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Socio-Economic and Political Effects of FATA-KP Merger on local people: A Case study of Bajaur District
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Abstract:

This study is an effort to determine the socio-political impact of merging federally administrated tribal areas with Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The study address particularly the Bajaur district. These regions of Pakistan border with Afghanistan. The federally administered tribal areas remain economically and educationally underdeveloped thanks to the form of government that has been the leading cause of violence in the area. This study is about the positive as well as the negative socio-political impact on the local people of the Bajaur district of the FATA-KP merger. The study is based on two types of data. Primary data is collected through a questionnaire from the local people and interview with some college professors by the researcher himself. The second type is secondary data which is the past official records. The study will show how many people are in favor of the merger and how many are against it and why these people are against it. In the last, the researcher will conclude with certain solutions on how to overcome the hurdles and negative aspects of the FATA-KP merger.

Keywords: FATA, Socio-Political Impact, Merger, KP, Bajaur District, Opinion.

1.1 Introduction:

Former FATA (now part of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) is a tribal area of Pakistan that has been hit by storms since 9/11. The former FATA has a border with Afghanistan's western border along the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. After the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan instability and unrest situation arise in the region. After the avoidance of the Soviet Union NATO came into Afghanistan because of 9/11. Being alongside with Afghan border the Bajaur also hit the unrest situation. The terrorist from Afghan came in freely. The NATO supply goes through this region and from which some supply trucks were looted. From 9/11 about 60,000 people lost their lives and about \$ 100 billion in materialistic loss occur (Nisar, 2020). Before independence Bajaur was a direct legacy of the British Indian Empire and the FCR Act under which FATA was regulated. The Frontier Crime Regulations (FCR) were approved by the British government in 1901. After the independence of Pakistan in 1947, the central government implemented the Frontier Crime Regulations (FCR) as a set of laws dealing with the former FATA (Noor, Hashmi & Bukhari, 2018). The merger of FATA and KP represented a reorganization of Pakistan's federal structure, affecting the overall size of the federal parliament and increasing KP's share of incorporating tribal areas into the country's primary politics. A merger is also a triumph of true democratic spirit (Darr, 2018). Malik (Elder) has always challenged the effectiveness of FATA reform. They are appointed by bureaucrats and have little local support. The jirga system was implemented by Maliks (elders) (Ullah, 2017).

1.1.1 Ex-FATA: FATA was a semi-autonomous region in the northwestern part of Pakistan. During the era of the “Great Game” between Britain and Russia, the areas were captured by Pashtun tribes. From 1893, with the signing of the Durand Line Agreement the region was governed by the British Raj through FCR laws. After the independence of Pakistan in 1947, the region remains the same under the laws of FCR. In 2018 under the 25th amendment, the frontier crime regulation laws were abolished. FATA has border with Afghanistan on the west and north side, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Baluchistan Province on the east and south respectively. FATA has a long border with Afghanistan which is 2,640 km (Ansari, 2020). FATA has a population of about 5 million people according to 2017 Census (Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, 2017).



Figure 1: Map of FATA

Tribal Agencies and the Frontier Regions are as follows: They are the Bajaur agency, Mohmand agency, Khyber agency, Orakzai agency, Kurram agency, North Waziristan Agency and the South Waziristan agency. Frontier Region Bannu, Frontier Region Dera Ismail Khan, Frontier Region Kohat, Frontier Region Lakki Marwat, Frontier Region Peshawar and Frontier Region Tank were the six Frontier Regions. (ECP).

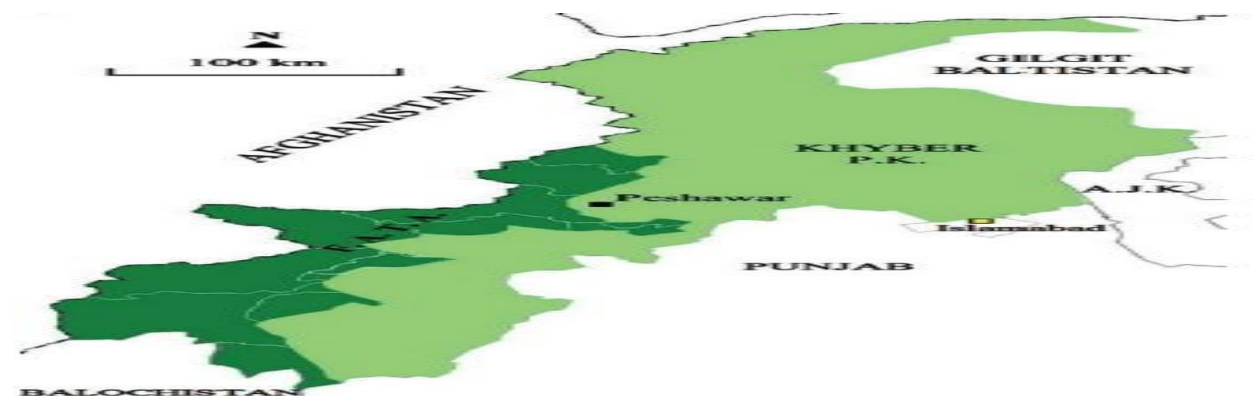


Figure 2: Map of Bajaur Agency

1.1.2 Bajaur: Bajaur was one of the prominent agencies of ex Federally Administered Tribal Area (FATA). In the year 2018 its status changed and became a district in the process of merging the FATA and the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Bajaur District is now a district of Malakand Division in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province, Pakistan. According to the 2017 Census the population of Bajaur district is 1,093,684. It is neighbor to the Kunar province of Afghanistan with border of 52 km long in length. Because of such a long border, unrest and instability were present since the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan. The circumstances became worst after the 9/11 incident and the

attach of NATO on Afghanistan (Anwar, 2017). Bajaur is 72 km long and 32 Km wide in length. Bajaur lies in Kunar Valley between Afghanistan and Pakistan. It is present in the northwest side of Pakistan. To the west lies Afghanistan, to the east swat hills lies, to the south, it is linked with Mohmand District and to the north side, its link with Dir. The Bajaur district consists of seven Tehsils. The administrative headquarters of this agency is in the city of Khar (official website of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa).

This research work analyzed and formulated the fundamental changes and the socio-political impact of the reforms, especially in the Bajaur. This tribal area is expected to continue to be an unbalanced area, with weak administrators and powerless people in constant conflict, without recognizing and solving problems. This study analyzed the implementation of reforms in tribal districts that directly affect the sociopolitical aspects of a person's life.

1.2 Research Objectives:

1. To examine the socioeconomic changes that the residents of Bajaur District have experienced after the FATA-KP amalgamation.
2. To measure the effectiveness of the government policies and development projects which were introduced after the merger.
3. To examine the political development and civil participation of the local citizens in the post-merger administrative system.

