

Review

A De-Stablize FATA; Dynamics, implications and the way forward

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Abstract

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Federally Administered Tribal Areas of Pakistan (FATA) is becoming bleeding wound for Pakistan as the conflict originated in the area and its repercussions have inundated the entire country. The long-term destabilization of the region has serious implications for the state of Pakistan. This conflict has already cost to the nation both in term of life and property as well. On one hand, the increased militancy in FATA is resulted in a number of military operation thus creating great differences between the locals and the security forces. On the other hand, this militancy also effects the civilians in other parts of Pakistan because the militant groups unleashed violence there as a reaction. In both the cases innocent civilians are targeted and the state need to be employed short term steps and long term strategies to save the nation from further loss.

Keywords: Conflict, Militant group, FATA

INTRODUCTION

Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) are located at northwest of Pakistan. It is consisted seven agencies namely, South Waziristan, North Waziristan, Bajaur, Mohmand, Kuram, Khyber and Orakzai agency and six Frontier Regions. Its frontier regions consisted of the FR Dera Ismail Khan, FR Bannu, FR Lukki, FR Peshawar, FR Kohat and FR Tank (Gop. 2006). It is a mountainous land. It is surrounded to the west by Afghanistan, to the east by Baluchistan, to the North by Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province and to the south east by the Punjab province (Ipri, 2008). According to 1998 census, it has a population of almost 3.138 million. According to 2008 estimate by non-government sources, it has a population of 3.5 million (Khan, 2008). It covers an area of some 27,500 square kilometers. The area is home to some four million Pakhtuns. It is historically being an autonomous region and the sovereignty of the state is limited (Abbas, 2010). (Figure 1)

Nature of the Tribesmen

The inhabitants of the tribal belt are called Pashtuns or

Pathans. There is a little written material available about the history of Pashtun tribe. The first ever historical evidence about them is given by Herodots Book 3, in 484 BC, it says that "their way of life is almost the same as that of Baktrians people of Balkh. They are the most warlike of all the Indians. The people around Paktuik (Peshawar) are "the bravest of all the people in those parts."

Alberuni the most eminent scholar gave the most authentic reference in his book Tarikh al Hind in 937-1048. He said that these peoples are the most "rebellious, savage races occupying the frontiers of India towards the west". He also tells us: "In the western frontier mountains of India, there live various tribes of the Afghans and extend up to the neighborhood of the Sind valley."

If the origin of Pashtuns would be determined based on traditions and customs than it would be closer to Arabs. The social usages and tribal organizations are presents remarkable resemblance with the Arabs. Hospitality, bravery, love for independence, endurance, revenge and courage are the basic virtues of pre Islamic Arabs. These attributes are the basic elements of

