Nation Building in Newly Merged Districts of Erstwhile FATA, Pakistan: An Analysis

Sana Noor,[1] & Sadia Suleiman[2]

Abstract:

The study explores Pakistan's efforts to carry out nation building in former Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), as well as the concept of merger towards nation building and the extent to which it has been successful. The article derives its analysis from the theoretical framework of postliberal peace building; however, the article debates the core postulate of this theory; foreign intervention. Pakistan's nation-building in former FATA represents a new set of knowledge originating from domestic bodies, in contrast to post-liberal foreign interventionist phenomena. The parameters of nation building in Former FATA range from military intervention to the empowerment of local civil administration, with the two key concepts being inclusiveness and the realization of collective interests. This article adopts a qualitative analysis based on the available literature.

Keywords: FATA, nation-building, conflict, reconstruction, peace, reforms, inclusiveness

INTRODUCTION

Nation building is termed as an effective tool towards successful management of conflict. In fact, the reconstruction of nations in a post conflict situation has been regarded as key element in maintaining global peace and stability. Societies that emerge from a conflict face a slew of interconnected issues. These problems range from loss of trust and dignity to technical, economic, political and security issues. Nation building on a broader scale includes these issues and provides an answer to these problems. Nation building entails working at all levels of society. Furthermore, nation building is more concerned with the human mind and psychology, and it addresses the issues of how to shape the human mind in order to construct a shared sense of identity. The OECD (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development) defines nation building as, actions taken by national actors to forge a sense of common identity to avoid or overcome an ethnic, sectarian or communal conflict (OECD, 2008).

Humans in conflicted societies can only develop a shared sense of identity when they have faith in the state and its operations. The central idea of this set of principles is that a stable society cannot exist without good governance, human rights protection, the implicit rule of law, a thriving economy, and democratic institutions founded on democratic values(Richmond, 2006). When

[1] Independent Political Analyst and Assistant Advisor (Personnel), Federal Tax Ombudsman, Islamabad, Pakistan. Email: sananoor83@gmail.com

[2] Assistant Professor, Area Study Centre for Africa, North and South Americas, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, Pakistan. Email: ssadia@qau.edu.pk

people in FATA were subjected to decades of neglect and marginalization, their sense of belonging to the state of Pakistan was seriously undermined. People in Former FATA were easily mobilized against the state of Pakistan due to their detachment from the mainstream, lack of inclusive policy, and lack of a writ of government. The situation took its toll on Pakistan, which saw a rise in Talibanization in the erstwhile FATA.

UNDERSTANDING CONFLICT IN FORMER FATA

The former FATA region has a long history of marginalization, which has resulted in socioeconomic and sociopolitical decline. The conflict in the region is a direct result of the area's fragility, which has existed since 1947. The state did not intervene, and little effort was made to connect the region to the mainstream. Following variables can be looked upon in understanding the nature of conflict in the area:

- Political System
- Social System
- Religious Ideology

1. Political System

Prior to its merger with KP, the political system in former FATA was governed by a distinct code of administrative conduct known as the Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR). The FCR was combined with a local tribal empowerment mechanism in which the local political elite, or tribal elders, play a significant role and have a say. With the assistance of political agents, tribal elders were instrumental in running the political machinery in the former FATA. Political Agent was appointed as the highest-ranking bureaucrat in each of the seven agencies. He reported directly to the governor and was given authority over issues pertaining to the judiciary, executive, and revenue branches. The Political Agent also had the authority to punish any person from any tribe who committed a crime on its territory. This was accomplished through the imposition of large fines, arrests, and the confiscation of assets or property. He also had the authority to order the imprisonment of a tribe member and to cancel the entire tribe's entry into the settled areas if he suspected them of engaging in mysterious and suspicious activities (Ullah, 2015). It could be argued that the powers of the Political Agent resembled authoritarian rule, and this understanding is bolstered by the fact that his decisions could not be challenged in any court of law (Ullah, 2015). This is clearly an example of repression and a flagrant violation of human rights. This unchallenged role of political agent persisted because FATA lacked the representative system of governance that the rest of the country possessed.