1.3 Questions:

- What socioeconomic changes have the residents of Bajaur District experienced after the FATA–KP amalgamation?
- How effective are the government policies and development projects introduced after the merger?
- How has the merger affected political development and civic participation among local citizens?

1.4 Problem statement:

The concept of incorporating the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) into the provincial jurisdiction of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) in 2018 was a hypothetical weapon that would help the country to assimilate a traditionally peripherally located area into the national center and, therefore, inject a set of social, economic, and political reforms. This bureaucratization was supposed to standardize the law, facilitate equitable growth, and unify FATA socio-political institutions with the wider state apparatus.

However, despite the reconfiguring of the constitution, the empirical implications of the daily life of residents are unclear and reveal a significant level of heterogeneity. Whether or not the social and economic gains imagined have been realized and whether the reform has resulted in anything but cosmetic changes to the exterior of administrative re-organization is a question of continuing enquiry.

In places like the Bajaur, residents are still facing a range of challenges which include limited accessibility to basic services, slow economic development, lack of proper governmental systems and lack of good opportunity to participate in politics. This consistent uncertainty highlights the need to have an inclusive evaluation of the social, economic, and political consequences of the merger, to establish and counter the hindrances to successful integration and sustainable development.

1.5 Justification of Study:

The case of Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) which has merged with Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) is a significant illustration of the political and administrative reforms that

have been undertaken in Pakistan in the recent years. The merger of Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) with Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) is an important example of the political and administrative restructuring that has taken place in Pakistan over the last few years. Merger of tribal areas to provincial government system has been a key objective since the inception of this reform and although there are many theoretical studies supporting the idea of such reform; however, the impact of such reform at the grassroots level is relatively unknown. Therefore, the study provides an opportunity to provide an understanding of the impact of the merger on the socio-economic status, political participation and the developmental patterns of Bajaur District as well. This would be an opportunity for policy makers and development organizations to utilize the findings from this study to inform them of their future efforts in the previously FATA regions.

2.1 Literature Review:

Literature Review is an opening found in a sure look at. The researcher works on it to discover that gap. The writer Mehmood and Mir said with in his article that FATA merger with KP is a totally long-awaited procedure to mainstream the underdeveloped area. The researcher additionally introduced that the FATA area additionally confronted complaint because of negligence through the Government within the political, economic, and social sectors. The people of the area remained remote from relaxation, a part of life, and constrained through their cultural traditions. Nisar stated in his search study that the FATA region came under federal government, so they do not give proper attention, and the region was underdeveloped for almost 70 years (Nisar, 2020).

Darr introduced in his article “Has the west been won? Understanding the socio-political implications of the FATA-KPK merger” that with the signing of the invoice on 31st May 2018 the democratic procedure of Pakistan has become completed. She stated its miles a victory for Pakistan’s unsteady democracy.

FATA stays a hub of terrorism in put up after September 11 attacks, the terrorists from this vicinity havebeen beaten through the regulation enforcement organizations through beginning of operations Zarb e Azb and operation Raddulfasad however the financial system and the establishments of the vicinity are destroyed. Political management can ease the problems of the locals of the vicinity through beginning improvement packages (*Sulaiman, 2018*).

The locals of FATA aren't glad at all. They have now no longer tasted the fruit of democracy because of bureaucratic hurdles and the Maliks (elders). People are asking that the federal authorities introduced Rs.110billion in 2018 and 2019 for FATA improvement packages however in which how many spent no one knows (*Farooq, 2020*). Until 2018 FATA is not part of the parliamentary shape of authorities. Thus, FATA was under the president of Pakistan. The President of Pakistan has the authority to abolish the unique reputation of FATA with the session of the area people of FATA (*Ahmad and Mohyuddin 2013*).

Khan stated in his article “FATA’s Merger into Khyber Pakhtunkhwa: Challenges and Way Forward”. that the law-and-order situation in the region is worse. In this area the non-state actors and criminals are not only disturbing the peace but also challenging the state writ. And approximately 37% of the total FATA region is under the central government properly.

In the justice aspect, FATA is not good till 2018 and according to clause 7 of the article 247, the locals of FATA had no direct access to the High Court and Supreme Court of Pakistan for justice that's a clean violation of the federalist principle (*Malik 2013*). And within twenty first century the Frontier Crimes Regulations (FCR) is used as a fixed legal guideline to address ex-FATA (*Noor, Hashmi, & Bukhari, 2018*). The Frontier Crime Regulations (FCR) have

been sanctioned through the British Government in 1901. This is a totally antique regulation and it's unfair to apply it within the twenty first century. Mehmood and Mir (2019) have the opinion in their article "Understanding the post-merger Federally Administered tribal area (FATA) challenges and it's on National security" that, the merger reforms procedure is a slow and evolutionary procedure in the direction of conversion with countrywide standards.

The people of FATA accepting the reforms because they said it was lawful and it was according to Islam (Sulman Shah, 2021).

2.1.1 Historical Background:

Pakistan is a federal state, and federalism has the power to capture the semi-autonomous regions in the country. The merger history in Pakistan is very old. It started with the merging of Qallat a princely state in Baluchistan with the province of Baluchistan constitutionally. But at that time Baluchistan was not a separate province. The second merger happened in the form of the merging of the state of Bahawalpur with Punjab province in 1954. The merger of the state of swat in 1969 was also held and it was a merger with Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (NWFP at that time). The merger of FATA was also a part of it (Firdous, 2020).

Before 2018 the region was governed by a British law of FCR. On many occasions reform was held in FCR to mainstream the FATA region. The first reform came in 1959 in the form of the Frontier Corps Ordinance. The Pakistan penal code was introduced in FCR in 1986. The first attempt to mainstream the region was made by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1977. He made a committee of four members and give them a task to make a plane to merge the FATA region with NWFP, but the plane failed because Zia ul Haq overthrow the government of Bhutto (Sarfraz, 2009). The main reform started in the government of Nawaz Sharif in 1996. In 1996 the Nawaz Sharif government give the people of FATA the right to vote through Adult Franchise Act. The second-best reform was also brought by the Nawaz government in 1997 by holding an election in FATA for the first time in the history of FATA. After it, Pervez Musharraf bring some reforms in 2002, 2004, and 2006. The local government reforms in 2002 were better reforms for the region (Sulaiman, 2018). The Pakistan People's party in 2011 bring some reforms in the area through the FATA regulation Act. In 2015 the Pakistan Muslim League government want to solve the issue of FATA permanently and for that, the government announced a committee to merge FATA with Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The government also announced that it will be done in five years. It was a serious attempt to make a government in the history of Pakistan.