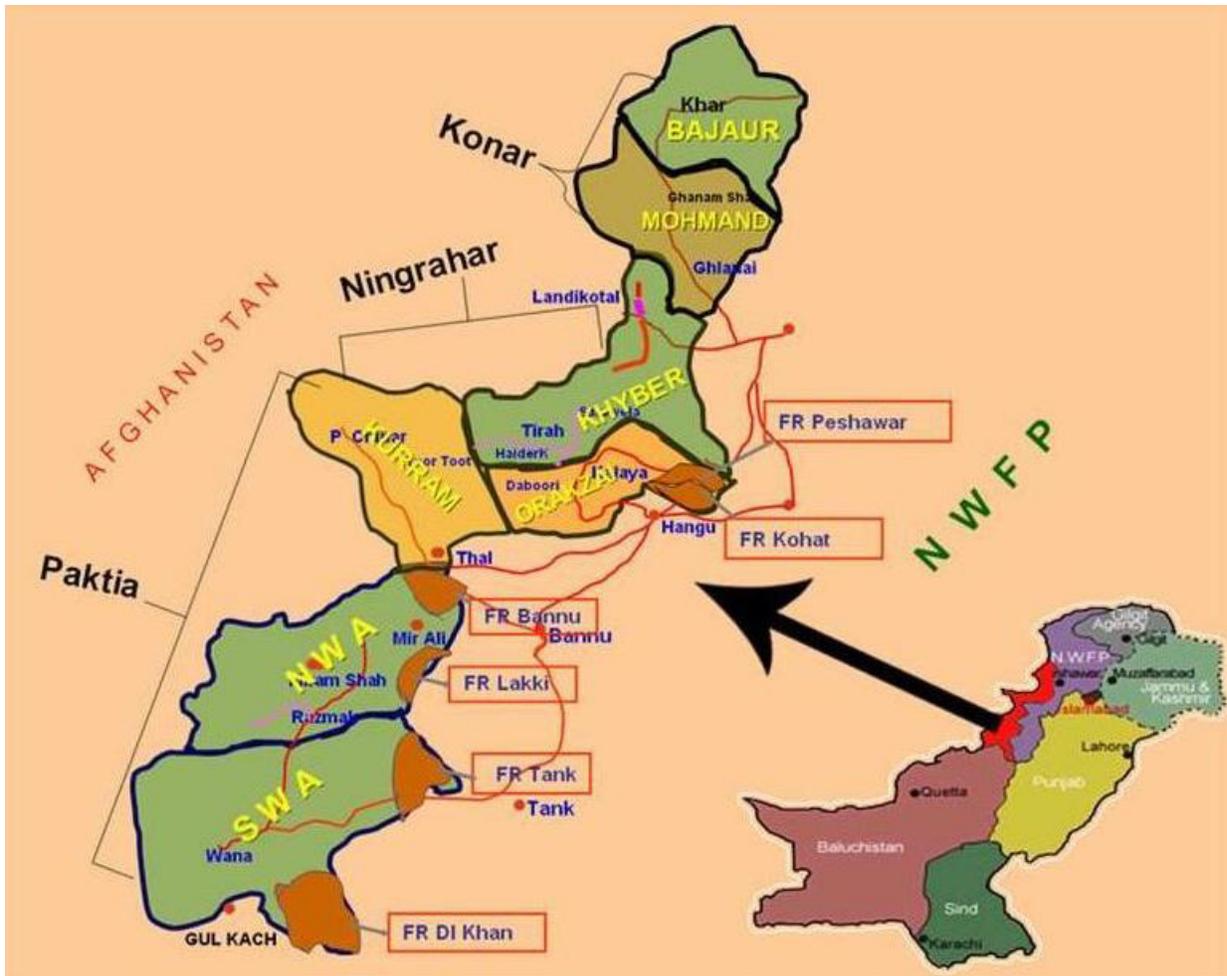


Figure 1. Fata

Pashtunwali as well (Khan and Nuri, 2005)

The inhabitants of FATA are one of the most rigid in the world. Historical and cultural factors as well as harsh environment made its people the toughest in the world. The society is by and large tribal and traditional. Weapons and Arms considered the essential element of the society (Ahmad, 2013).

Ethnic distribution of FATA

The Pashtuns are considered the largest ethnic group in the world without a homeland. They are almost forty million in both Afghanistan and Pakistan (Kerr, 2010). There are many tribes of Pashtun society. According to an estimate, it is almost around sixty. If all the sub clans are counted, it is almost 400 (Zaidi, 2010). FATA is known for very rich ethnic diversity and tribal structure. There are several tribes having smaller tribes. For example, in South Waziristan and North Waziristan, there are Mahsoods and Wazirs respectively. In Bajaur and

Mohmand agencies, there are Uthmankhail and Mohmand tarkhani. In Khyber and Orakzai agencies, there are Afridies, Shinwari and Shilamani tribes. Turi and Bangash are inhabited by Kkurram agency. Other tribes of this region include Utmanzai, Saidgai, Dawar, Burki and Gurbaz. FR Tank is occupying by Bhattani tribe while FR Bannu belongs to Wazirs. Lastly, the Sherani tribe lives in FR Dera Ismail Khan (FATA spotlight, 2015).

Pashtunwali is the code of conduct of this region. It is a set of codified laws for this region. Pashtunwali is actually set of tenets that monitor the daily lives of all Pashtuns to a major extent. There is a specific amount of dynamism in 'Pashtunwali' which evolves with the passage of time (Junaid, 2010). Following are the basic tenets of Pashtunwali;

- Puth: (self-esteem) Pride and protection of self-respect
- Tora: (bravery) Signifies hero character; all levels
- Nang: (honor) the most central tenet. Nangyalay means the honorable
- Badal: (revenge)

- Milmastya: (Hospitality)
- Sheegara: (Welfare) societal; selfless act)
- Wafa: (loyalty) Duty to family, kin, tribe and nation
- Nanawatey: (asylum)
- Jirga: (arbitration)

The origin of militancy in FATA

As the history witnessed that the inhabitants of FATA are totally free to govern their affairs. The colonial masters allow them to live according to their own customs and traditions. In return, the tribal peoples cooperate with the rulers (Abbas, 2006). During the colonial period Durand line was drawn between Afghanistan and Pakistan border because of an accord between the British government and Afghanistan. The line was although drawn for establishing peace but in fact it divides the Pashtun nation. The actual reason behind the line was to convert Afghanistan into a buffer zone between British and Russian. After the independence of Pakistan, Afghanistan refuse to accept the borderline and this issue of Pakhtunistan is still a bone of contention between the two neighbors (Mehmood and Awan, 2014). As after the independence the agreement between British raj and tribal people were annulled and the newly created state of Pakistan negotiate with the tribal agents. The tribal Malikis promised to pledged its loyalty to Pakistan and in turn the state of Pakistan conceded the autonomy to the region (Awan, 2013).

As FATA has direct links with Afghanistan, therefore it is highly prolific for militancy. It has historical linkage, land linkage and cultural linkage with Afghanistan. This land is dominated by United States practice of testing Drone technology as well as a practice land for Al Qaeda for training suicide bomber from and within FATA (Khan,2014).