The underdeveloped political system was caused by a partial voting rights system in which Maliks and preferred dignitaries had voting privileges while the common masses of those areas were denied such political participation until adult franchise was introduced in the region in 1996 (Shah, 2012). Prior to the introduction of adult franchise in FATA, only Maliks acted as the representative of locals and had the authority to cast votes on behalf of the entire population of the specific area, regardless of whether they had genuine support or not among the common people across FATA (Kerr & Smith, 2011). When the Political Parties Act (1962) was implemented in the region in 1996, the complete all-inclusive adult franchise system was implemented (Sajjad, 2012). However, this practice did not contribute effectively to the development of a well-structured political system, and

political parties' roles were restrictive and limited. It has also been stated that the government did not permit political parties to function properly in Former FATA. For the first time, the elections of 1997 created a space for political activities of independent candidates, with legislators elected directly to Pakistan's National Assembly on a non-party basis (Ullah & Hayat, 2017). Despite the fact that this practice introduced the concept of political participation, it was ineffective in addressing political and administrative issues.

Because no political party was involved, the system of independent candidates was naive and fragile. This situation fueled Maliks' de facto control, as independent candidates were unable to politically mobilize people and failed to voice the true concerns of ordinary people. The government, on the other hand, facilitated tribal people's participation in national and regional affairs, as well as in most important decision-making processes (Wazir, 2007). When necessary, the government only consulted selected tribal elders, while the general populace of these areas was ignored (Ullah & Hayat, 2017). It can be established that ignoring the voices of ordinary people is one of the indicators of political instability and increased grievances, which facilitated conflict in former FATA. A stable and influential political system cannot exist without people's participation and the protection of human rights within a society. Such practices foster a culture of free expression by allowing people to criticize government policies while also ensuring their right to participate in decision making. Threat, fear, and unfair prosecution all have a negative impact on the development and progress of an individual's personality as well as the development and progress of a weak society. As a result, in order to achieve the milestones of a well-informed, stable, and reasoned society, individuals must have easy access to basic civil and political rights. According to Mill (1884), Human politics is the fundamental building block of progress in science, law, and the humanities. The public representatives who are elected under a proper electoral system perform the functions of a modern democratic society. One of the most important and crucial political privileges of individuals in a democratic system is the ability to freely express themselves, which is enabled by a franchised electoral system. It is necessary not only for personal self-esteem, but also for genuine accountability, inclusion, and the continuous flow of democratic morals (Rahman, Mohmand, & Wazir, 2013).

It is difficult to achieve political maturity without the free will of the individuals in any given society. Associations with political organizations or parties provide a forum for individuals to express their demands, criticize regulating policies, agree or disagree with government projects, and hold discussions about future opportunities and challenges. Furthermore, they engage in political debate in order to present alternative solutions to the government on national issues (Rahman et al., 2013). Political parties frequently engage in a variety of visible operations, such as acting as brokers of projects, ideas, and strategies. In this procedure, they explain and collect the various interests of the nation and aid in resolving squabbles within all of a state's communities. They move around enlisting support from all segments of society and assisting in the selection of leaders and political representatives (Elkins, 2008). Political parties are the foundation of any autonomous society, providing the people with decisions that can result in change.

Former FATA presents a very different scenario when compared to widely accepted and acknowledged definitions of political rights. Former FATA's political development stands in stark contrast to the rest of the country. All elected democratic governments in Pakistan were unable to

protect the people of former FATA's fundamental political rights. Their freedom of expression, affiliation, and participation in political matters was restricted. The fear of being imprisoned and losing their lives suppressed their desire to express themselves openly. As a result of the marginalized actions of the political elites across the entire tribal region, communicating opinions and pointing out flaws in the demonstrations of political elites was akin to burrowing graves for those who dared to do it anyway. People in former FATA were forced to choose between the devil and the deep sea because they had no right to freedom of expression (Elkins, 2008). Former FATA's political system was the polar opposite of inclusive democracy, or it can be concluded that it was in its early stages. Before the state had a chance to implement inclusiveness measures, the former FATA conflict found its way into the country and plagued it.

2. Social System

There are three major operating protocols of social control: state infiltration in society, resource mining, and state regulation of social connections in a given society (Elkins, 2008). When it came to this classification, the NMDs fell short. The government of Pakistan was unable to penetrate society with a Pakistani identity, and tribal identities largely governed the overall society in the region. The policy and planning required for the extraction of any potential resources and their application to the well-being of society is also a weakened and unfocused area. Failures in these areas result in poor regulation of social relations within the region and with Pakistan's state.