2.1.2 FATA reform committee 2015:

The PML (N) government made a committee to mainstream the FATA region by merging it with KPK. A cabinet-level committee was announced under the leadership of Sartaj Aziz. The committee was given two tasks to perform. One is to form a practical framework for a merger and the second is to talk with the local elders and Maliks of different tribes. The committee talk with 3000 elders and receive a comment from 29000 local people. And many of them want to abolish the FCR and merge FATA with KPK (Aziz, 2017). The committee give their reports to Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif in August 2016. The committee suggests the merger of FATA with KP. After the approval of reports by the prime minister, the process of amendment in parliament was started because it came under articles 246 and 247 in the 1973 constitution (Noor, 2018).

2.1.3 The 25th Amendment: In December 2016 the FATA merger Bill was presented in parliament of Pakistan. Which was approved in March 2017. Parliament approved the Bill and suggested that it should be done in five years.

The 25th amendment Bill of the FATA-KP merger was passed on May 24, 2018, in the National assembly by a 2/3 majority. The senate of Pakistan passed the bill on May 25, 2018, and send it to

the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa assembly because the FATA region is coming under the KP province, so it is required constitutionally. On May 28, 2018, the Bill was passed by the Provincial Assembly of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. At last, the Bill was presented to the president of Pakistan for final procedures. President Mamnoon Hussain approve and signed the Bill on May 31, 2018. In this way, the FCR was replaced by the “Interim Regulation Act 2018”. With this Act, the FATA region merges with KP. 229 votes came in favor of this Bill and 11 votes in opposition in the National Assembly of Pakistan. Only JUI-F, PkMAP, and one member of PTI Dawar Kundi oppose the amendment.

2.1.4 Under the 25th amendment, these articles were amended.

- Article 1: The FATA region that was governed by the federal now came under the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province.
- Article 51: The seats of the national assembly were reduced from 342 to 336.
- Article 59: The number of members of the Senate was reduced from 104 to 96.
- Article 62: The “Federally Administrated Tribal Areas” word shall be omitted from the constitution.
- Article 247: Article 247 was omitted from the constitution. It was an article about FCR.

2.2 Theoretical Framework:

The best theory which applies to this topic is “Modernization Theory”. Modernization Theory formulated the basis of this topic properly. The researcher will use the Modernization Theory given by Prateek Goorha. The theory was published on March 1, 2010. Modernization Theory talks about the evolution and development of society. The same case is present in the FATA-KP merger. Because of FATA-KP, the government wants to develop the region. The history of Modernization theory is very old. It started with classical modernization theory in the 1950s. Modernization has two forms. Classical modernization theory and new modernization theory.

2.2.1 Classical Modernization Theory:

Classical modernization theory started in the 1950s. Classical modernization theory divides the process of development into two parts. At the lower level is microcosmic evaluation and at the high level is macrocosmic evaluation. Microcosmic evaluation deals with the componential element which means the elements regarding basic and fundament etc. for example Urbanization, gender inequality, income inequality, problems of media and communication, education, and bureaucratic corruption. At a high or broader level, macrocosmic evaluation deals with the process of modernization of a nation or society. Mostly it deals with economic and political prosperity. So many scholars have contributed to this theory. The main era is from the 1950s to the 1970s. The microcosmic evaluation mainly deals with family and individuals etc. Smith in 1966 and Inkeles in 1969 contributed to this theory. While macrocosmic evaluation deals with the entire society of a nation. The contribution of Rostow in 1963 is appreciable.

Lerner in 1958 gives three phases for classical modernization theory. First is urbanization which will lead to education and technology, and it will lead society to communication and media prosper society.

2.2.2 New Modernization Theory:

New Modernization theory mainly deals with industrialization. Some criticism was a rise in classical modernization theory that only social modernization is not required for society. With social modernization, economic and industrial modernization is also required. Shapiro and Varian 1998 contributed to this theory.

Therefore, the topic Socio-Political impact of the FATA-KP merger mainly talks about modernization and development. So, the topic is better to explain with Modernization theory.

2.3 Research Gap:

Despite substantial literature on the FATA–KP merger, most studies focus on broad administrative reforms, or security upgrades, or high-level provincial issues, with little or nothing done on how such changes work out at the district level. Bajaur District - one of the most populated and highly strategic former FATA regions - is still a real black box, as the current studies seldom touch upon its own socioeconomic fabric, institutional obstacles, and the perception of all that by the local communities. I have only located very little concrete empirical information on how the new forms of governance, re-invented systems of service delivery, and political changes, are transforming day-to-day lives, the opportunities available to people, and whether they feel sufficiently represented. It is all this that generates an apparent necessity of a district-level study that, in fact, explores the socioeconomic and political consequences of the merger on the residents of Bajaur.

Research Methodology

3.1 Research Method:

The researcher will employ a mixed-methods research design, as it entails a combination of both quantitative and qualitative studies to provide a comprehensive understanding of the multifaceted impacts of the FATA-KP merger on people Bajaur District. The quantitative section allows the researcher to measure the post-merger developments in the socioeconomic factors and political action. The qualitative section explores the perception of the residents concerning administrative integration, effectiveness of the government policies, service delivery quality and the reception of the reforms in the communities. Specifically, a sequential explanatory design will be utilized, wherein quantitative data on developmental projects and economic indicators will be collected and analyzed first, followed by qualitative data from interviews and focus groups to elaborate upon and explain the initial quantitative findings. Furthermore, for the Quantitative approach, a questionnaire is used in which different questions were asked from the local people. Qualitative approach is used to explain different impacts in brief on local people. Different journals, Books, Interviews, and official websites are used for the qualitative approach.

3.2 Sampling:

For the research, a simple descriptive analysis method has been used. A multi-stage sampling strategy will be employed to ensure representativeness and depth in data collection from Bajaur District. Initially, in the case of the qualitative aspect, purposive sampling will be used to select key informants, such as local government officials, community leaders, and civil society representatives, who possess in-depth knowledge regarding the merger's effects. This will enable the researcher to have rich and contextual data which cannot be gathered using structured surveys. For the quantitative analysis 100 respondents will be selected of different ages and genders. Respondents will be of different ages mainly from 20-40 of both gender Male and Female. The respondents are mainly from ex-FATA regions and students from different universities of Islamabad of different departments are addressed. A specific questioner will be distributed among the population of the research consists of different questions.

3.4 Data Collection:

Both types of Data (primary and secondary) are used in the research.

Primary Data Collection:

Primary data is collected through a multiple-choice question questionnaire. 10 different types of questions will be asked from people of different ages and genders. To quantify quantitative numbers more the researcher will conduct semi-structured interviews with key informants.

The questionnaires will follow such issues as socio-economic results, access to development projects by people, ease of access to government service, quality of the service and political participation by people.

The interviews shall delve into perceptions toward the merger, governance challenges, the effectiveness of the development, political inclusion and regional effects including how Afghanistan may respond.