Besides these links with Afghanistan, the internal policies of the state are also responsible for growing militancy in FATA. The year 1979 pilot great changes in the Muslim world. Pakistan could not have saved being a Muslim society from these changes. The soviet invasion of Afghanistan is a major event that particularly created huge changes in Pakistan along with the Iranian revolution (Khan, 2014). The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan has greatly changed the foreign as well as internal policies of Pakistan. FATA becomes a hub of terrorist training centre during this time. Not only the local people were trained but the external from all over the Muslim world were also invited to come and get training against the soviets. At the same time the military dictator Gen Zia ulhaq also brought Saudi Iran proxy war to Pakistan and once again the militants trained in FATA were used (Azam, 2014).

Likewise, the 9/11 incident once again has changed the whole situation in FATA as it did in other parts of the world. Pakistani government deployed its forces on

American pressure and launched launch military operations against the militants settled in FATA. Various attempts – both military and political – to clear the area from terrorists and foreign militants did not succeed. Imprudent policies pursued by the government added fuel to the fire and sowed the seeds of hatred and mistrust in the area towards the state institutions The counter reactionary elements took arms against the state of Pakistan. A number of militia groups and militant organizations under different banners were formed (Ahmad, 2013).

As Pashtuns are the people having remarkable love for Islam as well as they are intolerant towards the issues and matters of religious affairs. This is one of the reasons that Jihadi groups and religious political parties take complete control over the majority of the Pashtun tribes. As a result of the inherent political chaos in the FATA and the resistance of the population due to military operation crackdown, the Taliban movement and al-Qaida members were provided with an environment in which they could regroup, rearm, recruit, and rebuild their training infrastructure through alliances developed with certain tribes and clans in the region (Hameed, 2012).

Why FATA is in the limelight

FATA has a long history of power politics, conflict and turmoil. For the first time the area becomes the focus of attention during British raj. The Britishers were failed to enforce its writ over the area. Therefore, Frontier Crime regulations were introduced in 1901 to subdue them. For the second time it gains focus when Russia invaded Afghanistan in 1979. The area becomes the hub for the support of Mujahedin to fight against the soviet. Heavy funds were received to help and create Taliban in the region. For the third time FATA gained critical importance after the 9/11 attacks. Today it is an area that not only concerns for Pakistan but for the Global community as well (Mirza, 2012)

DYNAMIC OF DEGRADING SITUATION IN FATA

There are a number of causes that leads to instability in FATA. The most prominent dynamics of instability in the region are listed below;

Illiteracy

The literacy rate in Federally Administered Tribal Areas FATA is far below from the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) and the rest of Pakistan (Khan, 2010). The problematic state of affairs in FATA portends grave consequences. It particularly affects the educational system and educational infrastructure in tribal

Table 1. Income distribution

Agency/Region	Total Schools destroyed	Boys	Girls
Bajaur	95	27	68
Mohmand	88	22	66
Khyber	58	27	31
Kurram	61	16	45
Orakzai	34	11	23
North Waziristan	32	9	23
South Waziristan	35	6	29
FR Peshawar	15	4	11
FR Kohat	32	15	17
FR Tank	4	2	2
FR Lakki	4	2	2
Total	458	141	317

Source: FATA research Centre

belt. It is also a matter of great disappointment that no study has been ever conducted that can have pointed out those dimensions, which is negatively affecting the Higher education in FATA. This negative effect on education in FATA turn to its severe form after 9/11 (Ahmad and Junaid, 2010). The intentions of Militants in FATA are clearly expressed by their heinous acts. They have destructed hundreds of schools in FATA. Most of the rest is either non-functional or closed owing to fragile state of security in the area (Naqvi et al, 2008). Another Grim side of the picture is the low literacy rate of females in the region. According to 2005 record of KPK government, In the total 17.42 percent of education in FATA the ration of male and female is 30 and 3 respectively (Awan, 2013).

The directorate of education released a detail report in January 2016, which highlights the poor state of education in FATA. The report highlighted that the dropout in primary schools in FATA scores highest comparatively to the other parts of the country. According to this report, there are 6,050 schools in Fata of which 4,868 (2,905 for boys and 1,963 for girls) are useful and functional while 1,182 educational institutions (683 for boys and 499 for girls) are ghost schools and non-functional.

According to the ministry of education, " although the educational institutions is greatly damaged by terrorism and militancy in FATA yet in those areas where the system was functioning, the performance of teachers and bureaucracy remains shameful. It is also said that some of political backing families maintains and own the schools and get benefited from the income. The distribution of this income and salaries is not through bank accounts that raise questions on accountability and transparency (Mahsood, 2016). (Table 1)

There are a number of traditional teaching practices and ghost schools in the region. There is a total absence of a university and tangible vocational institutions. These factors take back the area of FATA to dark ages. This in

turn negatively impacted the state of Pakistan. The modern education system is the solution of every problem in the region. This will help to eliminate Militancy, Extremism, poverty and the other eroding issues (Awan, 2013).

