

**FACTORS OF TERRORISM  
IN KHYBER PAKHTUNKHWA: A CRITICAL  
ANALYSIS OF NATIONAL POLICIES  
FROM ZIA TO MUSHARRAF**



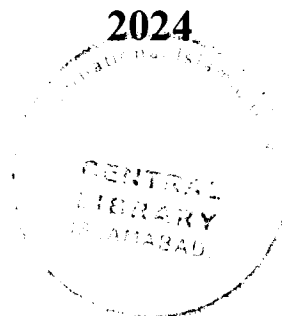
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Submitted by

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) in the Discipline of Pakistan Studies at the Faculty of Social Sciences, International Islamic University, Islamabad.

**DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY & PAKISTAN STUDIES  
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
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ISLAMABAD**

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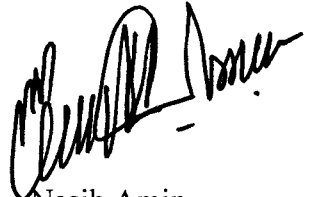
*In the name of Allah,  
the Most Beneficent,  
the Most Merciful*

## **DEDICATION**

This humble effort is dedicated for my lovely and great parents who encouraged me, prayed for my success, kept me always in mental calmness and supported me morally, spiritually, financially for completing this target.

## DECLARATION

This dissertation entitled, “Factors of Terrorism in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa: A Critical Analysis of National Policies from Zia to Musharraf”, my own research work. I have not submitted or published this work anywhere. I shall not submit it obtaining any degree from any other university or institution in future. Moreover, this research work has not been copied or plagiarized in any way by me. This is my own strive for exploring the facts.



Nasib Amin

## **FORWARDING SHEET**

It is hereby certified that the dissertation entitled '**Factors of Terrorism in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa: A Critical Analysis of National Policies from Zia to Musharraf**' is based on original work carried out by Mr. Nasib Amin and that has not been previously presented for the higher degree. Mr. Amin has done his work under my direct supervision. He has fulfilled all the requirements and is qualified to submit the accompanying dissertation according to the prescribed format for the degree of Doctorate in Philosophy (Ph.D.) in Pakistan Studies.



**Mujeeb Ahmad, PhD**  
**Supervisor**

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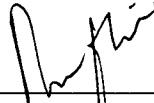
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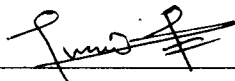
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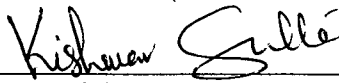
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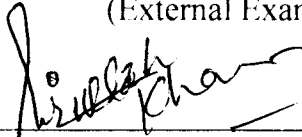
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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<i>ABSTRACT</i> .....	<i>xiv</i>
<i>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</i> .....	<i>xv</i>
<i>LIST TABLES</i> .....	<i>xvi</i>
<i>LIST OF FIGURES</i> .....	<i>xx</i>
<i>LIST OF ANNEXURES</i> .....	<i>xxi</i>
<i>LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS</i> .....	<i>xxii</i>
<i>GLOSSARY</i> .....	<i>xxiv</i>
<i>INTRODUCTION</i> .....	<i>1</i>
1. <b>Historical Background of the Selected Area</b> .....	<b>1</b>
2. <b>The Selected Area and Terrorism</b> .....	<b>5</b>
3. <b>Description of terrorism</b> .....	<b>9</b>
4. <b>Terrorism, Radicalism and Extremism in Religion:</b> .....	<b>9</b>
5. <b>Significance and Scope of the study</b> .....	<b>10</b>
6. <b>Statement of the problem</b> .....	<b>11</b>
7. <b>Research Questions</b> .....	<b>12</b>
8. <b>Objectives of Research/Study</b> .....	<b>13</b>
9. <b>Organization of Research</b> .....	<b>13</b>
10. <b>Law of section 6 and terrorism</b> .....	<b>13</b>
First category.....	13
Second category .....	14
Third category .....	14
Introduction .....	15
Chapter 1 Literature Review .....	15
Chapter 2 Theoretical Framework.....	16
Chapter 3: Research Methodology .....	16
Chapter 4: Result and Discussion.....	16
Section 1: Ther Emergence of Terrorism in KP.....	16
Section 2: Responsibilities of the Government in a State .....	17
Section 3: National Policies and Public Response .....	17
Section 4: Political and Social Behaviors.....	17
Section 5: <i>Pashtun</i> Society and Culture .....	17
Section 6: Zia to Musharraf Policies and Factors of Terrorism in KP .....	18
11. <b>Conclusion and Recommendations</b> .....	<b>18</b>
<i>CHAPTER-1</i> .....	<i>19</i>
<i>REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE</i> .....	<i>19</i>

<b>CHAPTER-2.....</b>	<b>34</b>
<b>THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....</b>	<b>34</b>
<b>2.1. Introduction: .....</b>	<b>34</b>
<b>2.2. Terrorist activities.....</b>	<b>37</b>
<b>2.3. The social conflict paradigm .....</b>	<b>37</b>
<b>CHAPTER-3.....</b>	<b>41</b>
<b>RESEARCH METHDOLOGY.....</b>	<b>41</b>
<b>3.1. Introduction.....</b>	<b>41</b>
<b>3.2. Research Design .....</b>	<b>43</b>
<b>3.3. Population and Sampling Procedure .....</b>	<b>44</b>
<b>3.4. Research Tools .....</b>	<b>44</b>
<b>3.5. Variables of the Study .....</b>	<b>45</b>
<b>CHAPTER-4.....</b>	<b>47</b>
<b>RESULTS AND DISCUSSION .....</b>	<b>47</b>
<b>4.1. The Emergence of Terrorism in KP (Section One).....</b>	<b>47</b>
4.1.1 Introduction .....	47
4.1.2. Background of terrorism in KP .....	48
4.1.3. Pakistan and Terrorism.....	50
4.1.4. Terrorism and its Impacts on Islam .....	53
4.1.5. <i>Pashtun</i> and Terrorism .....	54
4.1.6. Terrorism and its Impacts on KP.....	56
4.1.7. Tabulation of demographic data of the survey respondents .....	57
<b>4.1.8. Tabulation and analysis of data.....</b>	<b>60</b>
4.1.9. Summary .....	69
<b>4.2. Responsibilities of the Government in a State (Section Two) .....</b>	<b>72</b>
4.2.1. Introduction .....	72
4.2.2. The State.....	73
4.2.3. The Nation State.....	75
4.2.4. The State of Pakistan.....	77
4.2.5. The Responsibilities of Government.....	79
4.2.6. Responsibilities of Public.....	80
4.2.8. Summery .....	90
<b>4.3. National Policies and Public Response (Section Three) .....</b>	<b>94</b>
4.3.1. Introduction .....	94
4.3.2. National Policies: .....	94
4.3.3. Public Response .....	96
4.3.4. Democratic Government and National Policy.....	97

4.3.5. Military Government and National Policy .....	97
4.3.6. National Policy and Internal Pressure .....	101
4.3.7. National Policy and External Pressure .....	102
4.3.8. National Policies and <i>Pashtun</i> .....	103
4.3.9. Counter-Terrorism Policies in Pakistan and KP.....	105
4.3.10. International laws .....	106
4.3.11. Laws International counter-terrorism:.....	107
4.3.12. International counter-terrorism agencies.....	109
4.3.13. Constitution.....	110
4.3.14. Federal laws .....	112
4.3.15. Counter-Terrorism in Pakistan .....	113
4.3.16. <i>Pashtun</i> Response .....	114
4.3.17. <i>Pashtun</i> psyche and need to adopt accordingly in policies.....	115
4.3.18. Tabulation and Analysis of Data.....	117
4.3.19. Summery .....	126
<b>4.4. Political and Social Behaviors (Section Four) .....</b>	<b>130</b>
5.4.1 Introduction.....	130
4.4.2. Social Behaviors.....	130
4.4.3. Political Behaviors .....	132
4.4.4. Role of Social Behaviors in KP.....	135
5.4.5. Social Structure of <i>Pashtun</i> .....	137
4.4.6. Political History of KP .....	139
4.4.7. Tabulation and Analysis of Data.....	143
4.4.8. Summery .....	150
<b>4.5. <i>Pashtun</i> Society and Culture (Section Five) .....</b>	<b>154</b>
4.5.1. Introduction .....	154
4.5.2. <i>Pashtun</i> Society.....	154
4.5.3. <i>Pashtun</i> Culture.....	156
4.5.4. <i>Pashtun</i> Religion.....	160
4.5.5. Social Values.....	161
4.5.6. Internal Differences in <i>Pashtun</i> 's Society and Culture .....	162
4.5.7. Tabulation and Analysis of Data.....	163
4.5.8. Summery .....	170
<b>5.6. Zia to Musharraf Policies and Factors of Terrorism in KP (Section Six)173</b>	
5.6.1. Introduction.....	173
5.6.4. Tabulation and analysis of Interviews contents .....	173
5.6.5. Summary .....	191
<b>4.7. Justification of Research's Questions.....</b>	<b>192</b>
<b>4.8. Justification of variables: .....</b>	<b>211</b>

4.8.1. Dependent Variable: Factors of Terrorism in KP .....	211
4.8.2. Independent Variables: National Policies of Zia to Musharraf Regimes .....	211
4.8.3. Relationship between Variables: .....	212
<b>4.9. CONCLUSION .....</b>	<b>213</b>
<b>4.10. Recommendations .....</b>	<b>219</b>
<b><i>SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY</i>.....</b>	<b>221</b>
<b>Secondary Sources .....</b>	<b>221</b>
<b>Books: .....</b>	<b>221</b>
<b>Journals/Articles: .....</b>	<b>225</b>
<b>Dissertations/Thesis: .....</b>	<b>226</b>
<b>Web Sites: .....</b>	<b>227</b>
<b>Magazine Articles.....</b>	<b>228</b>
<b>Conferences: .....</b>	<b>228</b>
<b>Newspaper Articles: .....</b>	<b>228</b>
<b><i>ANNEXURES</i> .....</b>	<b>229</b>

## ABSTRACT

*Terrorism has affected many countries all over the world, especially Afghanistan and Pakistan. As Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) is adjacent to Afghanistan, it is the most affected province in Pakistan. This study mainly focuses on various factors of terrorism in KP. It attempts to investigate these factors throughout the analysis of national policies and other sensible strategies adopted from Zia-ul-Haq to Pervez Musharraf regimes.*

*The invasion of Soviet over Afghanistan caused the displacement of Afghan citizens. Zia used Islamic Jihadist groups against the Soviet in the Afghan War. Afghan refugees mainly migrated to KP, causing social, economic, religious, and criminal problems. During the Taliban Government in Afghanistan, the 9/11 incident occurred, and the United States (US) made a targeted operation against their government. Consequently, the Taliban lost control over Afghanistan and spread to adjacent areas, including KP and the Ex-Federal Administrated Tribal Area (Ex-FATA). They tried to implement their policies forcefully, and eventually terrorism started in Pakistan, especially in KP and Ex-FATA.*

*Both quantitative and qualitative approaches were used for the study. Data was collected through questionnaires and in-depth interviews. Respondents in the survey included people from different fields, as well as common people who were affected directly or indirectly by terrorism. The respondents in the interviews were 24 experienced politicians. This research investigates the factors contributing to terrorism in KP, focusing on the influence of national policies.*