Secondary Data Collection:

Secondary data will be collected from different journals, Books, Interviews, and official websites. Mainly website is of Pakistan's different department official websites. First the data will be collected from academic journals and research papers regarding the FATA-KP merger. Then government reports, policy documents and development plans. And in the last think-tank publication and other trustworthy institutional publications.

3.5 Tools and Instruments:

Survey Questionnaire:

In the quantitative section, the researcher is making use of a structured questionnaire. It is simply a series of closed-ended questions.

The questionnaire covers:

Socio economic outcomes (income, employment, school, health, people getting around), Development project and administrative services, Government service delivery: quality, Civic participation and political awareness, Confidence in institutions of government. All these fit the independent, mediating, moderating, and dependent variables that we had already identified in our conceptual model.

Interview Protocol:

On the qualitative aspect the researcher conducts semi-structured interviews. This provides the data required and at the same time ensures consistency across the board.

Key themes include:

The impressions of the way administration has integrated following the deal.

- Development projects: effectiveness and visibility.
- Political participation and representation.
- Reform acceptability by the community.
- Opinions about Afghanistan response to FATAKP merger.

3.6 Data Analysis:

Quantitative Data Analysis:

In the quantitative part, researchers are taking some statistical program such as SPSS to manipulate the figures.

Analysis includes:

Descriptive statistics (frequencies, percentages and means) to provide a brief overview of socioeconomic and political trends.

Inferential statistics, including:

Chi-square tests to find out whether there exists any association between merger results and demographic variables.

The correlation analysis will be used to verify that there are relationships between development access, service delivery and outcomes.

Regression analysis to analyze the effect of mediating and moderating variables on socioeconomic and political results.

Qualitative Data Analysis:

In case of qualitative data, researchers undertake a thematic analysis.

Steps include:

- Interpretation of the interviews to obtain raw data.
- Categorizing the responses using common themes.
- The division into the following themes: governance, development, political inclusion, and border dynamics.
- Observing the themes against Modernization Theory and extant literature.

This will assist in having a more insightful idea of political engagement as well as the reaction of Afghanistan towards the merger.

3.7 Ethical considerations:

All participants will provide informed consent, ensure voluntary participation and guarantee anonymity and confidentiality of their responses. The respondents will be told the objective of the study and have the right to leave the study as well as the voluntary aspect. Privacy and anonymity will be ensured by not registering personal identifiers. Data will be applied to academic purposes only. Furthermore, researcher will prioritize the cultural sensitivity of all data collection instruments and procedures, acknowledging the unique social dynamics and historical context of Bajaur District. Since the area is sensitive, interviews will not be conducted with politically provocative or security-related questions that may pose a threat to the participants. Fieldwork will be done with respect to cultural norms and local sensitivities. Focus group discussions and semi-structured interviews will also be conducted to gather qualitative insights into community perceptions, cultural factors, and suggestions for program improvement.

Findings and Discussions:

Socio-Economic and Political Effects:

4.1 Social Effects:

Before the FATA-KP merger the local people of FATA, especially Bajaur are being deprived of social life in this 21st-century modern time. The people in the Bajaur are being controlled by the Maliks or elders socially and culturally. In the 1960s the total area of Bajaur was divided among the three Khans: i.e. the Khan of Khar, the Khan of Nawagai, and the Khan of Pashat (KP Government). These khans mainly controlled all the people and they take the decisions of the whole people or for an individual. In these areas, the Maliks are the social authority. The Maliks after independence want Pakistan to govern the FATA region by the old ways of British roles and for it, they sign an agreement with Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Thus they stabled their influence in the region and want to rule the people (Katju, 2018).

The FATA region was neglected by the government of Pakistan in the social sector. Because of it the people of Bajaur are restricted to their area and restricted to their culture only.

After the Merger, the status of people is now changing but the complexity of the social impact of the FATA-KP merger is very high. The merger of FATA with Khyber Pakhtunkhwa was not only a political or administrative reform but it is especially a social engineering reform. And mainly the reforms linked only with political and administrative will fail because social reforms are compulsory for a society for the reasons they deal with the local people.

These days the social implication is slow in progress but with time prosperity will come to the region and people are now free there in the decision despite Malik's fear. In the remote areas of a merger, FATA the reform has brought social prosperity in recent years (Maryam Raza, 2001).

Some people are against the reform because they said that it will destroy the culture and social life of the people in these regions. The people of FATA are simple in their behaviors and want a simple life with these reforms the structure will change (Maqbol Jan, 2019).

The merger has many impacts in the aspect of health and education etc.

4.1.1 Health department:

The health department of Bajaur before the merger is not in good status. The lack of female nurses is the main issue in the region because the extreme tradition of the region did not allow women to do the nursing job.

After the merger, the mind of people now changed in the 21st century, and females are going for the job. In DHQ Khar six female nurses are present out of 41 (*The Express Tribune*, 2022). The District Headquarters Hospital in Bajaur was upgraded on 16 September 2021. 26 new bed facilities, including an operation theater, were added to District Hospital. After the merger, the hospital is supporting four hospitals in the province including the Lady Reading Hospital, Peshawar (ICRC, 2021)

4.1.2 Education department:

The education department in Bajaur is not good. In the 72km long and 32km broad area of Bajaur, only 6 schools and 4 Colleges are present. (BISE Malakand, 2020). According to Bajaur Education Department, about 89,000 children are out of school in the District. 59,000 girls and 34,000 boys between the age of four and 14. Before the merger, there are about 265 villages in which no primary school is present. Because construction in the Bajaur is banned from 2007 to 2020.

But after the merger, things are now changing and positive changes come to the area. The Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) government of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa lifted the sanctions and approved 100 schools for construction in the area. It was a tremendous impact of the merger on the region. Because mainly the construction of the school was denied by the Maliks in the region. After the merger, Malik's influence and power were finished (*The Express Tribune*, 2021).

In Pashtun society, mainly in the tribal areas, women are only for household work, and tradition does not allow women to gain an education. After the merger women are now free to gain an education. Because with the merger the structure of the tribes changed (Naveed, 2018). But it will take time because there is a lot of issue regarding women's education.

4.2 Political Effects:

The people of Bajaur and FATA have not tested the sweetness of democracy until 2018 because of the bureaucratic hurdles in this modern time (Ali, 2020). Before 1960, Bajaur was a semi-independent territory, run by political jurisdiction in the form of a political agent, Malakand (KP Government).

Until 2018 the people of Bajaur are deprived of political rights. In a democratic country, they have little right to politics. Until 1997, there is no representation of Bajaur in a national assembly. About nine years ago in 2013, a party-based election was held for the first time. The people of Bajaur have experienced four times elections in 1997, 2002, 2008, and 2013 but because of the tribe's leader 70%, the people of the rural area did not have the freedom to cast their vote by free will (Ali, 2020). For the total area of 1290 square kilometers of Bajaur, only two national assembly seats are allocated. And the region was administrated by the Federal government so provincial seats are there for Bajaur. The two national assembly seats are in the hand of Maliks and to whom the Maliks want the people would vote.

