no one is listening to them they have no traveling expenses and come to Peshawar high court from our area. I am saying court should be in our area and it's also unfair that I come to Hangu for justice because I might be unable to afford the traveling cost. Government should think about any problems while noticing the low-income people, so that a person having limited resources can get justice in low budget. Same situation was face by Hangu districts and then government organizes some committees for the solution of it with the opinion of (*Malak*) leaders and judges. Possible solutions were found with the opinion of these people.

A leader added that its due to new judicial system, that the cruel system of PA, *Malak* alliance will come to an end (MS pointing MH as MH is *Malak* "I apologize but it is a fact that system was not fair and some *Malak* were misusing their power). Although judiciary system has also a lengthy process and take 2-3 years while solving any case but it will be second option after if someone rejects *Jirga* decision. If nowadays judiciary system is taking

2-3 years to solve any case but in future it will be better and will take lesser time to solve any kind of case. A person said that he read a case in newspaper recently that in Sheikhpura judge asked a female to give him 100 rupees and she was unable to pay, so he announces 25 years in imprisonment for her. Now the case was investigated, and the story revealed that a female was send to prison for not paying 100 rupees, from last 19 years she was in prison for this reason. I have the opinion of our people and they all were agree on making laws and judicial system but our judiciary institutions should be in our region so that everyone can easily access to it.

Although there are weaknesses of judiciary system, a respondent added an example of chairman of Islamic *Nazariati* council. Once he said that he was on foreign tour and decides to visit the court of that country to check that how they are dealing any issue in courts, someone told me that the jury will be closed at 11 and I just arrived on 11 and there was no body in court I asked from someone that where is everybody, the judges, Jury etc, and I got a replied that judgment has been announced and everyone has gone to their homes. I asked how it is possible to finish court hearing on time. He added that the positive point in our courts are that here people don't tell lie in courts and speak everything fairly, so that transparent system should be also in our judiciary system although it's like impossible because our system has weaknesses, but it should be solved, and courts should be built in local areas nearer to our region so that everyone can access to it.

4.10. Conclusion or feedback

The conclusion one can draw from the above discussion are as follows, based on the perception of people in focus group discussions, at large newly merged FATA's people are seemingly not happy with merger because their expectations were far more different. The people willing to solve cases through court system because of transparency perceptions but the fact that these people are new with court system will cost them significant cost of a case.

4.11. Political Participation and FATA Merger

How we people are seeing towards the political participation. There is only one seat in parliament, National assembly and also one seat in senate for your representative, so the question is, are you people are satisfied from your MNA or representatives. Are they performing their job well?

KK: Sir team of Orakzai grand *ithaad* arranged 3 hours meeting with our concerned MNA 4 days ago about the current situation of the region. He said that till now country is in crises and we have no resources even I did not get any full authority or power and assign work. He added an important point that I am one person and I belong to lower Orakzai. I have so many problems in lower Orakzai that I cannot even solve the issues of *Ismailzai*, central Orakzai. He says that there is an issue of security and recently we are targeted by bomb blast and intelligence warns me to limit my moments, so government should think about the issue, if a person is unable to solve their issues of 40 percent of its people then how he will be available for the remaining 60 percent people.

Government should increase our representatives and it's possible for state. When I raised this point in meeting then someone said that it is not only our issue. If we talk on this issue then Karachi, Bahawalpur want to be a separate province, then I said it is a separate issue. We give many scarifies so for sympathy there should be at least one more seat for us, because our MNA itself tell us that it's out of my control to cover everyplace and this is also a reality. Everyone laugh on me and commented that on the basis of sympathy you people need a lot of things. My reply was that areas like Dir, Swat have 4 MNA seats why not we have all these. There should be 2-3 seats of MNA and senate for us. In census our population has been deliberately shown less than what it is in real. It has been decreased and some of the areas are not counted in it. We are deprived from our basic rights in a planned way. For getting foreign fund from UNDP and other organization they increase our population so that

they can get enough money while on ground reality they try to manipulate us. According to me it's a violation of human rights. Although we need some concentration and focus of government and all these issues will be solved through FATA Reforms after FATA merger. I think it is the best solution for it. A respondent added that, all these issues will be solved when government start focusing on our issues how it is possible to drive a car without its wheels it is same as our areas have no wheels; every single building is destroyed then how our area will be developed.