*Through mixed-method content analysis of data, it was identified that political instability, economic deprivation, social marginalization, religious extremism, Afghan refugees and radicalism are significant factors. This study also examines the impact of national policies during the Zia, Musharraf, PPP and PML (N) regimes, highlighting their unreliable and often counterproductive approaches. It was concluded that, inter alia, the Pashtuns' preference for their centuries-old traditions of affection with weapons, rapid transformation, disappointment, ethnicity, regionalism, racism and interest in Jihad were the main factors. Terrorism and political instability have affected national policies. The gap covered by this study is the non-matching national policies with the socio-psychological life of the people living in KP.*

*The findings suggest that, due to its unique geographical location, historical and cultural ties with Afghanistan, and ineffective governance in KP, comprehensive and inclusive counter-terrorism strategies are necessary to address the root causes of terrorism and promote peace and harmony in the region. National policies need improvement to bring affected people into the mainstream and normalize society. Drawbacks in national policies should be changed into effective points that can provide a smooth base for socializing the public in backward areas of KP.*

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Nasib Amin

## LIST TABLES

<b>Table No. Headings</b>	<b>Page No</b>
Table 4.1. Total selected respondents for survey according to gender .....	57
Table 4.2. Showing ages of the respondents included in survey .....	57
Table 4.3 Respondent’s Educational status and level .....	58
Table 4.4. Professional fields of the respondents included in survey .....	59
Table 4.5. The effects of terrorism on peace in KP .....	60
Table 4.6. Involvement of people in terrorism .....	61
Table 4.7. Differentiation in Islamic <i>Jihad</i> and terrorism?.....	61
Table 4.8. Causes of terrorism in KP? .....	62
Table 4.9. Opposition of terrorism.....	63
Table 4.10. Opinion about the emerged of terrorism in KP.....	63
Table 4.11. Afghan refugees affected peace .....	64
Table 4.12. Effects of terrorism on traditional <i>Jirga</i> system .....	65
Table 4.13. Invasion of Soviet Union in Afghanistan is a cause of terrorism .....	65
Table 4.14. Poverty is the main cause of terrorism.....	66
Table 4.15. Terrorism is still prevailing in KP?.....	66
Table 4.16. The “major class” being involved in terrorism? .....	67
Table 4.17. Some people of KP are still involved in terrorist activities .....	68
Table 4.18. Generally poor people are engaged in terrorism.....	68
Table 4.19. Fundamental religious mind and unemployed youth is the main source of terrorism in KP” .....	69
Table 4.20. Government participant in development of KP .....	82
Table 4.21. Giving safety to those who help the government in counter-terrorism ....	82
Table 4.22. Life is uncomfortable due to terrorism .....	83
Table 4.23. Low ratio of education is one of the causes of terrorism .....	83
Table 4.24. Terrorist activities and law and human rights.....	85
Table 5.25. Anti-terrorism operations, law and human rights? .....	85
Table 4.26. Modern communication and media and promotion of terrorism in KP ....	86
Table 4.27. Satisfaction of the basic needs which provided by the state .....	86

Table 4.28. As citizens accepting of responsibilities .....	87
Table 4.29. State responsible for reducing ethnicity .....	87
Table 4.30. Degradation of terrorism Zia to Musharraf and their policies .....	88
Table 4.31. Zia cooperation with America in Russia-Afghan War and terrorism .....	88
Table 4.32. 9/11 incident and terrorist in KP .....	89
Table 4.33. Position to control terrorism and non-state valiance actors .....	89
Table 4.34. Implementing of public policies with full control .....	90
Table 4.35. Terrorism affected national policies of Pakistan .....	117
Table 4.36. Do you agree that there should be a strict policy against terrorists? .....	117
Table 4.37. Terrorism is and international conspiracy .....	117
Table 4.38. Favor of army operation against terrorist .....	118
Table 4.39. What are the effects of counter-terrorism policy on terrorism?.....	119
Table 4.40. Financial sources of terrorist.....	120
Table 4.41. Differences in psyche of <i>Pashtuns</i> .....	121
Table 4.42. Do you wish that there should be different policies to reduce terrorism? .....	121
Table 4.43. Satisfaction of anti-terrorism courts .....	122
Table 4.44. Deficiencies in policies of counter-terrorism.....	122
Table 4.45. Government policies and psyche of <i>Pashtuns</i> .....	123
Table 4.46. Some authorities may reduce terrorism in KP .....	123
Table 4.47. National policies, representation social value and norms .....	124
Table 4.48. Solution of Kashmir issue.....	125
Table 4.49. India and Pakistan friendly relation .....	126
Table 4.50. Politicians in Pakistan and terrorism issue solution by peaceful way ....	126
Table 4.51. Real massage of Islam and religious scholars .....	143
Table 4.52. Terrorism affects the meaning and concept of <i>Jihad</i> .....	143
Table 4.53. The people of KP seeking peace.....	144
Table 4.54. Do you agree that non-Muslims are supporting terrorist? .....	144
Table 4.55. Politicians in Pakistan are on one page on this sensitive issue .....	145
Table 4.56. Sufficient knowledge about this sensitive issues .....	145

Table 4.57. People of KP are able to keep an eye on their selected representatives .	146
Table 4.58. Political parties in Pakistan and adopting the intraparty democracy .....	146
Table 4.59. People in KP able to select their suitable representatives.....	147
Table 4.60. Social classification produce imbalance .....	148
Table 4.61. Government and development of affected people by terrorism .....	148
Table 4.62. Loose control over non-state violence actors (VNSAs) and terrorism...	149
Table 4.63. Depressed people of the society commonly joining terrorist groups.....	149
Table 4.64. Innocent affected by operations are going part of terrorism.....	149
Table 4.65. Politician illegally blamed opponents to having links with terrorist .....	150
Table 4.66. <i>Jirga</i> role in <i>Pashtun</i> society .....	159
Table 4.67. People are still using the weapon as a traditional armament in KP .....	163
Table 4.68. The people taking self-initiatives to revenge their enemies .....	164
Table 4.69. Religious ethnicity is a cause of terrorism.....	164
Table 4.70. Regionalism and racism are the main cause of terrorism .....	165
Table 4.71. Religious hostility is also a main cause of terrorism .....	165
Table 4.72. The people of KP are more interested in religious war ( <i>Jihad</i> ).....	165
Table 4.73. Terrorist's videos clips are being watching by the People of KP .....	166
Table 4.74. Media present the positive aspect of the cultural Values.....	167
Table 4.75. Military operations in KP affected the social norms of <i>Pashtuns</i> .....	167
Table 4.76. The people of KP are more interested in religious education.....	167
Table 4.77. <i>Pashtuns</i> practices <i>Tarborwali</i> (antagonism in Brotherhood).....	168
Table 4.78. <i>Pashtun</i> follow Islam in all field of life .....	169
Table 4.79. <i>Pashtuns</i> keep care of their social values .....	169
Table 4.80. <i>Pashtuns</i> have plenty of children and they are careless about them.....	170
Table 4.81. The people of KP are peaceful.....	170
Table 4.82. Factors of Terrorism in KP .....	173
Table 4.84. The differences of National Policies between Zia and Musharraf.....	177
Table 4.86. The influential compression between Benazir and Nawaz policies about terrorism.....	180

Table 4.87. Compression among KP and other parts of the country about the factors of terrorism.....	182
Table 4.88. The succession and failure of National Action Plan.....	184
Table 4.89. Factors that link to <i>Pashtun</i> and influenced by national policies, leading to the increase of terrorism in KP .....	187
Table 4.90. Forceful Policies and Effectively Reduction of Terrorism in KP .....	189
Table 4.91. Suggestions for Counter Terrorism.....	190
Table 4.92. Factors of Terrorism in KP .....	194
Table 4.95. Differences of National Policies between Zia and Musharraf.....	200
Table 4.96. The influential compression between Benazir (PPP) and Nawaz (PMLN) policies about terrorism.....	203
Table 4.97. Compression among KP and other parts of the country about the factors of terrorism.....	205

## LIST OF FIGURES

<b>Figure No. Headings</b>	<b>Page No</b>
Figure 2. 1 Created by researcher which shows the effects of conflict .....	35
4.1. Figure shows the concept and element of the State developed by the Researcher .....	74
Figure 4.2. Represents Factor of terrorism in KP .....	197
Figure 4.3. Shows the Zia; and Musharraf’s National Policies and it Influence on Terrorism.....	199
Figure 4.4. Shows the differences of National Policies between Zia and Musharraf	200
Figure 4.5. Shows the differences of National Policies between Zia and Musharraf	202
Figure 4.6. Shows The influential compression between Benazir (PPP) and Nawaz (PMLN) policies about terrorism.....	205
Figure 4.7. Shows Compression among KP and other parts of the country about the factors of terrorism in theme “Due to Religious and <i>Jihadi</i> Mindset” .....	208
Figure 4.8. Shows Compression among KP and other parts of the country about the factors of terrorism in theme “Due to <i>Pashtuns</i> Culture” .....	208
Figure 4.9. Shows Compression among KP and other parts of the country about the factors of terrorism in theme “Theme Due to Geographical location/Near to Afghan Boarder” .....	209
Figure 4.10. Shows Compression among KP and other parts of the country about the factors of terrorism in theme “Theme Due to Military Operation in KP” .....	209

## LIST OF ANNEXURES

<b>Heading</b>	<b>Page No</b>
Annexure 1: Correspondence Letter for survey .....	229
Annexure 2: Correspondence letter to politicians for the appointment of interview.	230
Annexure 3: Questionnaire for Demographic information .....	231
Annexure 4: Questionnaire “Emergence of Terrorism in KP” .....	232
Annexure 5: Questionnaire “Responsibilities of a State” .....	235
Annexure 6: Questionnaire “National Policies and Public Response” .....	237
Annexure 7: Questionnaire “Political and Social Behaviors” .....	240
Annexure 8: Questionnaire “Pashtun Society and Culture” .....	242
Annexure 9: Questionnaire “Interview in-depth” .....	244
Annexure 10: Interview guide for the pre-study .....	245
Annexure 11: Interview guide .....	246

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ATA	Anti-terrorism Act
ATCs	Anti-terrorism courts
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
EU	European Union
Ex-FATA	Ex- Federally Administered Tribal Areas
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
FRP	Frontier Reserve Police
IDPs	Internal Displaced Peoples
IJT	Islami Jamiat Talba
IMAFT	Islamic Military Alliance to Fight Terrorism
IMCTC	Islamic Military Counter Terrorism Coalition
ISAF	International Security Assistance Force
JUI	Jamiat-i-Ulama-i-Islam
JUP	Jamiat-i-Ulama-I-Pakistan
KGB	<i>Komitet Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti</i>
KHAD	Khadamat-e Aetlaat-e Dawlati
KP	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
MMA	Mutahiddah Majlis-e-Amal
MQM	Mahajar Quami Movement
NACTA	National Counter-Terrorism Act
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NISP	National Internal Security Policy
NWFP	North-West Frontier Province
OIC	Organization of Islamic Cooperation