But now with the merger, the political structure in Bajaur are changed. The unsteady democracy of Pakistan started in 1947 and was completed in 2018 with the FATA-KP merger. Until 2018 the governor has the power to run the region under article 145 of the constitution and no act of parliament will be implemented without the permission of the president (Malik, 2013). More importantly, the FATA-KP merger reshaped the political structure of the federation, by reducing the seats of the national assembly and senate. But on the other, the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa seats

were increased in the national assembly. The merger was also a democratic win for the people of Bajaur because it mainstream the politics in the region (Darr, 2018)

Before the 25th amendment the seats reserved for provinces under the article 51(1) (3a) are

Province / Area	General Seats	Women Seats	Non-Muslim	Total Seats
Baluchistan	14	03		17
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	35	08		43
Punjab	148	35		183
Sindh	61	14		75
Federal Capital	02	-		02
FATA	12	-		12
	-	-	10	10
Total	272	60	10	342

Table 1: Seats of National Assembly before 25th amendment

After the 25th amendment total seats are reduce to 336 from 342. The share of Punjab was also reduce to 173 from 183. The share of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa with the merger of FATA was increased from 43 to 55. The seats of Sindh remain constant, one and three seats were added to federal and Baluchistan respectively.

The new structure after 25th amendment are:

Province / Area	General Seats	Women Seats	Non-Muslim	Total Seats
Baluchistan	16	4		20
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	45	10		55
Punjab	141	32		173
Sindh	61	14		75
Federal Capital	3	-		3
			10	10

Total	266	60	10	336
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Table 2: Seats of National Assembly after 25th amendment

The new structure will be implemented in the next election. (NA, 2018)

In this whole structure, two national assembly seats NA 40 and NA 41 (old NA 43 and NA 44 up to 2018) are reserved for Bajaur. With the merger provincial representation was also given to Bajaur. The provincial seats of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa rose from 124 to 145 under the amendment of article 106. After the merger, three seats were given to Bajaur in the provincial assembly of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP assembly, 2018)

These new 22 seats will not only increase the role of District Bajaur but will help the province in federal affairs (Bhutto, 2019)

For the first time in the history of Pakistan provincial assembly elections were held on July 2, 2019. The three seats for Bajaur are: PK 100 Bajaur-I, PK 101 Bajaur-II, PK 102 Bajaur-III. All three seats were won by Pakistan Threek Insaf (PTI) (Chudray, 2019).

The local government was there in Bajaur but it was not so effective because of the influence of Maliks who mainly give votes on the basis of their tribe. But after the merger, political knowledge came to the people and now people elect a candidate on the basis of the party themselves. The outcome of this political illiteracy is that the Maliks and elders used the people for their own interests and used them for political bargaining. In the beginning, women have no right to vote but things are now changing in the region and political awareness is coming but it is a complex issue and will take time. Still, with the merger political rights were given to the people in general and to women in particular (Ali, 2020)

4.3 Administrative Effects:

Administratively ex-FATA or Bajaur were run through political agents before 2018. Bajaur was under bureaucratic hurdles because all the power is with political agents. The political agents did everything the president of Pakistan want under the Act of 1960. The political agents of the Malakand Division controlled the region (KP Government Official).

With the merger, a big reform came and the department of the political agent was abolished. The post of political agent and assistant political agent abolish by the government of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa on 10, June 2018 after 116 years. The posts were introduced by the British government in 1897. With this reform, the executive, judicial and financial power of the political agent came to end. Before the merger, they have all the powers in these institutions. The additional Political agent was converted to Deputy Commissioner and the assistant political agent was converted to assistant commissioner. This notification was issued by the Home and Tribal Areas Department. With this notification, the jurisdiction powers were taken from the commissioners. After this, another notification was issued by the agency welfare fund to stop the commissioners from collecting the taxes (Khan, 2018). So with the 25th amendment, the hold of bureaucracy was abolished and they are now only restricted to the administrative department.

4.4 Economic Effects:

Bajaur is a resourceful district in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa that has the ability to boost the economy of the country. But because of the constant negligence by the country, Bajaur is one of the most underdeveloped regions in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province. The poverty ratio in the region is about 73%. Most of the people did not have basic privileges like health and education etc. no developmental infrastructure are there in the region because of the war in the region in which infrastructure is destroyed. Thousands of commercial infrastructures are destroyed (Firdous, 2017).

Post-merger things are now changing. The people of Bajaur are less educated and have less skill in other fields except for agriculture. And also because of the army operations, people are displaced from their homes so they do not have a good opportunity to gain basic skills. But now people are gaining skills in different fields and the government has approved PKR 2 Billion for many projects in which giving skills to people is also included (Raza, 2021). Until 2018 no industry was present in Bajaur but post-merger investors are coming to the region and building new industries (Mahmood, 2019). People have fewer jobs so the labor force is easily available to the producers. Also, the labor is cheap because of high unemployment which is a good opportunity for investors to produce a good product at less cost (KP-BOIT).

Post-merger the government is trying to overcome the gap and link the region with other parts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (Ramiz, 2019).

After the merger and army operation, the army is playing a vital role in boosting the economy of the region. They are building new infrastructure in the region. With the merger, the control of Maliks and elders become less. With this reform, local people are coming to new businesses (Mahmood, 2019). Other than Malik's political agents have the power over economy of the region. They collected the taxes and other levies in the region and take them for themselves because mainly the political agents are corrupt. With the merger, the posts of political agents were demolished. Therefore now the taxes are collected by the specific department. And they will be spending the taxes now on the local people (Khan, 2018). The committee for Economic Coordination (ECC) will assist the investors to invest in district Bajaur. District Bajaur was also exempt from tax for five years to boost the economic activities in the region. These decisions were taken by ECC (Noor, 2018)

4.4.1 Resources in the Bajaur: A geological survey conducted by the FATA research center said that there are about 85% of resources present in the area. And Bajaur is one of the districts in FATA. Before the merger, there are many problems to utilize these resources in which security instability is one of them. The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa government has taken many steps after the merger to utilize the resources (Shah, 2021)

The federal government allocates RS. 121 Billion For FATA in the term of 10 years to make an economic setup. In this money, the central government will give PKR 52 while the remaining money will be given by the provinces (Khan, 2021).

The main resource in the region is Minerals. The plum production in the area is also so high. There are different resources present in the area which are:

4.4.1.1 Minerals and Mining: There are so many resources present in Bajaur. In the list of minerals, marble stones are in the first position. Calcareous rocks are also there in association with marble stones. Two types of color stones are found mostly black and green.

Pakistan stone development company (PASDEC) conducted a survey that in the Bajaur district an estimated 500 million tons of marble and 200 million tons of Granites existed (KP-BOIT).