The definition of a social framework is determined by how well society functions and how effective the state's delivery of public services is. Illiteracy, unemployment, nepotism, corruption, and underdevelopment remained the defining characteristics of former FATA, which non-state actors successfully exploited to advance their own self-created agenda of political autonomy. The Taliban movement instilled delusory ideas in illiterate and ignorant people, exploited indigenous people's grievances, and recruited aimless youth for anti-state activities in the region and other parts of Pakistan (Nazeer, 2013). Prior to the conflict, access to health services was severely limited; for every fifty square kilometers of the area, there was only one dispensary, ill-equipped health unit, or rural health center (Khokhar, Kamran, Abbasi, & Jafar, 2014). Exploring the bleak situation in the education sector, Mohmand (2016) correctly stated:

5,994 (Total Schools in FATA) (Census of 2015-16)
Detail of Functional Schools (Total 3, 842)
Functional schools were of primary level, and 2,219 of them catered to boys and 1,623 were girls' primary schools. 118 schools were being run in mosques, while 169 were community-run schools. The report stated that 32 of these institutions were industrial home centers, 439 were middle schools (273 for boys and 166 for girls), 296 high schools (231 for boys and 65 for girls), 15 higher secondary schools (10 for boys five for girls) and 32 were colleges (21 boys and 11 girls).
Detail of Non- Functional Schools (Total 1,036)
692 were primary schools (418 for boys and 274 for girls), 41 mosque schools, 137 community-run primary schools (54 for boys and 83 for girls), 111 were middle schools (68 for boys and 43 for girls), 39 high schools (27 for boys and 12 for girls) one higher secondary school for boys while three colleges (two for boys and one for girls) were also non-functional. Of the 9 closed institutions, five were primary level schools (four for boys and one for girls) while four

community schools (one for boys and three for girls) were also closed.

When considering its destitute communities and the state of governance, the NMDs present an appalling and dreadful image. Despite treasured tribal customs such as generosity and strong social bonds, tribal violent encounters, radical tendencies, and a proclivity for extreme crimes have become defining characteristics of the region. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan wreaked havoc on the region. Because of the easy availability of weapons, the crime rate increased, giving rise to a number of war lords in the adjacent areas of the Durand line. Women and children in the region suffered the most because they were the most disadvantaged segment of society. The war in Afghanistan's neighbouring country took its toll on them, resulting in a decrease in essential life-sustaining resources. Food, health, and education services became an expensive amenity for this marginalized segment of tribal society. Women, in particular, had few educational opportunities; there were only three-degree colleges in Khyber Agency for a population of two million people, and only one was for women. Access to information, resources, and services is required to raise awareness and create a healthy population. More importantly, it was unthinkable for women in former FATA to express themselves openly. Despite some rudimentary reforms for women's political rights, such as political participation in local councils (Mohmand, 2016). It only symbolically empowered women while effectively excluding them from participation in decision-making. The patriarchy system and the gaunt self-interest based social hierarchy are to blame for the former FATA's poor progress. It is worth noting that prior to the outbreak of the conflict, infrastructural facilities and development were decreasing rather than increasing.

Culturally, linguistically and ethnically, the people of FATA have strong affiliation with people of Afghanistan. Hence Taliban regime in Afghanistan had received strong moral support from the people of FATA. Thus, after the overthrown of Taliban regime in Afghanistan, Al-Qaeda and Taliban terrorist crossed Pak-Afghan border, they were warmly welcomed by various tribesmen living in seven agencies known as FATA. These terrorists were given all kind of support because people of FATA considered them as a holy soldier who w fighting against the USA. Secondly, most of them were those who fought in the Afghan war against USSR in Afghanistan. This is the reason that FATA tribes refused to hand over these terrorists to Pakistan and US forces. Thus, these terrorists and infiltrators continued attacking US & NATO forces and created problems for Islamabad administration.

The USA demanded and pressurized Islamabad for 'do more' to destroy the terrorist network and safe haven in FATA. Pakistan being an ally launched military operations and campaigns against Al-Qaeda and TTP terrorists in FATA, and faced strong resistance from the militants as well their local supporters. Initially, in the retaliation of the operation, violent activities increased and the level of extremism spread across the tribal areas. The country faced a heavy wave of suicide attacks which took a thousand lives of people and psychologically affected people. As a result of a heavy and unending fight between armed forces and terrorists, the local people were displaced to other areas and provinces.

It is observed and concluded that almost every operation ended with a peace agreement with local terrorist groups such as Shakai agreement with Nek Muhammad, Sararogha Peace agreement with Mehsud, Swat agreement with Sufi Muhammad. This clearly showed that the government and

armed forces were on the same page and they intended a peaceful resolution of the conflict in FATA. On the other hand, these militants had hidden intention behind peace deal   one of the secret plans was having sufficient time to re-organize themselves. Owing to lack of commitment, the militant exploited and violated the agreement and the actual motive of peace agreements could never be achieved.