Pak-Afghan	Afghanistan and Pakistan
PMLN	Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz
PPP	Pakistan People's Party
PSP	Police Service of Pakistan
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
TNSM	Teḥrik-i-Nifaz-i-Shariat-i-Muhammadi
TTP	Teḥrik-i-Taliban Pakistan
UN	United Nation
USA	United States of America

## GLOSSARY

<i>Amir</i>	The chief the Muslim
<i>Beradri</i>	Brotherhood
<i>Hazaras</i>	An ethnic group
<i>Hujra</i>	Male guest house
<i>Intiha Pasandi</i>	The Urdu word mean the likeness of extremism
<i>Jirga</i>	the council of elders
<i>Khalifa</i>	the chief of Islamic State in the initial stage of Islam
<i>Khel</i>	Sub-section
<i>Khilafat</i>	the government of Islamic State in the initial stage of Islam
<i>Khudai Khidmatgar</i>	Servants of God (a movement)
<i>Lal Masjid</i>	A mosque in Islamabad
<i>Lashkar-e Jhangvi</i>	A Islamic Jihadis Organization
<i>Majlis-e-Shura</i>	The Council of scholars
<i>Mujahedeen</i>	The warrior who fought in <i>Jihad</i>
<i>Mullah</i>	Religious scholar in Islam
<i>Pashtun</i>	<i>Pashtun</i> know as also Pakhtun, is an ethnic group speaking Pashto live in Afghanistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Baluchistan of Pakistan
<i>Quran-wa-Sunna</i>	The holy book of Muslim and the Character of their Prophet
<i>Saritob</i>	Manhood
<i>Sheria</i>	The Laws of Islamic jurisdiction

<i>Tarboor</i>	Brother in Law
<i>Tarboorwali</i>	Could war between brothers in law
<i>Topak</i>	Gun
<i>Ulama</i>	Religious scholars
<i>Zaway</i>	Suffix
<i>Zakat</i>	A specific share in the income of a Muslim for poor

# INTRODUCTION

## 1. Historical Background of the Selected Area

The Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa (KP) previously known as North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) has a strategic and geographic importance and thus played an important role in the history of Indo-Pak sub-continent. In 1849 the British removed the autonomy of Punjab has been officially added to their government. The Ex-Federal Administrated Areas (Ex-FATA) which was merged with KP in 2018, its legal political isolation and socio-economic exclusion have continued for over a century from the time of the British Empire even to the governments of Pakistan. In May 2018, government of Pakistan took the necessary measures to end the special status of FATA.<sup>1</sup>

The KP was the most sensitive and strategic area, which was defined topographically as strategic zone for the defense of the British Empire, which leads to complex defensive challenges throughout the British rule in India. The area was integral part of the Great Game<sup>2</sup> played by the British to counter internal revolution and external threats to India coming from the direction of North West Frontier of India. The British for their administrative suitability divided the Frontier region into settled and Tribal Areas. The aim was to keep complete control in the hands of the central government. They wanted that international as well as domestic issues can be handled quickly and directly, because the ultimate aim of the British whole frontier policy was the “security of India”. In 1901, the British Government in India under Lord Curzon, the then Viceroy decided to divide Punjab into two parts and as result a new province was formed which came to

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<sup>1</sup> Zeb, Khan, and Zahid Shahab Ahmed. *Structural violence and terrorism in the federally administered tribal areas of Pakistan.* *Civil Wars* 21.1 (2019), p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> The Great Game was a rivalry during 19<sup>th</sup> century between the British and Russian Empires over in central Asia, primarily in Afghanistan, Persia and Tibet.

be known as the “North West Frontier Province” later on its name was changed to “Khyber Pakhtunkhwa” in 2010 on the demand of the residents of the province. This part of the Sub-continent from the earliest has been invaded many times. Therefore, these people from the very beginning, have showed aggressiveness, especially for the people who were in their opinion came to dominate them. It is said that the Aryans were the first who invaded this place around 4000 years ago. Later on, the Persians came around in 500 BC.<sup>3</sup>

After that many arrived here including Greeks, Mauryans, Huns and the Guptas etc. and then came the Muslims. Subuktigin was the first Muslim ruler who attacked Kabul and drove the natives in the present KP. With the collaboration of Muslim invaders and the local Muslim *Pashtuns*, Islam started to dominate the region as a big religious group. The same *Pashtuns* then helped the famous invader of Indian history, Mahmud of Ghazna in his attacks on India. The region was under Muslim control until Ranjeet Singh, the then ruler of the Punjab took advantage of inter-regional clashes of the *Pashtuns* tribes and attacked and captured the area in 1818.

In 1849 after the defeat and capture of Punjab by the English troops the frontier region came under control of the British Empire. A point to be noted here, that it was the last region in the Sub-continent that was annexed by the East India Company. In this regard the formal inauguration was held on Apr 26, 1902 and the new province was placed under charge of the Chief Commissioner who was directly responsible to the government of India. Lord Curzon hoped that this area under the direct rule of the government would be beneficial both for the government and for the people of the new

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3. Fair, C. Christine, *Fighting to the end: The Pakistan army's way of war* (Oxford University Press, New York, USA, 2014), pp. 105-112.

province. The government, however, did its best to keep the public of KP away from politics. Because of the aggressive attitude of the people, this place was termed as “powder magazine”. That’s why the political activities were discouraged from the very start. Initially there was a branch of the Indian National Congress in Peshawar but within three to four days of its establishment it was banned by the government. The government reforms of 1909 and 1919 were not implemented in the NWFP because of the uncertain and unsettled conditions of the province.

KP after its annexation to the British Empire was held under control with the help of special ordinances because the native *Pashtuns* kept on resisting. But when political awareness spread the people of the province started demanding for the same constitutional reforms enjoyed by the other citizens of India. This unjust treatment affected the political minded people of the province and they started demanding equal citizenship rights like the people of all other provinces of India. Hindus and other non-Muslims of KP were also wanting lack of reforms for the province. They believed that if these reforms are introduced, they will be over shadowed by the 93% of Muslim majority. That’s why they preferred the strong authority of the then executives. In this context they tried to reattach the previously attached districts of NWFP with the province of Punjab but they were not successful.<sup>4</sup>

However, in order to resolve these issues in 1922 the government made a committee to look for the reform’s controversy issue and of re-amalgamation of the districts with the Punjab province. The committee suggested the establishment of a legislative council for the province and the government in 1925 officially rejected the demand for the re-

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<sup>4</sup> Lal Baha, *The Administration of the North-West Frontier Province, 1901-1919* (University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies, United Kingdom, 1968), pp. 412-415.

amalgamation of NWFP districts with the province of Punjab, and not introduced the reforms. So, the demand for the reforms continued in which All India Muslim League had its due share. In 1926, Muslim League council and Swarajya party presented a resolution in the assembly demanding equal reform rights for the citizens of KP. Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum Khan, a renowned *Pashtuns* politician also demanded the same and said if the whole of India was experiencing modern constitutional reforms why not NWFP which was also a part of India. All India National Congress also supported this cause. But the majority of the Hindus of NWFP came out in the streets and openly criticized the resolution. Still with all the opposition the resolution was passed. On Nov 17, 1928 the Simon Commission Committee for the examination and working of the constitutional reforms of 1919, came to Peshawar where on 19th November a group of loyalist *khans* headed by K.B. Ghaffoor Khan met the commission and put forward their demand of reforms in their province as well. The Simon Commission in its report suggested a council with equal number of nominated and elected members for NWFP. In this council a special arrangement was made for the opposing non-Muslims minority. These recommendations were criticized by the Muslims.

In December 1929 at a session of Congress, held at Lahore, the *Khudai Khidmatgar* or Red Shirts representatives attended it. The aim was to get attention of the ruling elite towards NWFP. Congress promised to send a commission to the government demanding rights of reforms for the province of North-West. The Congress in 1930 started its Civil Disobedience Movement and demanded full independence of India in which *Khudai Khidmatgar* supported the cause in return. On Apr 23, 1930 there was this famous firing on *Khudai Khidmatgar* protesting peacefully against the government in the *Qissa Khawani* Bazar of Peshawar in which more than 200 were killed. A ban as

a result was put on the *Khidmatgar* and martial law was implemented in the province. The *Khudai Khidmatgar* which was initially a social welfare organization tried to connect itself with a political party in order to put pressure in its demands to the government. Its first choice was the Muslim League but to their disappointment the League flatly refused. So, they affiliated themselves with the Congress that welcomed it whole heartedly in 1931.

The first Round Table Conference held in London was boycotted by Congress but *Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum Khan* went to visit it to put the demand of his people before the government face to face. During the Conference session a sub-committee was given the duty to look into the reform matter for the province of North-West. The committee recommended that the province should be given the status of the governor's province and suggested the formation of a legislative council for running the province. After the end of the second Round Table Conference on 1st December 1931 NWFP was given the status of governor's province and its chief commissioner, Mr. Ralph Griffith was made its first governor. A legislative council was also set up with 40 members among which 22 were to be Muslims. There after a long period of struggle the province of North-West became an independent province.

## **2. The Selected Area and Terrorism**

The mounted land of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP)<sup>5</sup> popularly known for its mightiest civilizations, namely *Gandhara*<sup>6</sup> and *Hindu Shahi*<sup>7</sup> has served for many invaders and

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<sup>5</sup> A province, located in North West of Pakistan, old name is North West Frontier Province (NWFP), now (new name by 18 amendments since 15 April, 2010). This province was coming into existence in Number, 1901, joined to Pakistan by referendum held from July 2, to July 6, 1947. In 1955 emerged in West Unit of Pakistan and in 1970 regained the status of province including also the states of Swat, Dir, and Chitral.

<sup>6</sup> Gandhara remained an ancient civilization in the north-west region of Pakistan.

<sup>7</sup> Hindu Shahi was a Hindu ruling dynasty which had ruled over Kabul valley and Gandhara.

conquerors as a corridor. For centuries Intellectuals' *Sufi* poets, scholars spread the message of love and peace in this area. Anyhow rich history and traditions its peak, the province has remained unexplored in some ways.

Near and adjacent the Pak-Afghan<sup>8</sup> border, from both side the *Pashtun*<sup>9</sup> Regionalism has been considered by Pakistan<sup>10</sup> as a threat. From both sides, in KP and ex-Federally Administered Tribal Areas (Ex-FATA)<sup>11</sup> the *Pashtun* societies are gaining to exercise major change. Perhaps the recorded major change into the networks of *Pashtun* in Pakistan alongside the border of Afghanistan, because of the presentation of a new Islamist belief system during the 1980s. This was a direct result of the many years of war pursued generally for their territories.

This contention influenced *Pashtun* by perspective, yet in addition has deliberately denied them of their customary administration in both mainstream and strict domains.<sup>12</sup> The counter-terrorism poses a greater threat to Pakistan in development of civilian rule. It is essential but not conditional for the stability of democratic transition. However, without strong aspect of counter-terrorism policy and more effective, structure of governance, the main factors of terrorism and extremism will become alarming. Violence will continue because the terrorists are achieving the advantage of drawbacks

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<sup>8</sup> Islamic Republic of Pakistan, which situated in South Asia and Islamic Republic of Afghanistan in west of Pakistan in South-Central Asia.