The following table shows the number of Minerals in the region:

Minerals	Reserve (in Millions)
Marble	5,850
Manganese	0.120
chromite	1.00

Table 3: Minerals Statistics

Other Minerals are: Garnet, Emerald, and Nephrite are also there.

Post-merger Khyber Pakhtunkhwa enhances the process of mining in the region. Standard operations (SOPs) are established by the government. According to these SOPs, the local miners and contractors would be given preference in mining. The people of Bajaur have a certain tradition

for mining which is “Jalsa-e-aam”. According to this local people distribute the natural resources among them. The government has given a green signal to this tradition which is a good step for mining. The government also said that the landholder of the resources preference will be given. So step government is taking good steps (Mustafa, 2021).

Under the 25th amendment, Bajaur is now part of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa therefore the government has now added Bajaur to KP Mines & Mineral Development Department. The government said that the department will assist in mining in modern ways. They will also skill the people in the region about modern techniques for mining because the people of Bajaur do mining in the old way by exploding the mountains of marble using gunpowder (KP-BOIT).

4.4.2 Agriculture: The soil of Bajaur is fertile but a proper irrigation system is not present in the region. The government of KP is now started many projects in the region. In Bajaur different types of crops, vegetables and fruits are harvested. 18.74% of the forest of the previous FATA is present in Bajaur most of the overall region. The area covered by forest is estimated at 88,571 acres (Pakistan Bureau of Statistics).

Post-merger the government of KP is started many projects which are:

- ✓ The water problem is present in Bajaur. In 2018 after the merger KP government are building two mini dams for water. Which are Talai Dam and Raghgan Dam. With these dams, the irrigation problem will be finished.
- ✓ The soil of Bajaur is best for Olive production. PSDP and the Agriculture department of Bajaur with the help of the KP government in 2020 started a project of planting Olive trees on 150,000 acres. Because of these projects now the region is reduced the annual import of olive oil by 4k-5k tons (The logical world, 2021)
- ✓ 11 types of fish are present in Bajaur. Now the government is giving education to local people about fish farming and for it, they have established a fish farming department under the supervision of the agriculture department (KP-BOIT).

Other projects started in 2018-19 are: (according to the KP government)

- ✓ Promotion of olive grafting/cultivation for oil production in Bajaur Agency
- ✓ Reclamation of cultivable wasteland in command area Bajaur Agency
- ✓ Sustainable Devising Initiative through Agriculture Interventions in District Bajaur
- ✓ Promotion of Horticulture activities in District Bajaur

So post-merger things are now changing for Bajaur.

4.4.3 Effects on the local market: Before the merger, the local market in Bajaur was a free market. No regulated authority was present to regulate the market. People sell and buy products in their way without regulation. No proper taxes were implemented by the government in the region (Fahim, 2019). The black market in Bajaur was present. People smuggled products to Afghanistan through the border. And from there smuggled products to Bajaur. From Bajaur, they take it to Peshawar and then to the whole country.

After the merger market was now regulated market. People sell and buy the product at government rates. Smuggled across the border are controlled. Taxes were implemented by the government but the Committee of Economic Coordination has given tax reductions for five years. After that from 2023 taxes will be implemented on the business (Babakhel, 2018).

4.5 Post-merger Effects on legal aspect:

The big and most important impact of the merger is the abolishing of the British Black law called Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR). The people of Bajaur are happy by abolishing the FCR laws. In 2016 a survey was done by the FATA Research Center in which about 68% of people in the Bajaur district want the abolishing of FCR laws. Mainly the youth of Bajaur supported the merger

for one thing which is the abolishing of the FCR laws (Bukhari, 2022). Before 2018 there were two types of legal systems present Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR) and the traditional Jirga system. In 1848, the British started ruling the FATA region by certain laws. In 1901, the British government start calling it Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR). The laws are very weird and unlawful in many senses (Darr, 2018). There are so many unjust clauses present in FCR like the Supreme Court decision that was not to be implemented in the region. When one person committed a crime the whole family and tribe were arrested. The local people were no right to appeal in a local court, no right of Wakeel (legal representation), and no evidence. And because of it, the law was also called no right of Appeal, Wakeel, and Daleel. Other than it all the judicial power was given to one person the political agent of the district. According to section 23 of the FCR, if a dead body is in a village all the villagers are murdered in this case and all the people will be punished. These are the tactics used by the British to stop the Pashtun rebellions (Dil, 2016).

After the independence in 1947, the Pakistani government retain all the laws of the British colony and the Pakistani government are doing it to gain the loyalty of the elders and Maliks in the region by giving them the power of Jirga. By the means of Jirga, the people do not need any court in the region, and the local people than used to it (Asrar, 2019)

In the 1973 constitution under articles 246 and 247 the FCR was implemented in the region. And the power was to the president no parliament act was to be implemented here (Sarfaraz, 2009).

In 2018 the Bajaur district was merged with KPK and the FCR laws were abolished in the region after 116 years. A big change came into the district. The judicial system of Pakistan was implemented after 71 years of independence.

There are two groups of people or think tanks about the impact of the legal aspect. One group thinks that these impacts are positive and they are in favor of the judicial system. The second group thinks it is negative and they are in favor of Jirga. Both are happy with the abolishment of FCR. But the disagreement lies in the abolishment of the Jirga system and the introduction of the Pakistan judicial system.

4.5.1 In favor of the judicial system: Many of the Bajaur people are in favor of the Pakistan judicial system. They give the argument that the before the merger the people of Bajaur take the decision from elders in the form of Jirga. Many people have an experience that the elder of the tribe was always influenced by the political agent. So basically the political agent imposed their decision on the people through Jirga. The other reason is that Jirga codes are unwritten in nature so the elder has the power to give a verdict and no one has the right to question it (AASA, 2015). Some people believed that FCR basically codified the Jirga system or council of elders. The FCR allowed the elders to give verdicts according to their customs. But also the FCR empowered the political agent to veto or reject the decision of the Jirga (Siddiqui, 2018)

Many people particularly youth are overwhelmed by the merger that the Jirga system is now abolished and they have now the right to go against the verdict of the Jirga and appeal in another court in Pakistan. They are also optimistic that the merger gives them a constitutional right. And they are now hoping for a fair and just trial in the court of Pakistan. The women in the district were also happy about the abolishment of the Jirga. The women believed that the Jirga was in the hand of rich and powerful people. The Jirga also did not allow the women to do extra activities other than household. The women are optimistic that they will go to courts by themselves because the Jirga did not allow women to come to Jirga. The elders pass the verdict without hearing the women (Bukhari, 2022)