3. Religious Ideology

In his counter-terrorism report, former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan stated that terrorism is an extensive mixture of problems caused by bad governance, unprincipled politicians, and militant leaders who take advantage of grievances, when there are no legitimate means of managing massive and systemic political, economic, and social injustices, and an environment is formed in which peaceful solutions are ruled out in favour of extreme and violent substitutes (Rahman et al., 2013). The concept of a grievance stems from conflicted identities, injustice, oppression, or socioeconomic exclusion, and it can make people vulnerable to extremist views (Brachman, 2009).

NMDs are distinguished by a very well-constructed tribal composition, each with its own ethnic and cultural legacy. The tribal people are friendly, generous, dedicated to their principles of honour and dignity, and, most importantly, are defined by their Muslim faith. Former FATA has always been an underdeveloped area, but despite a number of administrative, governance and political challenges, it has remained a peaceful and stable region, even during the Afghan war against the former Soviet Union, and during the severe fighting between various Afghan factions in the 1990s and until 2003-2004. However, due to overall governance flaws and the spillover effects of the Afghan war, the NMDs could not remain immune to the ideological implications.

A pro-American shift in Pakistan's foreign policy toward the war on terror provided militants with ideological support and a religious justification for starting a war against Pakistan. Following the 9/11 attacks, the United States put pressure on Pakistan's then-President, Pervaiz Musharraf, to change his Afghan policy, and Pakistan distanced itself from the Afghan Taliban. Pakistan has also begun to provide strategic and logistical support to NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) forces. Second, Pakistan asserted itself as the frontrunner in the fight against terrorism. Pakistan was designated as a non-NATO collaborator, and it began tracking terrorists within its borders, apprehending and handing over several Taliban and al-Qaeda leaders to the US (Gunaratna & Nielsen, 2008). These steps provided the necessary justification for launching a war against Pakistan. The militant mentors bought people's support by claiming that Pakistan is an enemy country and that war against Pakistan is a holy war because it is a US ally. The attacks on civilians were justified by citing Takfiri principles and beliefs (Gunaratna & Nielsen, 2008). The militancy was further fueled by claims that Pakistan's constitution, national laws, and democracy were un-Islamic and that Sharia law was mandatory in the country. They argued that armed struggle was the only way to establish Khilafa, implement Sharia, and establish an economic system based on Islamic principles in Pakistan (Gunaratna & Nielsen, 2008).

All of the aforementioned factors played a role in the initiation of the post-9/11 conflict in the former FATA region. As previously stated, the government used both kinetic and non-kinetic approaches to address the situation in the region. Even before the region's formal merger with the KP, post-conflict reconstruction began. Given the conflict's deep roots, the post-conflict

reconstruction process necessitates thorough analysis in order to understand its flaws and adjust any changes accordingly. FATA witnessed some real-time nation-building efforts in the late 1990s and early 2000s. The establishment of institutions that were provincially and federally linked was excellent, and they will undoubtedly contribute significantly to the welfare of tribal people.

Conflict Phase

Pakistan's first step toward securing the former FATA was the launch of military operations to extricate militancy, because maintaining peace is the most important demand of any nation-building practice. Pakistan's concerns about fighting terrorism were diverse. To begin with, Pakistan had to control terrorist organisations such as Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) and Tehrik Nifaz-e-Shariat-e Muhammadi (TNSM) as well as other offshoots of radical religious organisations. Finally, there were many foreign elements who exacerbated the rate of terrorism. All of these issues posed a threat to the peace of not only former FATA, but the entire country. To face the enormous challenge of militancy, the Pakistan army had to undergo numerous changes in its course of action, motivation, judgement, and strategy, because the Pakistan army had previously only experienced conventional warfare. To combat and control terrorism, the army launched five large-scale and some smaller-scale operations against terrorists in former FATA.

Post Conflict Phase

Operation Zarb-e-Azab is widely regarded as Pakistan's first successful counter-terrorism operation, paving the way for peace. The implications of counter-terrorism operations are critical in any post-conflict situation, and they go a long way. Any successful military operation requires a strong national consensus. The National Action Plan, which was supported by the government, opposition parties, and other stakeholders, resulted in Operation Zarb-e Azab. In the case of former FATA, the operation Zarb-e-Azab served two purposes. For starters, it paved the way for the advancement of the criminal justice and law enforcement systems. Second, it gave people in former FATA hope for long-awaited peace and development.