<sup>9</sup> Pashtun know as also Pakhtun, is an ethnic group speaking Pashto live in Afghanistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Baluchistan of Pakistan.

<sup>10</sup> Located in South Asia and Officially Islamic Republic of Pakistan

<sup>11</sup> It remained a semi-autonomous tribal region in the north-west of Pakistan and emerged in to KP in 2018.

<sup>12</sup> Wajahat Masood, *Taliban Ya Jamhoriyat: Pakistan Dowrahay par* (Lahore: Sanjh Publisher, 2014), p. 227.

and deficiencies in rule and law.<sup>13</sup> Political leadership also bears the responsibility of failing to hold back and, as a result, discourages their integrity and authority.

Terrorism was increased in the selected era and became major issue in KP. Powerful and safest countries of the world are also affected by terrorism. Mostly terrorist groups apparently rise in the backward regions of the world, particularly in Middle East.<sup>14</sup> Afghanistan and Pakistan are consequently affected of terrorism. Presently in Pakistan, due to this crucial and serious issue, militancy and extremism is growing. It is quickly harming the social structure everywhere throughout the nation particularly in KP. Developing militancy has expanded the inside security as well as molded the nation an awful appearance internationally.

Pakistan, developed its first-ever National Action Plan after the terrorist attack on the Army Public School in Peshawar to somehow stop the terrorism. Anti-terrorist Courts and the various military operations i.e. *Rah-i-Rast*, *Rah-e-Nijat*<sup>15</sup> against *Tehrik-i-Taliban* Pakistan (TTP)<sup>16</sup>, *Zarb-i-Azb*<sup>17</sup> and the operation of *Bajaur*<sup>18</sup> as well as the small-scale operations carried out by the police in different regions of KP because the

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<sup>13</sup> Ijaz Khan, *Pakistan's Strategic Culture and Foreign Policy Making: A Study of Pakistan's Post 9/11 Afghan Policy Change*, (Nova Science Publishers Incorporated, 2007), pp. 25, 96.

<sup>14</sup> The region of Asia between Europe, Africa and the Mediterranean Sea

<sup>15</sup> It was a strategic offensive military operation started on June 19, 2009 by Pakistan Armed Forces against the TTP and its extremist allies in the South Waziristan area of the EX-FATA that began on June 19, 2009.

<sup>16</sup> Islamic Militants group.

<sup>17</sup> *Zarb-i-Azb* was a joint military offensive which conducted by the Pakistan Armed Forces against various militant groups, including TTP, *Al-Qaeda*, *Jundullah*, Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan, *Lashkar-i-Jhangvi*, *Haqqani* Network and East Turkestan Islamic Movement. It was launched on 15 June 2014 in North Waziristan near the Pak-Afghan border.

<sup>18</sup> It was known as the Battle of Bajaur and also Operation Sherdil. It was military offensive in the Bajaur region launched by Frontier Corps which supported by a Combat Brigade of Pak Army in 2007.

government considered them responsible for terrorism.<sup>19</sup> The Government is also adopting effective diplomacy for the implementation of policies to achieve their objectives in this regard. Out of the routine activities when Government comes across through sudden attacks from the terrorists, they changed their policies accordingly. Main purpose of changing these policies were to use more force against terrorists. Government in the view of the print and electronic media that the terrorist activities would be stopped in future because they are going to implement new policies against terrorism.

Internationally different alliances and organizations like United Nation (UN), Islamic Military Counter Terrorism Coalition (IMCTC), North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), European Union, “International Security Assistance Force” (ISAF) and Islamic Military Alliance to Fight Terrorism and other counter-terrorist organizations are engaged to eliminate terrorism.

In spite of these forceful policies like military operations, the policy makers needed to think and observe the ground realities and the factors due to which terrorism is taking birth. If we deeply observe in this perspective, we realize that actual cause are includes imbalances in society, religious extremism and the undemocratic politics of the political parties. The international policies are ignoring these basic realities. These policies affect social norms, religious values in society and create socio-political conflicts. Beside these causes, some countries are using anti-terrorist approach for domination the other countries.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Riaz Muhammad Khan, *Afghanistan and Pakistan: Conflict, Extremism, and Resistance to Modernity*, (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), pp. 2-15.

<sup>20</sup> Thierry Tardy, *Peace operation After 11 September 2001*, Frank Cass, (Routledge: London, 2004), pp. 6- 20.

### **3. Description of terrorism**

Defining in Anti-Terrorism Act of Pakistan that what is the terrorism and what will be the place of terrorism in criminal law system. Therefore, the terrorism is defined in different categories of offences and actions

### **4. Terrorism, Radicalism and Extremism in Religion:**

These three words are having the meaning disobedience and crossing the line of Allah and *Sheria*.<sup>21</sup> It also has deep relation to violence, because when these actions come to the extreme line then become violence and terrorism.<sup>22</sup>

As per the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), show on abuse of fear mongering, Article 1, acts like homicide, murder, beating, capturing, causing body hurt, have complaining relating guns, weapons blast and hazardous substances when viciousness including passing or genuine substantial damage to individual or genuine harm to property comprise psychological warfare.<sup>23</sup>

Human being is free by-nature though psychologically different of other fellows and this does make one society supreme over the other. Imbalances, injustice and selfishness of the society lead the people to adopt new ways of activities and actions to prevent them from disparities.<sup>24</sup> They set goals for themselves and unite in the form of different groups to take action against the prevailing system.

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<sup>21</sup> The Laws of Islamic jurisdiction.

<sup>22</sup> Ahmad Yousaf Al Darvish, *Mazhabi inteha passndi, Asbab wa wajuhat, Hal awar as kay sadibab may Bain ul aqwami Islamia University ka kirdar*, (Islamabad: International Islamic University, 2015), pp. 17-20.

<sup>23</sup> Musa khan Jalalzai, *Terrorism and International Laws*, (Lahore: A-One Publisher, August 1992), p. 30.

<sup>24</sup> Noam Chomsky, *Power and Prospects: reflection on human nature and social order*, (Boston: South End Press, 1966), p. 114-120.

In the near past in KP, people that were affected by violence, the oppressed and unjustly treated people of the society organized their groups at local level to take revenge of their enemies. Later on, they challenged the writ of the government and were mostly involved in criminal activities. Presently they are mostly affected by the policies at state level and organized themselves on national level. Due to modern ways of communication and linkages they are now making groups on international level too. If a state tries to control them by force, it will not be possible. State has to concentrate on the basic rights of their citizens because these groups are emerging from the same society. Government needs to listen to the view point of the opponents. According to these reflections and causes it is essential to make policies of the country accordingly i.e. the policy should be like to eliminate the causes of the terrorism instead of targeting people. State should keep the problems and factors of the society in its view and instead of using force it has to review and revise its policies according to the ground realities to maintain peace. It is essential to eliminate all those policies that are responsible for accelerating terrorism. The exploitation anywhere and on any angle should be avoid.

## **5. Significance and Scope of the study**

The proposed study is to investigate basic factors for terrorism and to think new ways and new policies to maintain sustainable peace in the country and in KP particularly. The study has focused on the political, geographical, social and religious factors involved in terrorism and have also discussed the effects of national policies in Pakistan especially in KP. It also discussed the justice and exploitation in national and international policies which provide an opportunity to the terrorists. The study analyzed whether governmental policies are successful in the promotion of socio-religious values and political development. The study also investigated that whether the Government of Pakistan policies, laws and rules regulations are practically implemented or not. It also

provided support to principle of politics, peace, security and democracy. Performance of government machinery for maintaining peace and stopping terrorism mostly in the recent era has been discussed in detail. Furthermore, presents practical recommendations for review national policies, stability and peace for the development of the country. This study helps to bring the terrorists in the mainstream to play positive role for the welfare of human beings. The State has some good policies for reduction of terrorism but these are not implemented in all, therefore the issue is still existing and alarming of problems for Pakistan.

## **6. Statement of the problem**

The successes of any policy depend upon the ways on which it is developed, the background in which it is needed and to be implemented. If such requirements are not met, the prospects of its success will remain a dream.<sup>25</sup> Terrorism in Pakistan and especially in KP has become a key and high critical phenomenon. The trend started in the very beginning however mostly seen with Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq's<sup>26</sup> controversial policies of 1980's further which the conflicts started in opposition of Soviet's<sup>27</sup> involvement in Afghanistan. In the tenure of Zia as president, the involvement of Pakistan in Soviet-Afghanistan-War had seen.<sup>28</sup> However the attempts for bringing militants on table talks, appeared to fail because the terrorist's attacks have been still now continued. Despite the substantial body of literature addressing terrorism and extremism in Pakistan, there remains a notable gap concerning the specific factors

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<sup>25</sup> Nilay. Cabak Kaya and Aykan. Erdemir, *Social Dynamic of Global Terrorism and Prevention Policies*: (Netherlands: ISO press, 2008), p. 43.

<sup>26</sup> 6th President and four-star general of Pakistan.

<sup>27</sup> Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (U.S.S.R.).

<sup>28</sup> Anas Malik, *Political Survival in Pakistan*: (Routledge, London and New York, 2011).

contributing to the rise of terrorism in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, particularly in relation to national policies enacted during critical political periods from Zia to Musharraf. Existing studies provide valuable insights into the broader socio-political and international contexts of extremism but fall short of a detailed examination of how domestic policies directly influenced the dynamics of terrorism in this region. By critically analyzing the national policies of these regimes and their impact on KP, this research aims to contribute to a more nuanced understanding of the intersection between governance and terrorism, thereby addressing an essential gap in the current research.

The greatest problem at present in Pakistan and especially KP is that this area is confronting from terrorism. It is a difficult task for federation and is also a threat for the public. Although, terrorism is a global issue but Pakistan faced the most. The association of Pakistan in the War on Terror is the cause that further fueled the fire. KP is also in front of conflict. Terrorist suicide bombings have turned out to be a routine activity of the day. The policy against terrorism and maintaining a sustainable peace is the burning issues recently prevailing in Pakistan especially in KP.

## **7. Research Questions**

- What are the factors of terrorism in KP?
- How did the national policies of Zia-ul-Haq and Pervez Musharraf contribute to the evaluation of terrorism in KP?
- In what ways did the military regimes of Zia and Musharraf differ from the civilian government of Pakistan People's Party (PPP) and Pakistan Muslim League (N) in addressing terrorism in KP?
- What historical, geopolitical and socio-political factors have contributed to KP's heightened vulnerability to terrorism compared to other regions of Pakistan?

## **8. Objectives of Research/Study**

Based on above facts the proposed study will be designed on the following aims and objectives, to investigate factor of terrorism in KP, Pakistan, provide new suggestions for national policies in order to reduce and stop terrorism in Pakistan and to promote peace and harmony in the region.

- To investigate the various factors contributing to terrorism in KP.
- To critically analyze the evolution of national policies regarding terrorism from Zia to Musharraf eras in KP.
- To investigate the different dimensions of terrorism as influenced by national policies during Zia, PPP, PML (N) and Musharraf regimes in *Pashtuns*.
- To find out the combative causes of terrorism in KP as the other parts of the country.

## **9. Organization of Research**

The study is divided into an introduction, four chapters and a conclusion and recommendations in the end which are shortly discussed below.