4.5.2 In favor of traditional Jirga: Many tribes in the region want Jirga to settle down their issues rather than the judicial system. Because mainly the decision was taken according to customs. Some

of the people in the District Bajaur are in favor of the traditional Jirga. And they say that the implementation of the judicial system in the district was a premature attempt. Before the implementation, the government needs to establish proper courts and police departments in the region (Malik, 2019). The people think that the premature attempt will lead to a situation in the area like in Swat in 1969. In the Swat, without the proper arrangements, the law and order situation arises (Babakhel, 2018). Similarly in Swat Jirga system was present and suddenly things changed when the government of Pakistan announced the merger of Swat with NWFP at that time. The absence of a regular judicial and administrative setup leads to the merger of an unrest society (Khan, 2021). The situation creates a vacuum for the laws to fulfill it. And this legal vacuum creates a way for Maulana Sufi Mahmood to implement the Islamic Sharia laws. In this way, a law and order situation arises in Swat (Ali, 2009)

Because of these past experienced people are against the judicial system. The Jirga system was present for so many years in the life of people and the Jirga then become their custom and local institution. The people also believed that the Jirga provide justice quickly and cheaply. The people in the region are also less aware of the judicial system. They did not want to file an FIR and hire a lawyer for themselves because of the expenses and time-consuming (Mahmood, 2019).

Hameed Ullah Jan Afridi a former national assembly member said that “the government of Pakistan removed the quick justice system of Jirga and pushed us to 70-8- years long pending cases courts” (Asrar, 2019).

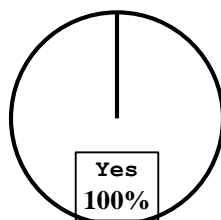
The Jirga give verdict to one person and also to the whole tribe. People in the region believed that it will create a gap between the new youth and the elders of the society (Wasim, 2018).

Quantitative Analysis of Primary Data:

In the questioner a simple 10 questions were asked from the student of Bajaur. The questions and their response are:

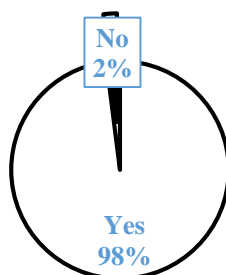
Do you know about FATA?

The simple and basic question was first asked in the questioner from the student of Bajaur. The question was simple but it was to first confirm the knowledge of the student about the FATA and Bajaur. All the students give the response in Yes answer that they now all the things about FATA. Other than FATA the students were questions about FCR and Jirga and the result was 100%. So for this question the result was 100%.



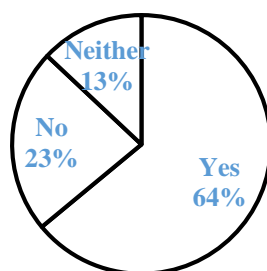
I. Do you know about the FATA-KP merger reforms?

Another simple and basic question was been asked. For this numerical was 98% in Yes and only 2% said that we do not know about FATA reforms. The 2% also said that we have heard about it but did not know it properly.



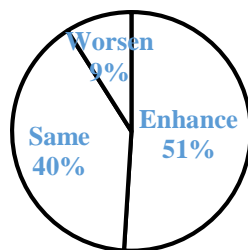
Are you satisfied with the integration of FATA?

The third was satisfaction of the people about the reforms. 64% said that we are satisfied from the reforms and it will mainstream the region. 23% of the students answer in No and said that we are not satisfied from the integration of FATA they also added that the old system was good with some reforms. 13% of the students did not give the answer in clear way and said time will tell that it was good or not.



From your point of view, the merger of FATA has led to or will bring development to the region?

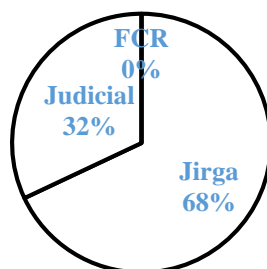
This question was about the development to find out the local students thinking about the development after merger. 51% student answer in the good manner and said that government both provincial and federal are doing good for development. 40% students think that it was same about the old time. No changes were bring after the merger. It was same after and before. Interestingly 9% think that the situation became worst or down after the merger. They added that before the merger the local elders work for development in the District. After the merger the federal government see toward provincial and vice versa. Both the government did not want to take responsibility now.



Which justice system do you think is best for the people?

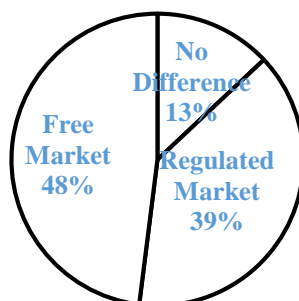
From the statistic of this question it was clear that many people in Bajaur want Jirga system. All the student which have being asked were against FCR and fell joy about the abolishment of FCR. Many students about 68% was in favor of Jirga system and in the justification they added that Jirga system was less expensive and less time consuming process. Justice were served in days with

spending less money. On the other hand 32% think that judicial system of Pakistan was good. Because it give the right to fight for justice and no one was there to impose their verdict on the person. They also added that Jirga was under the influence of elder and rich people.



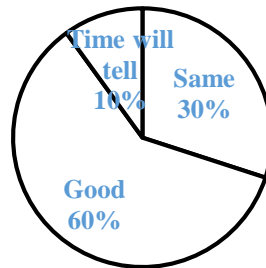
Which Market is good for people?

Two types of markets were present in Bajaur. Regulated and Free market. A simple question was asked from the students about the market. 13% responded in neutral and did not choose any of these two. And added that no difference is present in these two. 39% of the students are in favor of regulated market and have an opinions that it was good for the economy of the country and for the region. In regulated market the government collect taxes by proper way and then spend it on local people. 48% of the responded are in favor of free market and added that tax collection was stable in the region. Other than they have the opinion that in free market people can smuggled things across the border and it was good for local people to make money. But in regulated market it was not possible that why we are against it.



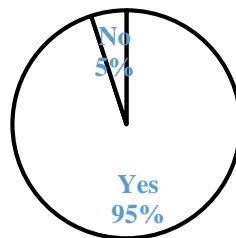
Has there been any difference in peace and stability after the merger of FATA?

This was question asked because the District of Bajaur was under instability and war since 1980s. 30% students have opinion that the situation was same before and after the merger. No change was came in peace. 60% student's think that changes were came to the region and peace came to region. They happy about it and feel confident that the situation will be more comfortable after some time. They also added that people do not need to be rush these things take time. 10% students said that the situation go down after the merger because of government overlooked.



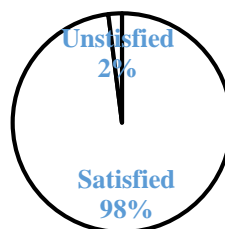
Political environment created after the merger of FATA?

Many students have opinion that political environment was created in Bajaur for the first time. 95% give the answer is yes and said that political environment was present in election after the merger. 5% said that because people are less aware of politics and that why political environment was not created in a proper way.