Poverty

Federally Administered Tribal Areas is the most deprived region of Pakistan. More than 66 percent of the people living here live below poverty line. The population of FATA is more than 3 percent of Pakistan while there share in the economy of Pakistan is 1.5 percent (Mehmood and Awan, 2014). According to Shinwari in 2002, FATA is the most backward area of Pakistan. Employment opportunities of the people belong to FATA is limited. The major reason behind militancy and terrorism in the region is the growing poverty. The growing unemployment and the literature on the cause of militancy and terrorism tend to point a connection and probability of joining militant organization. The profile of militants and socio economic studies would highlights that poverty is a contributing factor for pushing the people towards militancy and extremism (Aftab, 2008). The central point of development agenda is poverty alleviation but the options and strategies to achieve this agenda needs structural reforms. One of the most useful strategies in this regard could be development in educational system. Joint collaboration of all the stakeholders whether of public or private sphere is the need of the time in this regard (Bktef, 2009).

The economic and social indicators of FATA suggest that it is the poorest area of the country. The main reasons behind this fact are the law and order situation, scarce economic activities, resource and capacity constraints and socio cultural barriers. Even when the government claims an increase allocation of government funds, it is RS 905 Per capita, which is comparatively

very low with the national per capita that is RS 2044. It is more disappointing fact that there is no private investment in this region (Unichf, 2009). As compares to the rest of the country, FATA is extremely poor area. The opportunities available to the peoples for livelihood are limited. The basic mean of living for the people are agricultural sector. According to FATA statistics, the cultivable land of this area is so little that at least forty people will utilize only one acre. This is because of the absence of a viable option to earn living that the people turn to illicit activities such as smuggling (Zaidi, 2010).

Geographic conditions

“Geography can weaken the strongest political regime or strengthen the weakest one.” The Federally Administered Tribal Areas are enjoying great geo-political and geo-strategic importance throughout a long history. Today it is once again in the frontline. This region serves as a buffer zone in history between Russia and British and once again in frontline for the reasons of Global security (GoNWFP, 2008). According to Markey (2008), presently, “Few areas on earth are as important to United States national security as the tribal belt along Pakistan’s border with Afghanistan”. It is true because the northwest frontiers of Pakistan have seen possibly more occupations in the history than any other region in Asia. FATA has been all the time in the frontline of all such incidents (Hussain, 2008).

The militants of the tribal areas are familiar with the climate and mountainous terrain of the region therefore they are on the geographical advantage. As they are living among the civilian population, therefore it becomes difficult to point them out in the counter insurgency operations. It becomes more difficult when the external factors become involved from the borders. As the tribal areas have a long border with Afghanistan, therefore the Pakistani government has always reservations on Indian presence from the Afghan border as well as on the hostile attitude of Kabul regime towards Islamabad (Irshad, 2011).

Frontier Crime Regulation (FCR)

In the words of Late Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pakistan, Justice Alvin Robert Cornelius, said that the FCR is “obnoxious to all recognized modern principles governing the dispensation of justice.

Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) is not governed by the whole constitution but just one article that is article 247. This article implemented those laws that were introduced by the British Viceroy Lord Curzon some 150 years ago. The set of laws are introduced in 1901 and known as Frontier Crime Regulation (FCR) (Awan, 2013). It was promulgated via regulation III of

1901. FCR consisted of seven chapters and sixty-three sections (Wazir, 2007). It is not just a document that comprises a detail list of punishment but also a system of governance and a detailed system of justice in FATA (Wazir, 2007 and Shah, 2011).

The FCR was purely introduced to protect the interest of Britishers in FATA. It was basically introduced to govern the province of North West Frontier Province now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Baluchistan as well. However, they were fortunate enough to get rid of this notorious law. KPK got rid of this law with the promulgation of 1956 constitution while Baluchistan was liberated with the introduction of 1973 constitution. Unfortunately, FATA is still governed under the same FCR even today (Afridi, 1993).

The most condemnatory feature of FCR is its system of collective territorial responsibility. According to this feature if a criminal act takes place in any part of the tribal area, the whole family members and the tribe members will be held responsible to the political administration. They can be punished; their property could be ceased anywhere in Pakistan. Their freedom of movement could be ceased. An innocent family member of the guilty could be punished according to this part of FCR. The whole clan and the village could be suffered (GoNWFP, 1971). Similarly, women and children could be punished. There are many instances where even the children of even two-year age have been convicted (Khosro, 2010 and Hussain, 2012).

According to Human Rights Commission of Pakistan in 2005, The FCR is a clear-cut violation of Universal Human Rights Declaration as well as the constitution of Pakistan. The Federal Shariat court recommended several times to repeal FCR and there is a strong desire by the local community that it should be repealed. Although in 2012, administrative and political reforms i.e. the addition of Pakistan’s Political Parties Order (PPO) of 2002 to Federally Administered Tribal Areas and the amendments in FATA’s Frontier Crimes Regulations (FCR) helps to satisfied some long standing demands of the citizens. The people of FATA take part in the 2013 elections, more steps are demanded to help them identify reform proprieties, enhance their political awareness, and unite their voice for developing FATA (Shamsh and Rasheed et al., 2014).