## **10. Law of section 6 and terrorism**

### **First category**

The anti-terrorism act (ATA) lists 17 such actions that could be counted as terrorism, are known as “acts of threats” which cause for “death, grievous, injury or terrible harm to property, speedy dislike or scorn on profound, ethnic or partisan premise or include terminating on spot of worship”.

Creation sense of fear in society for the purpose of religion, sectarianism and ethnicity or attacking civilians.

## **Second category**

Kidnapping and abduction for ransom, creating terror, alarm and sense of uncertainty amongst the common people.

## **Third category**

Intended and likely to motivate sectarian hate, printing, publishing and distributing any incite hatred material.

However, Pakistan has to follow the international standard defined by UN Human Right Commission. It has provided a very wide definition of terrorism for Anti-Terrorism Act which recommends Pakistan Should review the (ATA).<sup>29</sup>

Terrorism is a continuous pain in the world about for all countries and notable for Pakistan. The terrorism is a violence and some acts of violence is terrorism because some types of violence is identical to war like war of liberation and guerilla campaigns.<sup>30</sup>

Terrorism is violence and threat of physical or without physical injury for human or non-human targets. This might be national or international and the motives behind this can also be political. These actions are mostly used for publicity too.<sup>31</sup>

According to UN Secretary General reports on international terrorism, 1970, the purpose of terrorism will be political, targeting and violence.<sup>32</sup>

It looks like that terrorism widely defined as violent criminal activities for generating fear in a huge scale of population for political purposes.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Dawn Islamabad, Monday August 21, 2017 an article “*Defining Terrorism*” by Peena Omer.

<sup>30</sup> Musa khan. Jalalzai, *Terrorism and International Laws*, (Lahore: A-One Publisher, August 1992), pp. xx-xxiv.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p.1.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p.3.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p.4.

The alternate word for terrorism is extremism which the English translation of Urdu word “*Intiha Pasandi*”<sup>34</sup> and give the meaning of “out of balance”. The past translators see it in “radicalism” and give it the place in political philosophy. Radicalism came out of the Latin word “*Rodia*” which means the people who are in searching economic, political and other common evils. They also demand for its immediate change and solution. Some of the writers in past also used it for laid obstacle, losing path and constructing radicalism in the religion.

Therefore, this word has the meaning of crossing the limitations of cruelty. For example, giving punishment to someone instead of some other person is the radicalism, extremism and top terrorism.<sup>35</sup>

## **Introduction**

Brief introduction and historical background of the KP has mentioned in the beginning. It also tried to highlight the social values, religious concept and political activities. The origin of terrorism and its differentiation of *Jihad* have also focused and then defined terrorism and national policies in Pakistan’s KP. In the study the significance and scop of this research was specified and then statement of the problem was mentioned.

## **Chapter 1 Literature Review**

Detailed review of the literature carried out to study the social factors of terrorism with the effects of national policies in affected countries and to pin point international best practices. The changing strategic of the triangle sides, the role of state, political parties and society has also been studied in depth. Religious factors also evaluated in detail.

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<sup>34</sup> The Urdu word mean the likeness of extremism.

<sup>35</sup> Al Darvish, *Mazhabi inteha passndi*, pp. 17-20.

## **Chapter 2 Theoretical Framework**

In chapter it is tried to evaluate the different theories and concepts of legend and modern philosopher. This theoretical framework provides the foundation for understanding the complex relationships between factors of terrorism and national policies.

## **Chapter 3: Research Methodology**

In order to investigate the factors for terrorism with the viewpoints of the of national policies, this study is carried out for critical analysis and evaluation of policies. In this study responsible factors of terrorism and the weakness of national policies have been critically analyzed through Mixed-Method procedure. Both quantitative and qualitative methodologies were applied, because to find out similarities and differences among the residents and experts of the subject.

## **Chapter 4: Result and Discussion**

In this chapter responsible factors of terrorism and the weakness of national policies have been critically analyzed through Mixed-Method procedure. Both quantitative and qualitative methodologies were applied, because to find out similarities and differences among the residents and experts of the subject and literature already exit. This chapter is divided into six sections as below.

### **Section 1: Ther Emergence of Terrorism in KP**

A deep study has made on terrorism to see that why the *Pashtun* society only is more affected from this phenomenon. The characteristic of *Pashtun* culture and tradition that led them to the same activates. It is been evaluated that why only “KP” are used for this purpose. The ground is tried to be also investigated that why people join the terrorist groups. The main points were summarized in the end.

## **Section 2: Responsibilities of the Government in a State**

Evaluated in detail the responsibilities of society in a State, in-depth study about the facts that whether the state is fulfilling its roles and responsibilities in this regard or not. At the last the main points were summarized.

## **Section 3: National Policies and Public Response**

General and anti-terrorism National Policies prevailing in the country to prevent terrorism were discussed. It is studied that how much these policies are effective. It is studied that either these policies are pre-designed or being implemented by any external force or designed of internal views. It is also investigated that how the public respond in this regard. The main points were summarized in the last.

## **Section 4: Political and Social Behaviors**

Regional forces and nationalism involved in politics especially in KP and the factors that are responsible for polar extremes views and links of political leaders with the anti-state actors were investigated. The role of society in upsetting or maintaining peace is also discussed. In the end finding were summarized.

## **Section 5: *Pashtun* Society and Culture**

Different sects and groups working in society were studied. The psychology of *Pashtun* with reference to religion and regionalism was also discussed. Nationalism and ethnicity were pointed out. Social factors were thoroughly discussed to evaluate the causes and basic factors relevant to the topic. In the end the main points were summarized.

## **Section 6: Zia to Musharraf Policies and Factors of Terrorism in KP**

This section is comprised of critical analysis the response of the interviewees about national policies and the factor of terrorism during Zia to Musharraf regimes in KP. In the end main pointed were summarized.

## **11. Conclusion and Recommendations**

An overall conclusion of the results is given and in the end recommendations in the light of this study was put forwarded.

# CHAPTER-1

## REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Currently, terrorism is the burning issue in the world. Our daily life is directly and indirectly being affected by terrorism by one way or the other. It is creating mental tension and stress for all the sensitive people. These issues are being highlighted by print and electronic media and are in full coverage. The anchors, journalists and experts are analyzing factors responsible for it and even common people on the social websites also expressing their views about it. In this regard writers, authors and researchers do not remain salient to write about it. Therefore, a rich literature is available on this topic.

Some famous works in this regard are as under:

Haqqani<sup>1</sup> reasoned that among U.S. partners in the fight against terrorism, Pakistan can't be effectively described as either companion or adversary. Having atomic weapon Pakistan has a noteworthy focal point of basic Islamic thoughts and groups. Since 9/11, the segregating participation of then President General Pervez Musharraf by attachment information with United States and catching *Al-Qaeda*'s<sup>2</sup> individuals has encouraged the theory that Pakistan may be prepared to surrender its old-fashioned ties by radical Islam. Be that as it may, the territory of Pakistan as an Islamic moral state is about

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<sup>1</sup> Hussain Haqqani, *Pakistan between Mosque and Military* (Lahore: Vanguard Book, 2005), pp. 2-5,308.

<sup>2</sup> *Al-Qaeda* began as a coordination system to help Muslims who were battling against the Soviet Union during the war in Afghanistan. Individuals were enrolled in the Islamic world. At the point when the Soviets pulled back from Afghanistan in 1989, the association was part however kept on contradicting that its chiefs appearing the presence of outsiders for example American in improper Islamic governments and grounds. Situated in Sudan for a period in the mid-1990s, the gathering in the long run restored its central station in Afghanistan (1996) under the sponsorship of the Taliban local army.

connected with the Pakistani first class worldwide and the praetorian inspirations of its military. He looks at the roots of the relationship between *Islamist* sets and Pakistan's military, and finds the country's strategic personality and security. Following how the battling has looked for U.S. support by creation itself valuable for cautions existing apart from everything else albeit proceeding to help the mosque-military relationship inside Pakistan. *Haqqani*<sup>3</sup> offers another perspective on administrative improvements since the state's freedom in 1947. However, the author does not specifically address the factors contributing to terrorism in KP, particularly in relation to the national policies under which its prevalence intensified. This research aims to fill that gap by providing a focused analysis of these policies and their role in the rise of terrorism in the region. Murphy<sup>4</sup> has an understanding offers, feel and multi-layered analysis of political development and violent struggle in Pakistan from independence to the current day, over the course of what is an attractive and incisive analysis, a number of important lessons about the nature, causes and responses to contemporary terrorism can be distinguished. Further analysis the violent of aggressive social actors is struggling for the dominance in situation of extreme political competition. He also analysis reveals that the role external actors materialize particularly large in the evolution of terrorism in Pakistan, without reference to role of India<sup>5</sup> and Kashmir Dispute<sup>6</sup>, the history of Afghanistan and US efforts to defeat the Soviet occupation during the 1980s. US led

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<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Eamon Murphy, *The Making of Terrorism in Pakistan: Historical and Social Root of Extremism* (London: Routledge. 2013), pp. 160-168.

<sup>5</sup> India and Pakistan have the history of the violence due its partition in British India into two states and thereafter some military conflicts on territorial disputes.

<sup>6</sup> Between India and Pakistan, the Kashmir dispute is a territorial conflict which having started just after the partition of British India in 1947.

the war on terror which began with the attack of Afghanistan. These all interventions are deeply rooted and arrival to understanding the development of violence in Pakistan. At last, it made clear that terrorism does not appear out of the nowhere, it neither sudden, nor is it unexpected. Demolishing prevalent myths and overstatement about terrorism in Pakistan, such a foundation provides the crucial foundation for thinking about here peace could be constructed in the future. While the author overlooks the specific factors driving terrorism in KP, especially in the context of national policies that contributed to its escalation, this study seeks to address that omission. By analyzing these policies and their impact on the rise of terrorism in the region, this research aims to bridge the existing gap in the literature.

Niaz<sup>7</sup> is critically understanding the sensitivities, the walkouts and the political scheme in the Muslim World. He investigates and make that what has been affirmed from the logical and qualified writing. History of psychological oppression whether before or present has explained various hypotheses of psycho-pathologies of fear-based oppression. Hypothetical, organic, social and mental methodologies are talked about in understanding this phenomenon. The contentions in the Muslim World in the twentieth and 21st century of years whether in Palestine, Afghanistan, Iraq, Bosnia, Chechnya, Pakistan, Algeria, Lebanon and Kashmir freedom Struggle, are talked about the mental impact on the citizens, affirmed by the visitor journalists from Muslim World Section on uprisings in the Muslim World. Focusses clearly on the trouble facing, individuals in Federally Administered Area of Pakistan, neighboring Afghanistan and the KP's regions of Pakistan. Sensitive commitment is paid to helpless gatherings, for example, displaced people and youngsters whose pain can in some cases drive unheard. The book

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<sup>7</sup> Unaiza Niaz, *Wars, Insurgencies, and Terrorism, Attacks: Psychosocial Perspective from the Muslim World* (Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 15-19.

has a supportive message, especially as for the sure jobs which can be sanctioned by judicious wellbeing experts. Joint comprehension speaks to a significant advance towards truce and compromise. The author did not examine the underlying factors of terrorism in KP, particularly with regard to the national policies that played a significant role in its escalation. This study seeks to fill this critical gap by conducting an in-depth analysis of these policies and their influence on the emergence and intensification of terrorism in the region.