MERGER OF FATA - A STEP TOWARDS NATION BUILDING

In any nation-building practice, it is critical to consider the ground realities and formulate steps based on the factors of a specific region. The fundamental component is developing 'priority action.' The complexities of post-conflict situations have a tendency to make any situation appear significant. It places responsibility on those involved in nation-building to identify that priority action. Elections, developing a constitution, ending an armed conflict, controlling riots, dealing with a military coup, addressing ethnic rivalries, and so on are examples of such actions. The merger with KPK was the priority action in former FATA immediately following the military operation. The priority action has been merger, but it is only the first step toward nation building in former FATA. The merger brought with it a slew of economic, security, social, and legal issues that are still present in the region. However, prior to the merger, a few steps were taken to introduce reforms in FATA, which did not produce the desired results. The following were some of the reforms introduced after 2002.

Political Reforms

A) Establishment of FATA secretariat

The establishment of the FATA secretariat in 2002, which later became the civil secretariat (2006), was a significant decision because it facilitated the implementation of various development projects(A. K. Wazir, 2014). Because of the FATA secretariat, the complexity of carrying out government orders in FATA has been reduced. Prior to the implementation of the reform package, the governor of KPK (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) was in charge of maintaining state writ in FATA. His decisions were proposed by the KP's secretariat and implemented by provincial government line departments. Following the implementation of the reform policy, the governor of KP now serves as a liaison between the national government and the FATA Civil Secretariat(A. K. Wazir, 2014).

B) Establishment of Agency Council

The Agency Council was established in 2002 as the pinnacle of local representation. The agenda and mission of the council were both very inspiring. What was expected of the council, however, never materialized. The council's administration was in the hands of a political agent, who also nominated and elected the members. Again, this gave the political agent complete control over the council, and the council's term expired in 2007 with no announcement of its future activities(Javed, 2013).

C) Extension of Federal Ombudsman's Authority to FATA

It is critical in any post-conflict reconstruction to implement accountability measures and to put a stop to corruption. In 2013, the state of Pakistan extended the exarchate of the Federal Ombudsman to FATA. This paved the way for regional accountability, which was previously unimaginable in FATA. Residents of FATA now have the right to file a complaint with the Ombudsman against the FATA Secretariat and its subsidiary institutions (Javed, 2013).

D) Establishment of FATA Tribunal

The system of justice and prosecution did not adhere to modern judicial laws. In former FATA, crimes were not dealt with in court; the political agent had the legal authority to settle criminal and common cases. Jirga was the second entity involved in the case-handling process. Jirga was summoned by the mutual consent of opposing parties. The responsibility for chairing the Jirga and passing judgement was delegated to the political agent or his entrusted individual (Javed, 2013).

Prior to the establishment of the FATA court, the political agent's decision was final, and the wronged parties could not challenge it. As a result, the residents of FATA were denied the right to hold a protest against the choice in any legal assembly. The FATA court was established in 1997 after the FCR rules and regulations were revised (Javed, 2013). The PPP (Pakistan People's Party) government's changes in 2011 increased the court's freedom and perceivability (Hussain, 2014). The changes enacted in 1997 and 2011 prompted locals to question the dominance exercised by political agents in requests to officials in the surrounding area. Furthermore, the changes allowed locals to vote against official decisions in the FATA council. Prior to the 2011 reforms, the membership of the FATA tribunal was concentrated under the federal ministries of interior and law, according to Section 48 of the 1997 FCR law. It was decided in 2011 to remove the court from direct supervision of the central government (Rahman et al., 2013). The management order of the FATA tribunal comprised of: "A chairman, who had to be a civil servant at least in basic pay scale

(BPS) 21, having the experience of tribal administration, and two other members out of whom one should be qualified enough to be a high court judge and should be familiar with the local traditions and the other member should be a civil servant at least in BPS-20 (P.51)." The reforms also entitled the FATA court to re-evaluate its own verdicts, if petition is filed by anyone from the region.

E) Qaumi Jirga

The Qaumi Jirga was also included in the 2011 reform package, which states that a political agent or district co-ordination officer may take notice of any offence or civil dispute, but the recommendation of the Qaumi Jirga is also important. And this should unquestionably be in the interests of justice and public peace (Babakhel, 2018). It is important to note that the 2011 reforms do not reassign any of the political agent's legal powers to the Qaumi Jirga. Rather, it proposes that political agents refrain from making decisions in disputes on their own. Political agents must take into account the recommendations and opinions of Jirga members.