It must be repealed as it strengthens the grievances of the people against the federation. It was also among the major reason when the citizens of FATA accepted the rule of militants in their region (Khan, 2010). The people in FATA were fed up from oppression and cruelties at the hands of Maliks. There were lacks of judicial and legal system to address their grievances. They want free and fair justice which cannot be provided by the FCR. The insurgents and the extremists provided the people speedy justice according to the shariah law. As the peoples were fed up therefore they quickly accepted this system and starts supporting the insurgents

Table 2. Drones

Year	Drone attacks	Killed	Injured
2013	13	105	32
2012	51	349	98
2011	73	574	154
2010	109	993	421
2009	50	633	331
2008	36	368	154
2007	4	46	30
2006	3	103	4
2005	2	7	2
2004	1	5	0
Total	342	3183	1226

Source: http://pakistanbodycount.org/drone_attack

challenging the state of Pakistan (Ahmad, 2013).

Drone Attacks

The war on terror that was started after the incident of 9/11, push the Pakistan as a frontline ally. As the drone attacks eviscerate our tribal belt, the nation is becoming confused with troubling question: Are we still an independent and sovereign state. This is because since the beginning of Drone attacks, innocent's civilians are the main target. For example, it has been alleged that in the year 2009 for each al-Qaeda terrorist almost 140 innocent civilians had to die. The success rate of these drone attacks are only 11 percent. This clearly means that almost 89 out of 100 drone strikes kill innocent people. In December 2009 almost 700 innocent people were killed as compare to only five al-Qaeda terrorists (Mehmood, 2010). Amir Mir in his report in 2010 reveals that from 2006 to 2009 the United States drone strikes killed fourteen al-Qaeda terrorist and 678 innocent citizens of Tribal belt.

According to Daniel Bayman, a senior analyst of Brookings institute states in his study that although it is difficult to determine the exact number of innocent casualties in US drone strikes but it can be said that for every single militant ten or more than ten civilians are also killed. So according to the most credible think tank it is said that almost ninety percent of killings as a result of drone attacks are innocent civilians. The New American Foundation a famous think tank in Washington D.C, states that from 2004 to 2013 almost 3321 innocent peoples had been killed by drone attacks in Pakistan. The president Obama drone campaign in Pakistan in 2010 has a highest record of 122 innocent casualties.

There was a long standing debate in Pakistani academics, media and parliament as well that whether the drone attacks by the United States are authorized by the Pakistani state or not. Although at the initial stages the Pakistani state declared that they itself criticized the drone attacks, it is against the sovereignty of Pakistan but

later it was revealed that the claims were absolutely wrong (Minhas and Qadir, 2014). New York times in 2013 states that then President Pervaiz Musharraf allowed the United States set secret CIA base in FATA Pakistan, to plan drone attacks on the terrorists. It also states that the director of National Intelligence Mike McConnell visited Islamabad in January 2008 to make the plan workable. According to WikiLeaks, in May 2009 meeting with United States delegation led by Senator Patrick Leahy, chairman of the Appropriations Subcommittee on State, Foreign Operations and Related Program, the than President of Pakistan Asif Ali Zardari said to him, "give me the drones so my forces can take out the militants so that we cannot be criticized by the media or anyone else for actions our Army takes to protect our sovereignty". There are a number of evidence about the Pakistani authorities' consent and even active cooperation with United States officials since the start of the drone attacks in 2004 (ICG, 2013). The United States also do not want to speak about the drone attacks in a same manner like Pakistan. A leading investigation journalist Gareth Porter said, that the United States refused to share the data about the drone strikes and this policy of total secrecy is adopted to hide the abuses of high innocent casualties (Mehmood, 2010).

According to professor Chritine of International law, described the drone attacks "as a return to its pre-1976 policy of CIA assassinations". Likewise, the legal Director of Human Rights, Gabor Rana described the drone attacks as the violation of international law of war. He wrote a letter to Mr. Obama and challenged the legal aspect of targeted killing. Similarly, the American Civil Liberties Union claims that "the whole World is not a war zone, and war tactics that may be allowed on the battlefields in Iraq and Afghanistan cannot be employed anywhere in the World where a terrorist suspect happens to be located." Although targeted attacks with UAVs is considered legal in official combat areas but when this use of technology is used outside the declared war zone is illegal and has brought international criticism. In Pakistan, this covertly operated use of Drones had

become a bone of contention, as the issues pertaining legal justification and collateral damage (Mehmood and Awan, 2014). (Table 2)

The United States drone attacks had negatively impacted the whole society and particularly the youth of FATA. They have been provoked to take revenge from the Front ally of United states that is Pakistan. They are compelling to take revenge from the authorities for their losses of both material and human (Mehmood and Awan, 2013).

Lack of efficient administrative system in the region

As mentioned above that the tribal belt is divided into seven agencies and six frontier regions. The political agent administers every agency of FATA; this agent enjoys all the judicial and administrative powers. His decision is final (Mehmood and Awan, 2014). In FATA to question the authority and decision of political agent is considered as a crime (Mahsood, 2016).