Mohammad A Qadeer states

The Soviet Union's retreat from Afghanistan supported the Islamists renown and certainty. The Afghan experience encouraged the nearby *mullahs* to announce *Sharia* rule, in resistance of the Pakistan government, in *Dir, Swat, and Waziristan* and even in areas of South *Punjab*. *Sufi Muhammad's Tehrik-i-Nifaz-I-Shariat (TNSM)* Movement for the implementation of *Sharis* Law) in *Malakand* and *Swat* mounted an insurrectionary test to Benazir Bhutto's administration in 1994. Additionally, *Tanzeem-I-Ittehad-I-Ulema-I-Qabail* (relationship of innate *Ulema*) endeavored to uphold *sharia* rule in the *Khyber Agency* in 1995. The historical backdrop of the developments isn't of direct enthusiasm to us. These difficulties to the authority of the state are noteworthy as markers of the Islamization procedure taking a move in the direction of outsourcing.<sup>8</sup>

Khan's<sup>9</sup> investigation of contention in Afghanistan from Pakistan's perspective study and dissects the foundations of Pakistan's vague arrangements, supporting the United States on one hand and indicating sympathy for the Afghan *Taliban* on the other. The creator, was a previous remote secretary of Pakistan, thinks about a wide scope of occasions and intertwines his own encounters and points of view into the bigger account of the Afghanistan-Pakistan relationship. Since the 1989 pull back of Soviet soldiers and particularly since the 2001 NATO impedance in Afghanistan, it analyzes the

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<sup>8</sup> Mohammad A Qadeer, *Pakistan Social and Cultural Transformations in a Muslim Nation*, (London: Routledge, 2006), p. 170.

<sup>9</sup> Riaz Muhammad Khan, *Afghanistan and Pakistan: Conflict, Extremism, and Resistance to Modernity*. Johns Hopkins University Press. 2011.

improvement of Afghanistan and studies the interests of outside forces both in Afghanistan and in Pakistan. He talks about the ascent of fanaticism and strict militancy in Pakistan and its connections with continuous clashes in Afghanistan. Eventually, Khan contends that Pakistan uncovers a profound perplexity in its open talk on issues of innovation and the difficulties the nation faces, a scholarly emergency that Pakistan must deliver to verify the nation's endurance, progress, and helpful also must be to constructive role in region. The author does not adequately explore the factors contributing to terrorism in KP, particularly in the context of national policies that shaped its growth. This research intends to address this shortcoming by critically examining these policies and their direct influence on the escalation of terrorism within the region.

Paul<sup>10</sup> concisely written review of Pakistan's geo-strategic situation is both comparative and investigative. Along with Pakistan's somewhat unique history as a developing nation (and its relative retardation as far as its development itself is concerned), the country suffers from what he calls the 'geostrategic curse.' This means that Pakistan has always managed to find foreign donors that will pay the bills to make up for a lack of investment in education, health, infrastructure, and economic advancement. This has a similarity to the Gulf Arab<sup>11</sup> states' 'resource curse'. The author's analysis does not sufficiently account for the role of national policies in the rise of terrorism in KP, leaving a crucial aspect unexplored. This research aims to fill this

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<sup>10</sup> T.V. Paul, *The Warrior State: Pakistan in the Contemporary World* (Oxford University Press, London, 2014).

<sup>11</sup> The Arab states of the Persian Gulf are the seven Arab states which border the Persian Gulf, namely Bahrain, Iraq, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates (UAE).

gap by offering a comprehensive investigation into how these policies contributed to the region's increasing instability and the proliferation of terrorism.

Bijorgo<sup>12</sup> examination the potential outcomes and constraint of forestalling or lessening fear-based oppression by tending to the elements that offer ascent to it and bear it. The inquiries raised include: what are the principal conditions that give preconditions to the development of different kinds of fear mongering? What is the run of the mill precipitants that enact psychological militant battles? What exactly degree is it conceivable to lessen the issue of psychological oppression by impacting these causes and circumstances? Would it be a good idea for us to address those variables that dynamic fear monger crusades as opposed to underlying drivers? The existing literature does not fully engage with the specific national policies that contributed to the rise of terrorism in KP, particularly during the regimes from Zia to Musharraf. This research seeks to bridge that gap by providing a detailed exploration of how these policies influenced the region's socio-political dynamics and contributed to the escalation of terrorism.

Mohammad A Qadeer shapes in his book, *Pakistan Social and Cultural Transformations in a Muslim Nation*:

Declaration of intensity by the *mullahs* demonstrates another heading in Islamic revivalism. So far, the course to Islamization basically lay in impacting the state to receive *Sharia* laws and introduce Islamists as rulers. Islamic revivalism needed to control the inside and afterward spread to the remainder of the body politic. A mix of Zia's Islamization and the Afghan experience made conditions for Islamic difficulties to be

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<sup>12</sup> Tore Bijorgo, *Root Causes of Terrorism: Myths, reality and ways forward* (Routledge London, 2005).

mounted from the outskirts as neighborhood activities for *Sharia* implementation.<sup>13</sup>

The current scholarship lacks a focused analysis of how national policies specifically impacted the rise of terrorism in KP. This study aims to address this gap by examining the policy decisions from successive regimes and their direct role in fostering the conditions that led to the intensification of terrorism in the region.

Khan<sup>14</sup> the solitary investigation on Pakistan's international strategy and basic leadership methodology. It talks about that how and whys of its arrangement as it has created from a household to a global view. Post 9/11 changes required an essential change in mental self-portrait and world view that went past the demonstration of turning into a US partner in Afghanistan, or forsaking the strategy of supporting the *Taliban*. The primary theme of the investigation is recognizable proof of those changes, their prerequisites and some essential proposition for extra changes. The book additionally follows the verifiable, worldwide and residential setting of Pakistan's Post 9/11 Afghan Policy. Its examinations the provincial effect of that choice, the local discussion that it produced, and finishes up with recognizable proof and suggestions for changes in Pakistan that are required for the sustenance of its new strategies.

Other mainstream work in such manner is the “*Talibanization and Terrorism Attacks in the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) presently KP, the Local Police Response and a few Recommendations*”. A paper presented at Voice on Afghanistan Audience Analysis and Assessment” University of Texas-San Antonio (UTSA) USA, 2008, Faimuddin (PSP)<sup>15</sup> Deputy Commandant, Frontier Reserve Police (FRP), NWFP

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<sup>13</sup> Qadeer, *Pakistan Social and Cultural Transformations*, P 170.

<sup>14</sup> Ijaz Khan, *Pakistan's Strategic Culture and Foreign Policy Making: A Study of Pakistan's Post 9/11 Afghan Policy Change* (Nova Science Publishers, 2007).

<sup>15</sup> Police Service of Pakistan.

Peshawar Pakistan, described the terrorist links and their activities. He has also highlighted different alliances while working against terrorism.

In the research paper “The Impact of rising Terrorism and Military Operation on socio-economic culture of Pakistan”. The researcher Muhammad Waqas Chughtai has concluded that the terrorism gave a severe blow to the fundamental human rights in KP and he also discusses the painful memories of IDPs (Internal Displaced Peoples) that the government cannot apply effective Policies for their rehabilitation.<sup>16</sup> The literature did not investigate the influence of national policies on the development of terrorism in KP, particularly during key political eras. This research endeavors to fill that gap by offering a critical assessment of how these policies shaped the region's vulnerability to terrorism and contributed to its escalation.

Raza Rahman Qazi in his PhD dissertation under the title “Extremism-Terrorism in the Name in Islam in Pakistan: causes and counterstrategy” concluded that the policies against terrorism, need to be revised otherwise the country and its social structure will be more damage.<sup>17</sup> The PhD dissertation “*Pashtun and the War on terrorism: A cultural perspective*” by Abdul Shakoor, it was concluded that in the past many Muslim rulers and others fundamental Islamic scholars used the Islamic concept for the protection of their interest in the Sub-Continent, so the present terrorism has roots in the Past.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Muhammad Waqas Chughtai, *The Impact of rising Terrorism and Military Operation on Socio Economic culture of (EX-FATA) of Pakistan*.

<sup>17</sup> Raza Rahman Qazi, *Extremism-Terrorism in the Name in Islam in Pakistan: causes and counterstrategy*. PhD dissertation. Department of International Relations. University of Peshawar. 2012, p. 13.

<sup>18</sup> Abdul Shakoor, (2012). *Pakhtun and the War on terrorism: A cultural perspective*. PhD dissertation. Department of International Relations. University of Peshawar.

PhD. dissertation “Pakistan Response towards Terrorism a case study of Musharraf regime” is research about the terrorism, peace and security prospects enclosing the Musharraf era. In this thesis it is also investigated that how did the Pakistan in Musharraf regime responded in the threat of terrorism after math of post-9/11 war.<sup>19</sup>

“The Making of Terrorism Pakistan: Historical and Social Roots of Extremism” is a comprehensive study of the different PhD dissertation, which it is drawing during seminars, in Peshawar University and Quaid–i-Azam University containing of analysis, mostly of the points that links to extremism in Pakistan.<sup>20</sup>

In the light of above literature, the present topic is devised as “Factors of Terrorism in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa: A Critical Analysis of National Policies from Zia to Musharraf is one of the researchable works of the day.

The Donald Black’s hypothesis of ‘psychological oppression as social activity’ is viewed as the main criminological hypothesis on fear mongering Rosenfeld. Dark characterizes fear-based oppression as the ‘one-sided self-improvement by sorted out regular folks who secretively cause mass viciousness on different regular folks’. By one-sided self-improvement, he implies the uneven treatment of complaint with viciousness. He accepts psychological warfare as a method for social control since it characterizes and reacts to various conduct. The author does not adequately explore the factors contributing to terrorism in KP, particularly in the context of national policies that shaped its growth. This research intends to address this shortcoming by critically examining these policies and their direct influence on the escalation of terrorism within the region.

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<sup>19</sup> Shabana Fayyaz, *Pakistan Response towards Terrorism a case study of Musharraf regime*. PhD dissertation (The University of Birmingham, 2010).

<sup>20</sup> Eamon Murphy, *The Making of Terrorism Pakistan: Historical and Social Roots of Extremism* (Routledge London, 2013).

The social control of fear mongering as per Black<sup>21</sup> is an occurrence of social control of equity because of something that is itself a type of equity. While depicting the attributes of psychological warfare, Black (2004) accepts fear-based oppression as profoundly fierce, efficient and underground. It is a semi fighting, since it is one-sided and clandestine, it targets regular folks, not military powers and complies with no standards. He recognizes it from wrongdoing by saying that it is moralistic in character like law and social control.

Black<sup>22</sup> accepts fear-based oppression as constantly dedicated against unrivaled powers. It is typically brought about by a proceeding with fight. Psychological warfare as an offense is aggregate. Black (2004) contends that in light of psychological warfare the wrongdoings just as un-controlling of the general public happens, it is hard to deflect with discipline or different types of social control. Similarly, as psychological warfare isn't simply a type of wrongdoing, so then the social control of fear mongering isn't only a type of criminal equity. Fear based oppression conceives psychological warfare. He attests that, truth be told, existing hypothesis proposes that psychological warfare might be successfully constrained by noting it in kind an arrangement of "one good turn deserves another" with equivalent brutality against regular citizens related with the fear-based oppressors.