What should be the role of your representatives MNA's in FATA reforms? Our previous MNA was very passive in starting developmental projects. He only built one hospital. Now first thing is government should give them some funds and budget for development works so that they cannot argue that we are short of funds. Some

People argued that MNA should build a strong bond with local government and this coordination will bring best performance. First there should be 2 MNA seats after reforms, one for upper and one for center. In recent censuses our population is 20-25 lak so there is a need of 2 seats of MNA.

All MNAs and MPAs can play very important role in FATA reforms. In current situation when something happened they call to Hangu for its solution. Our MNAs have raised voice in National Assembly and Senate for their issues but I think up till now government is not considering the raised voices. It is requested that we should be treated like others I think up to 90 percent government can perform its best role if they want.

A local leader argued that they have one seat in senate and one seat is not enough. First of all, there is a problem in census results. All FATA population is not counted fairly so we reject the results of recent census. On basis of that we got only one MNA seat it is also not acceptable for us. One person cannot solve the problems of the whole population. We will get benefits when there are 2 representatives for us.

The voice of a political leader is stronger than common people. Only people listen to me in mosque in *Jumma's Khutba* (NH is *Imam* of mosque by profession), another thing is we have only one seat in national assembly. It is unfair it may create violence in local regions. It is our request of PM that there should be 2 seats for us.

Orakzai agency was made in 1973 after Pakistan came into being. I think 2 seats will not be enough our system is completely demolished and there is a need of 4 seats for us. There are 4 tehsils and every Tehsil should have one seat in national Assembly. Funds of NFC award that are specified for FATA should be released for development work, and important thing is there should be monitoring system so that funds can be properly utilized. One road is under construction from last 3 years, and people are saying that it's a part of CPEC and I think 8-9 time that road has been auctioned from one party to another, so I think it will be completed in worse condition having worse quality. The last buyer of that project will use low quality inputs, so there should be monitoring system to avoid issues, so my opinion is 4 seats will be enough and these deprived people should be in prior list of government.

4.12 Socioeconomic Development

RTI, Health, Education, Law in Order, justice and human rights, communication and network are the few indicators of social and economic growth that evaluate the life status of common people. How you see these indicators and are they important to you. What is the most important one according to your perception? What should be done first in your area?

People think there is a dire need of everything you mentioned but as you mentioned what should be done first. The most important one is education because the literacy rate is quite low in this area. How one would change the mindsets and infrastructure without education. The second most important one is infrastructure. Houses are like the mountains of bricks and sand. I am talking for overall region. IDPs returned back to their areas after 7

months but in upper areas houses of sand are now like a sign of mountains. Although government has built one collage and one press club which are still nonfunctional. There were 2 colleges in 2004 and one was completely destructed. Last night we were discussing the same issue and one of our friends was talking about one teacher of that collage as he has also done law, so he starts work as a lawyer nowadays because he needs some job, and someone asked from him then he replied that what I should do, there is no best option and I cannot sit to break stones.

We ask form the migrated people of upper areas that do you think that your area is cleared and why not you people move back to your areas. They refused to go back there and said that there are no educational institutes, school in our area and hospitals.

During Political Agent governance system somehow there were schools and other institutes but some of the teachers will get their salaries for nothing while spending time in their homes, because no students were attending schools, and some of their teachers were uneducated even not a 1st grade passed. But they were getting salary of 12 months every year.

A person argued that in 2014 a survey was held in Orakzai agency by Orakzai agency students to measure the quantity of medical officers and female medical officers. Overall there were 32 medical officers in paper document work. But on ground there were only 6 MO's. One of them was FMO hired LHV on 6000-8000 per month for MO's post for all hospital to deal all kind of patient. She was also on the same post somewhere in Punjab. One of the MO was also found on job in UAE. For years he was get paid as medical officer. Teachers were hiring others for their job and get paid half of their salaries; cases like these are the facts of our areas.