In FATA the administration is managed through the political agent, Tehsildars and Maliks. Under the FCR, the justice system in tribal belt is run through the concept of collective and territorial responsibility. Arbitration in the tribal belt is done through the Jirga system (Hafeez, 2014). Since the inception of Pakistan, FATA always lies on the low priority agenda of every government. As the people of this land are always neglected by the government, therefore they faced countless difficulties in their daily lives (Naqvi et al., 2008). This ineffective administrative system damaged the dispute resolution mechanism. It in turn creates lawlessness, instability and hopelessness in the region (Ahmad and Junaid, 2010).

Imprudent attitude of the government

The government's unwise policies in the history also have deep impact on the present situation in FATA. The consecutive governments used FATA as a safe haven during Afghan war. The people of FATA have a great love for their religion Islam. In 1970s, the government uses his passion and love towards Jihad against Soviet Union. The tribal's were told that they are defending Islam and fighting for the enforcement of Sharia law. Not only the religious feelings and sentiments of the local citizens were mobilized but the external from the foreign countries were also recruited to the area for the purpose of training (Ahmad, 2013).

Although FATA is presently represented in the Parliament both in the National Assembly as well as the Senate, but constitutionally it is the president not the parliament who is authorized to make and amend laws and promulgate ordinances for the tribal belt. Every political party and every government promises the citizens of FATA that they will introduce reforms

but they did nothing (Bhutto Foundation, 2009).

On January 18, 2016, the Chairman of Pakistan people's Party alleged the government and said that it has adopted a criminal attitude towards the internally displaced persons of FATA. He further said that the people of FATA have always been neglected in their decision-making and the decisions are imposed on them. The Future of the FATA should be decided by the residents of the region (Dawn, 2016). Likewise, on 26 January 2016, senior leader of Pakistan Tehreek e Insaf states that the Federal government has failed to provide the people of FATA their due rights. He further said that the international community is also failed to fulfill its pledges (The News, 2016).

Fata is that unlucky part of Pakistan where the government has no policy, where the government wants to maintain status quo. This policy is being used as the only way of managing the tribal belt. The inhabitants of the tribal belt have been living under the political agent system. This is the worst condition. Only the elite class is benefited from this system (Ziauddin, 2016).

According to a senator Usman Kakar in May 2016, "FATA is the worst victim of terrorism and the most neglected region by the government". He further said that millions of schools and homes have been destroyed because of the ongoing militancy and armed operations, and it is more unfortunate that the government is silent having no special plan to help and compensate the tribal people. The senator said that the deprivation of the people of FATA has been increasing because of the negligence by the government.

Military Operations and Internally Displacement

Pakistan army has launched a number of operations in Tribal belt for the last ten years against the terrorists and insurgents. The terrorist activities of different terrorist organizations like Tehreek e taliban Pakistan and al-Qaeda are of grave concern to the state of Pakistan. These groups no doubt pose grave threat to the stability and security of Pakistan. This was the reason that Pakistan Army has used heavy air weapon in the operations (Khan, 2014). The following operations have been conducted by the Pakistan Army against the terrorist in FATA;

- ✓ Operation Rahe haq in Sawat in 2007
- ✓ Operation Rahe haq 1 and 2 in Shangla in 2008
- ✓ Operation Sirat-e-mustaqeemin Khyber agency Tehsil Bara in 2008
- ✓ Operation Sher Dil in Bajour agency in 2008-09
- ✓ Operation Rahe haq 3 in Sawat in 2009
- ✓ Operation black thunderstorm in Bunir in 2009
- ✓ Operation Rahe Rast in Shangla in 2009
- ✓ Operation Rahe Nijat in South Waziristan agency in December 2009
- ✓ Operation Barekhna in Mohmand agency in 2009

✓ Operation Zzarb e Azab in North Waziristan agency in 2014

No doubt, the Pakistan has conducted major military operations against the terrorists in FATA and the militant activities have been curtailed to some extent yet the threats remain very real. Gen. Ehsan while discussing the strategy explains that the operations are only employed to provide space and time to work out a political solution (Hafeez, 2014).

These military operations resulted in large number of internally displaced persons. This internally displacement widened the gap and trust deficit towards the state of Pakistan. For Example, according to FATA Disaster Management Authority it is looking for 123,750 families only from south and North Waziristan agency. For the first time as a result of operation Rah e Haq in swat a great number of people were displaced. For the second time the operation Zarb e Azab was resulted as a large number of internally displacement. According to a local NGO, these operations were not well planned therefore a large number of peoples were left helplessly in the near areas of Dera Ismail Khan, Banu and Laki (Global politics, 2011). The major reason behind the operation was to remove the safe heavens of al-Qaeda but instead to improve the situation, the local population becomes hostile. As they were not taken in confidence by the authorities and were left mercilessly. These peoples considered these acts as an attempt to interfere in their tribal and independent way of life (Aziz, 2011). These internally displaced people demand concentration and attention more than anyone else for immediate return and recovery to their villages. They demand far more help for recovery of their destroyed homes and properties. They needed aid and assistance more than anybody else for curing their wounds created by bombardment by their own Army jet fighters and helicopter-gunships. Although it is strenuous to completely eliminate this damage however a beginning could have been made by addressing at least some of the major issues without losing further time (Wazir, 2012).