He further characterized fear-based oppression as, it an uncommon type of social control; the states of its reality at last become the states of its decrease. The intermixing of people groups and societies, as the social universe contracts. Good and bad lose the clearness that comes just with adequate separations in social space. In this manner, the

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<sup>21</sup> Donald, Black, *Terrorism as social control*. In M. Deflem. *Terrorism and Counterterrorism: Criminological Perspectives*, Sociology of Crime. Law and Deviance, (2004).

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

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states of fear-based oppression's presence at last become the conditions for its downfall. His proposal about the control of fear-based oppression is outlined in his explanation that "psychological warfare's unavoidable destiny is sociological demise."

Rosenfeld scrutinizes Black's hypothesis of fear-based oppression and makes a few augmentations. He says that Black's hypothesis is a decent beginning stage, yet that it dismisses two things: the savage character of psychological warfare and the institutional conditions under which fear based oppression rises and is supported. He condemns Black for accentuating structures and disregarding office. He says Black's hypothesis is liberated from contemplations, sentiments, objectives, purposes, brain science, and teleology, it is liberated from individuals. He accepts Black's clarification of fear mongering as constrained by originations of the type of as well as the inspiration for psychological oppressor brutality. As he would like to think, Black says small regarding the social birthplace and dispersion of the complaints that inspire psychological oppression. While changing Black's hypothesis of fear-based oppression, Rosenfeld infers that psychological warfare is moralistic or equity arranged viciousness, achieved by ruthless or criminal methods. As indicated by him, the beginning of fear-based oppressor viciousness exists in a specific setup of social establishments, inconsistent with the institutional triumvirate of present-day society, free markets, law based governmental issues and strict resilience. He includes that psychological warfare is aggregate moralistic savagery requiring the concurrence of complaints and high social separation, contrasts in religion, language, customs and methods of work. On the off chance that any of these conditions is missing, psychological warfare won't happen. In aggregate, a wide decent variety of conditions could irritate psychological warfare. Brynjar and Katja H.W (2000) give us a thought that fear mongering happens in rich just as poor nations in the advanced industrialized world and in less created territories.

During a procedure of progress and improvement, before or after such a procedure in previous pilgrim states and in free ones and in set up popular governments also in less law-based systems. In view of this wide assortment of conditions, "many opponent clarifications have been progressed however none has figured out how to direction broad regard"

In spite of a lot of conjecturing and research, the condition of information on the subject is in transition. Specifically, the field of criminology, which should manage the criminal parts of fear-based oppression, presently can't seem to define thoughts regarding persuasive elements at singular levels, causal variables at cultural levels, and authorization frameworks at both the administrative and cultural levels. In any case, the significance of the issue is by all accounts that contention matters most; neediness, type of government, intergovernmental relations, race, religion, and groups are significant, as long as they produce strife. Rests of the elements are vital and strategic choices, when to occupy to psychological militant system, when to raise, when to deescalate, what injured individual to pick and what weapon to utilize. This is actually what Collins is by all accounts saying that social disparities might be causally included, especially in beginning clashes, explanatory or 'basic' clash speculations go to additional to the likelihood that viciousness might be a result of key and strategic choices in a procedure of progressing strife.

Pakistan is among those countries where the influence of terrorism is increasing every day and the world fears that terrorist and extremist will occupy Pakistan. Opposing to this terrorism and extremism, it is also a fact that Pakistan's future is associated with how it can succeed in preventing extremism. If we are looking forward to extremism, first it is important to see what is the social and historical background of extremism and terrorism?

In the world both these terms the terrorism and extremism are very common. There is no government in the world left out where this issue nationally and internationally is not discussing. To examination of the social and cultural factors of terrorism in present circumstances, many experts were contacted in order to find answers. For this purpose, all the primary resources were utilized to look every aspect of the phenomena. But motivation toward the peaceful life is the best solution of this phenomena. The sample work has been investigated by the experimentation model of Khawaja and others participant contribute valuable information to this issue. It is also tried out to make justice with its specific sectors, keeping social and cultural aspects in mind.

Tahir Abbas expressed his views on extremism from the western point of view. He has written in his book “Islamic Political Radicalism” in which the fixings are considered to be extremist, which has led extremism to Europe and Asia. He also highlighted the international political factors which has caused Islamic extremism. Similarly, based on classical investigation of Sabeeha Hafeez, the book of “The Changing Pakistan Society” came into effect. The article of this book has been fully analyzed by the management of social behavior and folk culture in Pakistan's administrative structure. Aisha Jalal talked about the religion, *Jihad* and personality in the context of South Asia. Mahmood’s research works on the other hand, including Saudi Arabia and Iran's radicalisms were shifted, and there is discussion on extremism’s backgrounds and implications in Pakistan. Amir Rana has also done special tasks in his many research articles. Especially the ‘The seeds of Terrorism’ and ‘Gateway to Terrorism’ are remarkable. As Gateway to Terrorism has included special material related to extremist groups. Recently, it has become common in *Jihadi*, Print Media in Pakistan as a research article. The author did not thoroughly examine the underlying factors of terrorism in KP, particularly with regard to the national policies that played a significant

role in its escalation. This study seeks to fill this critical gap by conducting an in-depth analysis of these policies and their influence on the emergence and intensification of terrorism in the region.

Kool has embraced enough material on the influence of Islamic extremism in civil and military circles in 'Role of religion in politics: Impact on the Civil and Military Society of Pakistan.' Roy also wrote in his book *The Failure of political Islam* that Muslim extremists and their various groups have implicated in the Middle East activities and revealed their links in Pakistan. In this regard, Stern has a book of research material named "Terror in the Name of God: Why Religious Militants Kill" which wrote during he was been conducting surveys in religious seminaries in Pakistan<sup>23</sup>. Furthermore, Davis, Pakistan and Afghanistan Torturing educational system has identified the factors that lead to foment extremism. While the author overlooks the specific factors driving terrorism in KP, especially in the context of national policies that contributed to its escalation, this study seeks to address that omission. By analyzing these policies and their impact on the rise of terrorism in the region, this research aims to bridge the existing gap in the literature.

Chart Kara has also expressed his viewpoint on Pakistan's basis in "Combating Terrorism". He also discussed several extremist organizations. Benazir Bhutto has also discussed and exchanged extremists' activities and their international links in Pakistan in her book *Reconciliation*. In the article titled *Between Moderation & Radicalization*, Ahmed received a career on *Jamaat-e-Islami*<sup>24</sup> and extremism in India is discussed. Diarrhea and other sources combined with the *Countering Violent Islamic Extremism*.

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<sup>23</sup> Jessica Stern, *Terror in the Name of God: Why Religious Militants Kill*, (New York: Ecco, 2003).

<sup>24</sup> Political Party in Pakistan base on Islamic ideology.

However, the author does not specifically address the factors contributing to terrorism in KP, particularly in relation to the national policies under which its prevalence intensified. This research aims to fill that gap by providing a focused analysis of these policies and their role in the rise of terrorism in the region.

Despite the substantial body of literature addressing terrorism and extremism in Pakistan, there remains a notable gap concerning the specific factors contributing to the rise of terrorism in KP, particularly in relation to national policies enacted during critical political periods from Zia to Musharraf. Existing studies provide valuable insights into the broader socio-political and international contexts of extremism but fall short of a detailed examination of how domestic policies directly influenced the dynamics of terrorism in this region. By critically analyzing the national policies of these regimes and their impact on Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, this research aims to contribute to a more nuanced understanding of the intersection between governance and terrorism, thereby addressing an essential gap in the current scholarship.

## CHAPTER-2

### THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

#### **2.1. Introduction:**

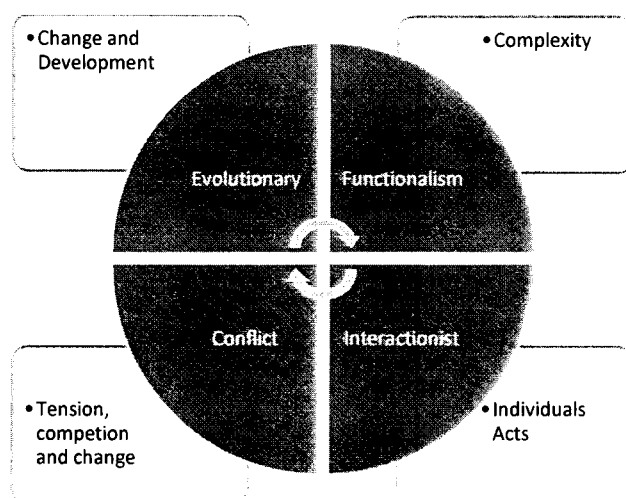
Today, Pakistan is facing challenges from external powers and internal extremists that influenced the policies. The external powers are raising questions that extremists in Pakistan are gaining their power. Due to these issues the government of Pakistan is facing tremendous pressure from external and internal forces. Keeping in view the above scenario and for its domestic peace Pakistan from the very beginning is opposing terrorism. It is also a fact that Pakistan's future is associated with how it can succeed in preventing terrorism and extremism. It is very important to investigate the factors of terrorism in Pakistan especially in KP. It is need of the day to find factors of terrorism with special focus on national policies, social structure and religious behavior. For the said purpose it is important to study and develop theoretical framework. It will make clear the concept, path and the entire research study.

In this perspective it is tried to evaluate the different theories and concepts of classical and modern philosopher. At last main factors were analyzed according to the relevant theories of terrorism and concluded with final theme to make easy the concept, path and entire research.

In first, classical, political and social theories were evaluated. The conflict theory of Marxist is basically about the progress but not in linear design. The society proceeds advance by "dialectical" conflicts. According to this theory the subordinate class try to over throw their ruling class. For example, in the nineteenth century, most notably in the work of Karl Marx and other socialist writers, the French Revolution was described as "the bourgeoisie over throw the aristocracy". In this new form of social or political system the subordinate class rise to overthrow their supervision or superior class.

According to Karl Marx these cycles are not endless and neither meaningless which is just like a wheel.<sup>1</sup> Conflict of the ideals and the actual conflicting claims to power.

Aristotle, in his political ideas discussed the conflict of the ideal and the actual situation that might be reformed but cannot be revolutionized. He was influenced by Plato, According, to him city and citizen are correlative. He places three questions that: “what is a state? Who is a citizen? Is the virtue of a good man the same as the virtue of a good citizen? A state is an association of men for the sake of the best moral life. But in actual state there must be different kind of citizen with different kind of virtue which initiate the conflict. He is in favor to define and fit it with a democratic state. A constitution is not only a way of life for the citizen but also organizing officers to carry on public system. The political aspects cannot identify its ethical purpose. Due to these complexities, there is difficulty to construct an ideal state to serve in a standard form. At last Aristotle accepted the six-fold classification of Plato and it into consideration<sup>2</sup>.