Steps After Merger

A) Political Representation

Political representation in any post-conflict reconstruction channels past grievances and instils a sense of inclusiveness in residents of conflict-torn societies. When societies are manifested with a centric power control system and ruling elites regard it as their ultimate right, the process of political representation becomes complex. Such circumstances make it difficult for inclusive culture to thrive. Previously, FATA faced the same challenge of establishing political stability. The merger has significantly altered FATA's overall political representation. The removal of FATA's special status has ended a long-standing political monopoly of political agents and tribal elders. FATA people now also have representation in the KP assembly, with 21 seats added in the assembly. However, representation in the National Assembly is causing unrest among the people of FATA. Each agency has been assigned three seats, and residents are demanding that seat distribution be based on census data (Ahmed, 2019).

B) Security Sector: Frontier Corp, Levies and Khasadars

While policing FATA, the roles of FC, Levies, and Khasadars were redefined. The institutional reforms of the police force include a centralized constabulary, counterterrorism force, border police, and community police service, as well as law enforcement response, conflict resolution apparatus, and strategies related to preventive measures, as well as prompt access to legal assistance and fair trial mechanisms (Babakhel, 2018). For example, it is planned that local police training will be provided for the next five years with the assistance of Frontier Corps. USAID is also involved, but its involvement is limited to the construction of a training center, the operations of which will be managed by Frontier Corp (Shah, 2012). Taking these considerations into account, the FATA Administration initially prepared a draught implementation plan for the creation of a levies force to be operational in FATA so that it can assume the responsibilities of an effective Law Enforcement Agency by 2021, following the withdrawal of armed forces from the region (Shah, Parveen, & Khalil, 2019). This plan outlines the time and cost of the Levies Force's reorganization, recruitment, training, and equipping. There were 17,965 Khasadars stationed throughout FATA.

The Khasadars would be designated as a dying cadre in the future plan to establish a modern law enforcement agency in the FATA(Shah et al., 2019).

C) Economic Reforms

The militancy exacerbated people's misery and further harmed the local economy. Human losses, mass displacements, and damage to public and private property, including schools, health clinics, markets, and shops, all dealt a serious blow to the FATA economy. There was no new investment from outside or even from FATA. However, as the security situation has improved as a result of a number of military operations, economic activity has also improved. In recent years, the Pakistani government has also taken steps to develop the FATA economy.

Marble City in Mohmand Agency, the reopening of closed industrial units in Bara, Khyber Agency, the opening of the Torkham-Kabul Highway, oil exploration in Waziristan agencies, and a variety of other measures will gradually improve the quality of life in FATA and boost its economy (Shah, Perveen, & Khalil, 2019). The Multi Donor Trust Fund (MDTF) venture, which seeks the financial renaissance of KPK and FATA, is another example of a government effort to boost the economy. It is a combined scheme for both KPK and FATA to provide sustainability to Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs), attract Diaspora investment, and strengthen institutional capacity to stimulate investment and implement regulatory reforms. This project is a response to the primary interventions outlined in the donor-funded report prepared by Post Crisis Needs Assessment (PCNA). The MDTF for KPK, FATA, and Baluchistan was established to support the recommendations made in the PCNA report, and the MTDF is overseen by the World Bank (2015). The project is divided in three components

Component 1: Small Medium Enterprise development.

Component 2: Mobilization of investment

Component 3: building competence to nurture investments and apply reforms.

Collective Interests

Fulfilling public demands is a necessary condition for state legitimacy. States that prioritize public rights maintain a broad and effective outreach to their populations(S. A. A. Shah et al., 2019). After years of indifference to FATA, it is clear that the central government has learned its lesson. The approach of state penetration can be easily traced in former FATA, where the government is implementing steps that are critical for people's well-being. In 2019, the KPK government released 4.4 billion for the reconstruction of damaged schools, healthcare centers, water facilities, and irrigation channels ("Released for reconstruction"). Cadet colleges have been established as a result of collaboration between the military and the civil government. The decision was sanctioned by Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gillani in 2010 and Cadet College Wana was established in 2011 (Wazir, 2018).