IMPLICATIONS

Economic Consequences

The longstanding problem of weak human development indicators, economic deprivation and acute economic disparities resulted in huge migration. It also forces the people to adopt an illegal way of earning money that is smuggling and militancy. When the militant groups pay offers to them for financial incentive the poor people of the region get in trouble and it becomes difficult to them to resist. This condition facilitates young recruitment of 15 to 30 years to militancy. The terrorist and extremist activities in these areas discourage private investment

and in turn the growth and employment level is nil (Adb, 2010).

A research revealed that militancy and drone strikes have made life difficult for the inhabitants of the tribal areas the people becomes afraid to go to the local markets because of the fear of suicide and drone attacks. In an interview to a newspaper, a local respondent said that "we are living miserable lives; we just barely get by with what we make in the shop, we cannot go to our fields we are scared of drones" (Sher, 2013). The militancy in FATA has caused increase in employment opportunities as a result of destruction of infrastructure. The inhabitants of FATA mostly rely on agricultural sector but these are now unable to work as a result of restless condition and instability in the region (Frc, 2013).

Political Implications

The state became failed to protect the due rights of the citizens of FATA. Those rights which is ensured by the constitution to every citizen of Pakistan respectable of color, cast and creed. The parliament introduced a reform package for several times but failed to implement (Adb, 2010) In the words of Hameed, 2012, the political chaos in FATA, and the resistance of population to military operations provided the environment in which the Taliban can rearm, rebuild, and regroup their training infrastructure and developed alliances with various tribal clans.

Pakistan government repeatedly tries to conclude an agreement with the militant organizations so that peace could be established. However, they failed to establish the writ of the government in FATA. The result of this failure was the strong hold of militants on the region as well as the southern district of the province KPK as well. These organizations are also involved in the terrorist activities of the rest of the country as well (Mahmood and Awan 2014).

Social Implications

FATA is becoming a hub for the terrorist activities, which engulfed the entire region in its sway. The instability in FATA, have severe implications in term of loss of life and property. FATA is becomes recognized to be the most dangerous place in the world. The militants reigned in FATA is claims the lives of many tribesman as well as other Pakistani since the last decade (Ahmad, 2013). This increase in extremists and terrorist activities has negatively affected Pakistani state and society (Jaspal, 2014). The political balance in FATA is also badly damaged as the result of emergence of Taliban. They either killed or displaced their opponent tribal chiefs (Mahmood and Awan, 2014).

The local Jirga system in tribal areas has been

replaced by Taliban Shura. The ideological and procedural basis of this shura system is totally different from its predecessor Jirga. The shura system was established by the Taliban to uphold their own interpretation of Shairiah law. The tribal elders were the local leaders of the region and according to an estimate almost 900 to 1000 have been killed. The killing of these leaders has greatly impacted the Pashtun society (Kerr, 2010). A nonviolent tribal belt has been changed to highly extremist and violent society. All form of violence ranging from explicit and direct form to structural violence and the peaceful region is become an active war zone between the international players.

Consequently, a peaceful non-violent tribal society in the past transformed into a highly violent and extremist society. All forms of violence currently exist in that unfortunate region that range from direct and explicit violence to structural violence and from destruction of region's echo-system to becoming the active proxy war zone among international powers and regional countries. The Pashtun tribes are the real victim of all this power politics because they have lost hundreds and thousands of their innocent lives, as well as property. They have face humiliate behavior of the security forces as well. The current situation in FATA negatively affects the security, livelihood and protection of millions of Pashtuns in particular and the rest of the country in general (Hameed, 2012).

According to most of the researched, the drone strikes in FATA have further mitigated the militancy in the area. As in drone strikes, mostly innocent civilians have been targeted therefore, the family of these peoples adopts a retaliatory behavior towards the state of Pakistan (Din, 2014).

According to the education department of KPK, the militants have destroyed almost 1000 schools. This has negatively impacted the mind of school going children's. Bomb blasts and terrorism are the most frequently discussed topic in the schools of FATA and KPK. The fear of being targeted by the militants in schools has led to severe implications. Likewise, the FATA research centre has conducted a seminar on the social and psychological consequence of violence in FATA and it was concluded during this seminar that the reason behind the underdevelopment of the region on socially basis is the ongoing war on terror. It is also said that this ongoing war have negatively impacted the educational and health facilities in the region. It also led to the depression among the youth because of the security and economic situation.

Psychological Implications

The unjust and suppressive administrative and political system and human security issues have badly damaged the tribal society and created immense changes in the

behavior of common tribal citizen. Suicide bombing and drone attacks on daily basis created a sense of anxiety and insecurity among the Pashtun nation in particular the entire nation in general (Hameed, 2012).

The youth is considered the backbone of any society. The widespread militancy and drone strikes have negatively impacted the psychological condition of the people in FATA, especially in youth. The fear of death and the shrinking of economic activities for the people led to depression and stress. According to a survey conducted by frontier post in 2012, it is concluded that almost 80 percent of the inhabitants living in south and North Waziristan agencies are facing the dilemma of posttraumatic stress disorders. The widening psychological issues create fear in the mind of the people and they coerced their children not to go to schools. According to a researcher during an interview, it is revealed that the parents stop sending their offspring has to go to schools due to the fear of suicide and drone attacks (Khan, 2013). Thus the militants in these areas get benefited from this traumatic condition of the youth and compel them to join them in their Jihad against the United States (Din, 2014).