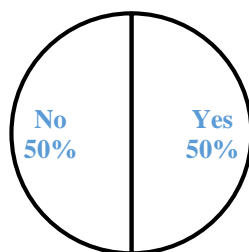
Has there been or will be any difference after representation in the Provincial Assembly?

98% students have the opinion that with the representation in provincial assembly the situation in the region became good and now the region has provincial member for the district they will do some work. 2% students said that the situation is same before and after and time will tell that it was good or not.



Is the KP administration capable of handling FATA?

The ratio to this question was divided half. Half of the students have the opinion that yes KP administration is capable of running the region. But on the other 50% said that they are happy about the merger because something was done by government to mainstream the region but it will be best for region if government made it a separate province.



From the quantitative analysis it was clear that the people are happy about the merger. And feel joy about the reforms. That this reforms will mainstream the district of Bajaur but it will take time and government both federal and provincial need to give proper attention to the region.

Opposition to the merger:

Two political parties JUI-F and PKMAP in Pakistan oppose the bill for the FATA-KP merger. Rather than them Afghanistan also showed opposition to these reforms. MQM showed a unique opposition to it.

6.1 Afghanistan reaction:

Afghanistan recorded its opposition against the FATA's new reforms and abolishment of FCR. Afghanistan's government at that time said that the FATA-KP merger was esoteric and ungracious. Afghan government demands they have a border and cultural similarities with FATA so the government of Pakistan needed to consult with us before they implement any military and other reform projects in the region. They also put an argument that it was against the treaty between Afghanistan and the British government in India in 1921. Basically, Afghanistan was not happy because they want tribal supremacy in the region. The tribes want the region to link with Afghanistan and by these reforms, the hope is now demolished. Pakistan's government reject all these statements and says to Afghanistan that did not interfere in our national affairs (Katju, 2018).

6.2 JUI-F and PKMAP reaction:

Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (F) and Pakhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party oppose the bill in the national assembly and vote against the FATA-KP merger.

Abdul Qahar said in the national assembly that our party opposed the bill and that government needs to give the people of FATA what they want in the future. He also added that we want a separate province, our own chief Minister and Cabinet (Wasim, 2018).

JUI-F national assembly member Jamaluddin the call the day a "Black Day" for FATA people in the parliament. He said that the decision was a rushed decision. The committee of FATA reform suggested five years for merging the region with KP. He added the word "premature move" for FATA reforms that it was done in a few days (Wasim, 2018).

Some local people oppose the merger because they prefer Jirga over the judiciary system. In this regard, Hameed Ullah Jan added that the government of Pakistan pushed for a system where justice was served in 70-80 years instead of Jirga which solve the problem in a few days (Malik, 2019).

Some people believed that it will create a legal vacuum in the region.

But in reality, they oppose the merger reforms that they want to control the region by tribal influence. Mainly the tribe leader has an affiliation with JUI-F and PKMAP. And they did not want to lose it. Some leaders of the tribe also oppose it because it will finish their status in society (Asrar, 2019).

6.3 MQM reaction:

MQM did not oppose the Bill they said that we supported the FATA-KP merger bill but they give a suggestion for FATA province. They also added that government need that before the merger

they held a referendum in the region. MQM also said that if FATA merges with KP it will be difficult to become a separate province in the future (Wasim, 2018).

7. Conclusion:

FATA became part of KP on 31st May 2018 by signing a bill by the president of Pakistan Mamnoon Hussain. The FATA merger is a big and bold decision in the history of Pakistan taken by the government. The credit goes to all political parties but more to the Pakistan Muslim League (N) for considering the issue of the merger properly. Then by taking the steps accordingly. In the world, federations merge areas with themselves. And the same case was for Pakistan. The merger process in Pakistan was completed with the FATA-KP merger which was started in 1948 with the merger of the Qallat princely state. The merger of FATA was a progressive and developmental achievement. Through the merger, many rights were given to the people of Bajaur. The most important were political and judicial rights. From 1947 the people of Bajaur were living under unlawful FCR laws. Which were old laws way back 1901 implemented by British Raj in the region. Through the merger, these unlawful rules were abolished. Since 2015 provincial and the federal government is taking many steps to mainstream this region.

The people want quick development and modernization was not possible in a quick time. Because modernization and development take time. The modernization theory also stated that in a society modernization always takes time and people need to give time to it. The society of Bajaur was volatile in nature and every volatile society takes time to settle down.

Pakistan was an underdeveloped state and economic instability was also present in this state. So it is not possible for Pakistan's economy to mainstream the region in months. The political instability and security reasons in the region were also a cause of slow development in the region. The provincial government needs to give strong attention to the region because these people was deprived of development since 1947. Stile the new package of reform has brought some hope in the people for development. But to take advantage of these reforms government needs to do practical work in the region.

The main challenge to overcome in the region was insecurity because the Afghanistan border was there with Bajaur. It was a very long border government is doing work on it to build a fence on it but they need to speed up the process.

Way Forward or Recommendation:

1. Pakistan is economically and politically not a strong country. Because of that, the reforms come to the ground slowly and gradually. The media reports and local people said that government attention was not good toward us. So the government of KP with the federal government needs to increase the process for mainstreaming the country.
2. Some media reports claim that the RS. 121 billion allocated for FATA development was not spent in the region. So the government needs to spend this money on local people.
3. Bajaur district is rich in natural resources. So the government needs to increase mining in the region by keeping the traditional customs in view.
4. The education system in the district was worst after the military operation. No university is present in the whole district. Therefore Khyber Pakhtunkhwa government needed to establish a proper education system in the region.
5. Political activity was not there in the region. With the merger, it came to some extent but still it was not good. Therefore attention needs to this issue with it the extremism in the people will be finished.
6. Up to 2018 people lived in a dark time and no media platform was there. Now it is time for the government to establish the department of media.

7. The government also needs to regulate religious schools and madrassas. In this way, religious extremism will be lower in the region.
8. To mainstream the local people seminars and the workshop must be conducted in the region.
9. Bajaur is a beautiful valley. For this the government of KP needs to promote tourism in the district.
10. After the merger industries were established in the district and government need to hire local people for work.
11. No proper administrative and political infrastructure was present in the region. The government needs to build these departments. The abolishment of Jirga would not be possible. So the government needs that into consideration before farther reforms.
12. The federal government promised three percent of the total budget for FATA but until now it did not spend on local people. The federal government approved \$ 1 billion for the region in June 2019 but until now nothing was given.
13. The Pashtun Tahufuz Moment (PTM) was active in the region and many people mostly the young generation are going with them because of the unemployment and ignorance of the government. For that government need to win the hearts of the people by doing developmental projects and solving the security issues in the region.
14. The tradition was a big issue for government reforms. Therefore to handle that problem government has educated the people and told them the importance of the merger and reforms.
15. Provincial as well as federal governments need to come together for peace and stability in the region because from the 1980s the peace and stability situation is not good.

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