Along with civil bodies, the Pakistan Army has actively participated in the reconstruction of former FATA. The Pakistan army has played an important role in two important nation-building tenets: inclusiveness and shared interests. The Army is carrying out more development projects with each passing year. The army has undertaken a number of significant community-oriented development projects, such as road reconstruction and clean water supply and sewerage schemes. In addition,

army officials visited schools, colleges, and health care facilities to collect data from teachers, students, and doctors. This information was used to rebuild the destroyed infrastructure and to assign personnel based on regional needs. During the early days of post-conflict reconstruction, the army's medical unit provided free medical care not only to combatants but also to civilians (Sadaf, 2018). The Army also hosted a sports festival called the "FATA Peace Games" (Sadaf, 2018). This festival featured Badminton, Hockey, Table Tennis, Football, Athletics, Basketball, and Tug of War. The search for talent among FATA's young population has also been high on the nation-building agenda. Cricket trials for FATA youth were held at the Younis Khan Cricket Ground in Miran Shah to that end. It was a collaborative effort between the Pakistan Cricket Board (PCB) and the Pakistan Army for aspirant cricketers in North Waziristan Agency. More than 12000 young people were enrolled in the region's training centers. Major General Asif Ghafoor, the ISPR spokesperson, saw such actions as a sign of peace and normalcy (Sadaf, 2018).

Nature of Nation Building in Former FATA

Nation building in former FATA has paved the way for FATA to become a true part of Pakistan, effectively ending FATA's status as a no-land. man's The nature of nation building in former FATA cannot be defined solely by territorial reintegration, the repeal of Article 247, and the expansion of judicial control. These are the fundamental and necessary requirements of Pakistan's nation-building efforts. Nation building in former FATA is a broad strategy and set of actions aimed at all members of the FATA society. The nature of nation building in former FATA deviates from liberal peace theory. Certain features and assumptions characterize the Liberal peacebuilding framework. Most importantly, nation-building by external actors must be considered.

The United Nations, England, NATO, and the United States of America are the key actors involved in nation building around the world. They perfectly fit the nation-building model described under the banner of liberal peace. External bodies have built countries such as Bosnia and Somalia, Haiti, the Philippines, Germany, and Japan(Khalid & Roy, 2016). This pattern deviates from the conventional understanding in Pakistan. The indigenous bodies have done the nation building in former FATA. The Pakistani government was heavily involved in the nation-building planning and implementation. This understanding has two levels of discussion: Pakistan's military can be considered an external force because it lacks regional expertise and law enforcement agencies. This handling fits the definition of liberal peace, but as part of the state of Pakistan, the military is responsible for guarding and protecting the borders and fighting insurgency. That is precisely what occurred in FATA. As a result, it can be established that Pakistan has taken a novel approach in pursuing nation-building efforts because it was localized and primordial, uninfluenced by any foreign body or institution. Military personnel carried out the operations, and military personnel later devised peace-building strategies. In the midst of the militancy, Pakistan's institutions remained functional and intact. There was only one region that required peacekeeping. Pakistan's state was able to withstand the challenges. That could be interpreted as a plausible reason for any international body's failure to intervene. Nation-building efforts range from constructing schools, hospitals, and roads to establishing the rule of law and encouraging women to vote in elections. The nation-building process in FATA had to start from scratch. The primary demand was for political liquidity in order to cover other aspects of reconstruction. The most significant step taken by the Pakistani government in the FATA reform package was the redesign of the local government system

in accordance with Article 140 of the 1973 constitution (Rahman et al., 2013). The benefits of the local administration system will be realized in the coming years, as it ensured political participation of deprived sections of tribal areas and ended the dictatorship of tribal elites. Empowering local governments will not only speed up the implementation of development funds, but it will also keep the federal government informed about the region's real concerns. In addition, the federal government will be in a better position to make decisions related to the region's prosperity. The reason for the FATA merger being stated as Nation Building is based on Pakistan's efforts to reconnect and reintegrate the Pakistani identity in people of Former FATA by realizing their collective interests and providing them with their essential rights.

CONCLUSION

Normalcy takes time in post-conflict situations, but in former FATA, normalcy was achieved and nation building produced some effective results. Women's suffrage was a significant turning point in this regard. The union of FATA and the state, as well as the management of the writ of government, has been a watershed moment in history. The military intervention, known as Operation Zarb-e-Azb, was a success. Reforms were only possible in FATA after it became affiliated with the KPK because there was a strong, functional body in place to administer and control nation-building initiatives. Collaboration and cooperation have been the hallmarks of nation building, and former FATA is a model of effective cooperation and working for the betterment of people, with military and civil administrations working together.