According to a psychologist from Peshawar, it is said that suicide bombing and drone strikes in FATA are the major cause for the increasing rate of psychological disorders in FATA. He further said that there prevails a phobia of drone strikes and the fear to be killed. Because of this phobia the people refuse to go in gathering. It ultimately leads to obsessive-compulsive disorders, posttraumatic stress disorders and schizophrenia (Khan, 2013). Similarly, according to FATA research Centre almost 55 percent of the inhabitants living in this area have the symptoms of stress disorder, fear, depression, sleep disturbance, acute stress disorders and posttraumatic stress disorders. The feeling of helplessness further added fuel to the fire.

Degrading Cultural Heritage

The result of a destabilize FATA suffers the richness of indigenous traditions and customs and the alienated values of the region have been invaded. As a result, it destroyed the whole cultural and societal strata of the entire tribal belt (Hameed, 2012). The tribal belt of Pakistan is associated with terrorism, war, and human rights violation. A number of local peoples have been displaced while a huge number of security forces have been recruited to this area. The peoples living in other parts of the country have little information about the customs and traditions of FATA. The media totally neglected this region and its people except the news of conflict and killings. It is therefore that the stories and cultural tenets of the region have been lost (Express Tribunal, 2016).

Trust Deficit between the Government of Pakistan and the Citizens of FATA

The government believes that the increased rate of suicide attacks and other violent incidents have their roots in this region. Likewise, the inhabitants of FATA believe that they are being the victim to the killings and displaced forcibly not only by the United States forces but by the Pakistani army and the government as well (Orakzai, 2009).

With the increase insecurity and vulnerability of the region, there is an essential lack of trust towards the existing institutions to effectively addresses the needs and deliver the services. Constant government deficits established a political gap for the extremist organizations and the militant groups to present themselves as an effective alternative to the state of Pakistan. They present that they are better able to provide speedy justice, employment and equality and in turn demand support from the local population (Adb, 2010). The conflict added fuel to the fire as a result of great number of internally displacement. When the refugees were not properly facilitated by the government and local administrative institutions, it widened the trust deficit among the citizens (Irshad, 2011).

Weakens the Federation:

The government writ in FATA has totally been deteriorated. The local inhabitants of FATA commonly referred as Local Taliban took the law into their hands (Jaspal, 2009). The heavy political price of this instability is the weakening federation. The result of prolong militancy have serious repercussion for the federation. The decision to join the war on terror as a frontline ally has created a wide gap between the people and the military that is extremely dangerous for the moral of the whole nation (Irshad, 2011).

CONCLUSION

The time has come to ensure the basic human rights to the people of this war torn area. The basic human right of the inhabitants of FATA has been denied since long. It is a time to ensure the political and administrative freedom to the region. A constitutional and democratic system of governance is the need of the time (Bhutto foundation, 2009). There is a dire need of honest, consultative and open discussions for the future of FATA by the government. The first and foremost important step is the implementation of all those reforms packages that is introduced by the parliament since 2009. The people of this region must be included in the decision making so that they must considered themselves the real stakeholders (Adb, 2010). A special commission should

be established to ease the tensions between the locals and the security forces. The time has come to fully incorporate the FATA into Pakistan by abolishing FCR. a long run debate has been started since long about the future of FATA so it must be concluded by creating FATA a separate province (Abbas, 2010). There is no magic bullet or single solution which can immediately resolve the problem so there is a need to adopt long term policies and a coherent strategy. In order to get rid from the foreign element, the security forces must take the local people in confidence so that they also fight along with the security forces and pointed out the foreigners and their safe hideous (Irshad, 2011).

The government should revise its counterterrorism policy according to the needs of the asymmetrical warfare. The militant organizations must be banned. The security forces and the law enforcing agencies must be proactive rather than reacting to the militant's attacks (Jaspal, 2009). Presently a new way has emerged that there should be no military solution to the conflict as it is not result oriented. The way of confidence building measures should be adopted. Steps should be taken, to get the foreign militants out of FATA. The need and wishes of the local peoples must be given weight age (Mahmood and Awan, 2014). The role of NGOs could be also positive in this context. As the militants, never allow the NGOs in this region by alleging them to be foreign agents. As a number of security forces have been stationed now in this region therefore in order to bring positive changes in a short span of time NGOs can plays a positive role (Muhammad, 2015).

It is a matter of common fact that a new emerging class has been established among the people of FATA, which is more educated, and has moderate views. However, they mostly live in cities. The people of FATA is patriotic and peace loving. There is a need to get the aware and educated. so the government should adopt a firm policy which can enhance the literacy rate in the region (NBR, 2008). As Malala yousafzai said through gun you can kill terrorist but through education you can kill terrorism (Mahsood, 2016).

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