A jirga member added that 1200-1300 fake students were shown by some fake teachers for the sake of salaries. These are the situations of our educational institutes. In our time there was one school in Ganditaar (our area) and it was enough for us. Yes, there was

one primary school for boys in our time, it was enough for us, and one primary school for girls after some time it becomes middle school up to 8th grade and then high school. When it becomes high their fund was not properly utilized and even it was not operated for a single day. How a school can run with 20-30 female students having one or no teacher. That building still exists in my village. I think it is a hot issue in Orakzai agency. In our side in every meeting on FATA merger at the end they said that we do not accept police to be here because someone I think tell them that these levies persons will be removed and police not a local person will get this job. The solution is that levies person should take these jobs. Government should give these jobs to levies person. Only change their uniforms. They are uneducated they should be place somewhere else.

4.13 Major findings

- One major perception that a large amount of people are unhappy with the merger of FATA because of the way it is implementing but quite excited that FCR and PA system is demolished.
- People think that power use will be done for positive aspects in remote regions, especially for development as the power structure changes.
- The people think that merger is far beyond their expectations, the advocates of mergers were explaining it in some different ways and now it has been implemented in a very different way.
- The acceptance for new governance structure is quite high but people are not happy with some of the new reforms, which includes hold on resources from government authorities and merger at all. People are happy for new court system and at the same uncertain about new system to deal with zero knowledge. Jirga and Malakan are unhappy

with merger because of power structure broken and to build new alliances years and decades will be required.

Chapter 5 :

Conclusion and Recommendation

5.1 Conclusion

This research is based on primary data collected through questionnaire and FGDs. The study has utilized snow ball sampling technique. The data is collected from three FATA districts namely Orakzai agency, North Waziristan and South Waziristan. The study calculated acceptability index of merger and new governance structure. The study also collected evidences from Jirga members through interviews. After analyzing the data this concludes that FATA merger is far beyond the expectations of local leaders and expert. The locals responded that the promoters/activists of mergers were explaining it in a very diverse way and now it has been implemented in a very different way. Historically the people are aware of FATA's previous status. The acceptance for new governance structure is quite high but people are not happy with all new reforms and holds on resources from government authorities. The respondents mentioned various challenges that the government will face in coming days. However, the People are happy for new court system and at the same time uncertainty about new system exists that how to deal the new system with zero knowledge from community side. The study is based on the objective to study the acceptance score of new reforms and FATA merger and its effect on governance structure in FATA. The merger is expected to affect the power of Jirga members negatively as there will be a new system as alternative to achieve the justice.

The researcher concludes this research with a statement, "People understand that the world from first day is changing but people also expect from authorities according to promises made during the days of FCR".

Policy Recommendations

- There is an urgent need for awareness on mergers and its role in development for common masses of FATA that they can accept the new reforms and can help in making the process smoother.
- The government should engage local leaders to make the process smooth and workable for development plans.
- The old Jirga members should be given a role of local court system with proper record keeping, making the justice process easy and choice base for locals, whatever they want to use, either the court or local Jirga they can use it.
- There is need for a specific forum, which bring government and local on one page for development of FATA under new governance structure.

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APPENDIX A

Questions for field work

Introduction of the study:

This is a study; we are conducting to examine the common people perceptions on FATA mergers and reaction towards new governance system.

1. What changes are being observed after the merger of FATA?
2. What are new reforms being implemented and what is it about?
3. Discuss what will be the effect of reforms on governance in FATA?
4. Does mergers effects the power structure of Jirga and how please discuss?
5. How merger will affect the Health, Education, Law in Order, justice and human rights, communication and network are the few indicators of social and economic growth that evaluate the life status of common people?
6. How you see these indicators and are that important to you. What is the most important one according to your perception?
7. What should be done first in your area?
8. Are you satisfied with merger of FATA?
9. Do you think that FATA merger will affect the governance structure in FATA? How will it affect the governance structure and does it also affect the power structure of jirga and Malakan?
10. What do you think will be the effect of merger in other power factors in FATA?
11. Major questions of discussion were following
12. What are your perceptions about FATA mergers with KPK with respect to spillover effects of mergers on governance structure and community welfare?
13. What are your perceptions about new governance' structure?

14. Do you accept the new reforms, governance and FATA mergers as the FATA has changed to a new governance structure in FATA