Former FATA's nation-building practices are unique and distinct because they were carried out without foreign intervention. The Army, Frontier Works Organization, and the KPK government all took an active role in the reconstruction process, resulting in an indigenous multilateral approach. Although much progress has been made in FATA, there is still room for improvement. Pakistan's government should develop plans and policies to maximize the use of local resources in order to empower the population. Former FATA has a thriving agrarian and mineral economy. Young people should be given mining licenses and training, as well as loans to work in the livestock, dairy, and farming industries. Such practices will help alleviate poverty in the region and reduce the likelihood of exploitation for future anti-state activities. Women are an essential part of any society, and they are equally important in nation-building efforts. Pakistan must establish special scholarships for women from former FATA in local universities, as well as introduce and encourage them to apply to international universities. In women's colleges and schools, a special counsellor position can be created to guide women based on their aptitude and skills.

References:

Ahmed, N. (2019, 27 May) *Official statement of the Secretary of the Economic Affairs Division of Pakistan Board of Investment, Government of Pakistan*.

Babakhel, M. A. (2018, June 24). The 31st Amendment. *Dawn.*

Brachman, J. (2009). *Global Jihadism: Theory and Practice*. London and NewYork: Routledge.

Elkins, Z., Peter F. Nardulli. (2008). *Is Democracy Contagious. International Perspective on Contemporary Democracy*. United States of America: University of Illinois.

Group, C. (2015). Revisiting Counter Terrorism Strategies in Pakistan: Opportunities and Pitfalls.

Gunaratna, R., & Nielsen, A. (2008). Al Qaeda in the Tribal Areas of Pakistan and beyond. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism, 31*(9), 775-807.

Hussain, W. (2014, February 20). FATA and the FCR. *The Express Tribune*.

Javed, U. (2013). *Pakistan Fights Extremism and Terrorism*. Lahore: Vanguard Books.

Kerr, B. R., & Smith, K. A. (2011). How Agents of Economic Development Interact with the Complex Dynamics of Regional Governance in Fata: A Case Study of Energy Development Projects. *The Dynamics Of Change in Conflict Societies: Pakhtun Region in Perspective*, 52.

Khalid, I., & Roy, M. I. (2016). Pakistan's military operations: the counter terrorism strategy (2001-2013) prospects and implications. *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan, 53*(2).

Khokhar, I., Kamran, S., Abbasi, M. A., & Jafar, G. (2014). *Evolving Dynamics of FATA: Reflections on Transformations*: National Defence University.

Mohmand, M. (2016, 8 November). Education Census 2015-16: 1,036 FATA Schools Non-Functional. *The Express Tribune.*

Nazeer, M. A. (2013). *Peace and Conflict Resolution in FATA: Some Reflections* University of Peshawar.

Rahman, K., Mohmand, S. N., & Wazir, A. (2013). Conflict in FATA and Governance. *Policy Perspectives*, 49-70.

Richmond, O. P. (2006). The problem of peace: understanding the 'liberal peace'. *Conflict, security & development, 6*(3), 291-314.

Sadaf, M. (2018, March 17). Role of Pakistan Army in FATA. *Kashmir Watch.*

Sajjad, U. (2012). Political Development in Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA): A Step to Minimizing Extremism and Radicalization. In: TIGAH.

Shah, S. A. A., Parveen, S., & Khalil, J. (2019). Governance challenges in mainstreaming of Federally Administered Tribal Areas into Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. *FWU Journal of Social Sciences, 13*(1), 131-145.

Shah, S. W. A. (2012). Political reforms in the federally administered tribal areas of Pakistan (FATA): Will it end the current militancy? *Heidelberg Papers in South Asian and Comparative Politics*(64).

Ullah, A. (2015). Governance reforms in federally administered tribal areas (fata) of Pakistan: The past and present. *Journal of Political Studies, 22*(1), 215.

Ullah, A., & Hayat, S. U. (2017). The Recent Electoral Reforms in Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA): An Appraisal. *Journal of Political Studies, 24*(2).

Wazir, A. K. (2014). FATA reforms: journey so far and the way forward. *Conflict and Peace Studies, 6*(1), 45-60.

Wazir, H. K. (2018, May). Army's Education Campaign in FATA Harbinger of Change. *Pakistan Today*.

Wazir, M. M. K. (2007). *Fata under fcr (frontier crimes regulations): An imperial black law*.

Date of Publication	June 25, 2021