**Figure 2. 1 Created by researcher which shows the effects of conflict**

<sup>1</sup> Eva Etzioni. Halevy and Amitai Etzioni, *Social Change Sources, Patterns and consequences*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Neelab Printers, Rawalpindi, 4).

<sup>2</sup> George H. Sabine, *A history of Political Theory*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, Revised and enlarged (George G. Harrap and Company, LTD, London) p. 98-104.

The theory of function is the true principle of conflict. According to the controversy, the conflict of control is generally a group's ability to prevent the opponent from temporarily pressing. Active workers believe that society will develop through the social system to manage with social disputes and conflicts of Opinions. Functionalists see the social media way of increasing social order. Conflicts of ideology emphasize the transfer force between the competing groups. Where functionalists focus on individuality and equality. It is believed that social scientists have a moral responsibility to criticize society. It cannot be the purpose of deciding to separate the analyst from the decision or fact. It is also believed that the building can be constructed in the society where there is no chance of conflict. Controversy with social life cannot be isolated, rejects the ideas of opposition in the social science. According to Marxism, many sociologists work as a completely contemporary theory managers and this is an integrated approach. According to new markets, the economic sub-structure is related to reflect culture and theories and contemporary social experts believe in favor of its importance. So, there is a future threat, it is confident that American political and economic system is unreliable. Nowadays, terrorism plays an important role in communication that how to 'counter terrorism' applies. The fact is that terrorism is not a new phenomenon. Many people are looking in studying and publishing a number of terrorist initiatives. Disappointment, unemployment or unconsciousness and dispute, anger and resistance mislead the mind of people.

After this, they use violence, it is also believed that we will lose powerful struggle, as long as we do not commit this violence activities. Now weakness is a source of terrorism. First of all, the real conflict is not the resources like money, people and political power. Second, the use of terrorism is not a purpose, as a source, while the main objective is to promote and strengthen the weaknesses of the government and civil

machinery in order to achieve its political goals. A number of states affected by terrorism in the current scenario. Terrorism activities become an integral part of the guerrilla war, facing political violence which is relatively new. It is considered as an important and clear mode of armed conflict. This is just an active group that is a source of self-sustainability without tolerating other states. Some states provide moral support to a group who can feel a little less than the valuable moral support of the states that promote neutral, but political goals.

## **2.2. Terrorist activities**

Keeping in mind the public policy to address the situation against terrorism, government measures are taking appropriate steps, such as terrorism available as immediate available to kill terrorism. Collect information and national support as well as international intelligence organizations like Interpol, FBI, Europa, etc. 'FBI / CIA / Europol' is counted as a global intelligence agency. Action against money laundering is also considered to be the best way to control terrorists' supply. These international organizations and related states will have appropriate agenda to face these conditions. Rules of human rights are also necessary. Theories mean basic instruction and solution of problems according to systemic way, which the policy makers can use to solve the problem properly and implement law and order.<sup>3</sup>

## **2.3. The social conflict paradigm**

The paradigm of social conflict is a frame work for buildings theory that see society as circle of inequality which generates conflict and change. The theory of structural

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<sup>3</sup> Anandam P, Kavoori and Todd Fraley, eds, *Media, terrorism, and theory: A reader* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2006).

functionalism emphasis on solidarity but the paradigm of social conflict highlight inequality.<sup>4</sup>

Terrorism is a serious social issue that appears any time everywhere. Terrorism is used by groups, individuals, and states. A discussion around the nature and roots of terrorism looks like controversial as people have commonly believed idea about what is the phenomenon. However, an analysis of theories, researches and studies on terrorism gave direction that it is easy to hypothesize but it is difficult to collect data to authenticate theories. Focusing on extremist activities a part effected by underground groups frequently very small figures and most theoretical viewpoints takes a compulsive appeal towards the plan that will effective for long-term counter actions. They ignored that “What are the motives and why Terrorists Terrorize?”

The development of dissertation shows that a researchers can capture the language and assumptions of the popular synthesis that gives more emphasis on principal of state centered co-operation for the development, security and stability of all classes in the international system.<sup>5</sup>

For understanding terrorism, it is necessary to work systematically. To answer the questions that from where it came, how it developed and to know that who are the terrorist. These are the indeterminate issues which are often accepted and sometime ignored that who are terrorists, what is terrorism and what are its factors.<sup>6</sup>

Investigating the factor of terrorism different model and theories has been studied. Many factors like government policy, contemporary politics, cultural causes, ideological trends, economic situation, individualism and other important causes have

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<sup>4</sup> John J. Maacionis, *Society the basic* (New Jessy 07458, Pearson Education, Sixth Edition, 20102), p. 12.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> John Horgan, *Psychology of terrorism*, (Rutledge, New York, 2014), p. 32.

been analyzed. It is investigated that why someone alone or in the form of groups choose to join the terrorist groups. It is point out that why terrorist become more violent. Is this violence political motivated or the psychologically personal or group manifesto of terrorists.<sup>7</sup>

Individual level factor has the basis i.e. rational, psychological and cultural. The rational is based upon on thanking for goals and benefits, psychological is on own personal satisfaction with life and the cultural deals with outsider threat and the danger for an ethnic group. At the group level, the terrorism grows in two sources, social movement and dramatic events. Social movement in mass actions to promote change but when an ethnic group suffer due to an event this may be produce a political movement in contrast.<sup>8</sup>

Sociological approach to terrorism is a group-based phenomenon chosen by weaker groups which the only available strategy. Terrorism and other form of collective violence participants are often shown like irrational.

Two sociological concepts, structural theory and relative deprivation theory are useful for analysis. Structural has been used in many policies and academic disciplines to point out social conditions that affects group access to services like equal rights, civil problems, freedom or other quality of life. In which government policies, administrative system, geographical location, role of security, forces and access to other social institutions<sup>9</sup>. This theory has been applied to this study that in the same study the factor of terrorism influenced by policies, lose rules and regulation, geography of KP, security and the failure of the institution in services to the common people in KP.

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<sup>7</sup> Gus Martin, *Essentials of terrorism: concepts and controversies* (Sege, Los Angles, Fourth Edition, 2016), P. 42.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 43.

Structural theories of revolution also emphasized that the weakness in the state structures encourage the potential for revolution. According this theory beset by problems like economic and military crises is weak to challenge by insurgent force<sup>10</sup>.

Relative deprivation theory essentially holds the feeling of the deprivation and frustration underlie individual decision to engage in collective action. This kind of group thinks that they are survival by government or social order. From this popular theory Gus Martin in his book essentials of terrorism, concepts and controversies, short coming has been argued.

Psychological research argues that aggression happens infrequently when the conditions for the relative deprivation are met. The theory is more likely to explain individual behavior the group behavior. Empirical studies have not found an association between relative deprivation and political violence.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 44.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

## CHAPTER-3

### RESEARCH METHDOLOGY

#### **3.1. Introduction**

In order to investigate the factors for terrorism with the perspectives of the national policies, this study is carried out for critical analysis and evaluation of policies. In this study responsible factors of terrorism and the weakness of national policies have been critically analyzed through Mixed-Method procedure. Both quantitative and qualitative methodologies were applied, because to find out similarities and differences among the residents and experts of the subject.

Mixed methods research is an approach to inquiry method that combines or associates both qualitative and quantitative forms. It involves philosophical assumptions, the use of qualitative and quantitative approaches, and the mixing of both approaches in a study. Thus, it is more than simply collecting and analyzing both kinds of data. It also involves the use of both approaches in cycle so that the overall strength of a study is greater than either qualitative or quantitative research.<sup>1</sup>

During the late 19th and throughout the 20th century, strategies of inquiry associated with quantitative research were those that elevated the post positivist worldview. These include true experiments and the less rigorous experiments called quasi-experiments and correlational studies and specific single-subject experiments. More recently, quantitative strategies have involved complex experiments with many variables and behaviors. They have also included elaborate structural equation models that incorporate causal paths and the identification of the collective strength of multiple

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<sup>1</sup> Sarwono, Jonathan, Quantitative, *Qualitative and Mixed Method Research Methodology* (Amazon.com, Washington, 2022), p. 23.

variables. Survey research provides a quantitative or numeric description of trends, attitudes, or opinions of a population by studying a sample of that population. It includes cross-sectional and longitudinal studies using questionnaires or structured interviews for data collection, with the intent of generalizing from a sample to a population.<sup>2</sup>

Mixed methods strategies are less well known than either the quantitative or qualitative approaches. The concept of mixing different methods originated in 1959 when Campbell and Fisk used multi method to study validity in outcomes. They encouraged others to employ their multi method matrix to examine multiple approaches to data collection. This encouraged others to mix methods, and soon approaches associated with field methods, such as observations and interviews (qualitative data), were combined with traditional surveys. Recognizing that all methods have limitations, researchers felt that biases inherent in any single method could neutralize or cancel the biases of other methods. Triangulating data source means seeking convergence across qualitative and quantitative methods. By the early 1990s, the idea of mixing moved from seeking convergence to actually integrating or connecting the quantitative and qualitative data. For example, the results from one method can help identify participants to study or questions to ask for the other method. Alternatively, the qualitative and quantitative data can be merged into one large database or the results used side by side to reinforce each other (e.g., qualitative quotes support statistical results or the methods can serve a larger, transformative purpose to advocate for different marginalized groups. These reasons for mixing methods have led writers from around the world to develop procedures for mixed methods strategies of inquiry, and these take the numerous terms found in the literature, such as multi method, convergence, integrated,

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<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p.29.

and combined and shape procedures for research. In particular, three general strategies and several variations within them are illustrated in this research • Sequential mixed methods procedures are those in which the researcher seeks to elaborate on or expand on the findings of one method with another method. This may involve beginning with a qualitative interview for exploratory purposes and following up with a quantitative, survey method with a large sample so that the researcher can generalize results to a population. Alternatively, the study may begin with a quantitative method in which a concept is tested, followed by a qualitative method involving detailed exploration with a few cases or individuals. Concurrent mixed methods procedures are those in which the researcher converges or merges quantitative and qualitative data in order to provide a comprehensive analysis of the research problem. In this design, the investigator collects both forms of data at the different time and then integrates the information in the interpretation of the overall results. Also, in this design, the researcher may insert one smaller form of data within another larger data collection in order to critically analyze different types of questions.<sup>3</sup>

### **3.2. Research Design**

In this research, the researcher adopted survey design as quantitative methodology in which the researcher conducted cross-sectional survey in six districts of Malakand Division (Malakand, Lower Dir., Upper Dir, Swat, Bunner, and Shangla) which are mostly terrorism's affected areas of KP. Additionally, the researcher conducted In-depth interviews as a qualitative methodology with twenty-four politicians of selected districts.

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<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

### **3.3. Population and Sampling Procedure**

In survey, data was collected from residents (male & female) of the six districts of Malakand Division including Malakand, Lower Dir., Upper Dir, Swat, Bunner, and Shangla through simple random sampling method from 300. While Interviews were conducted through purposive sampling method with 24 experts that are politicians of the area to explore the effects of the Zia and Musharraf policies and its effects on the terrorism in KP. Interview were conducted with politicians having affiliation with different political parties because to find out similarities and differences among the views. The interview was conducted with them face-to-face and by phone due to time limitations. Prior consent was taken from the interviewers and then conducted interview at the recommended time and venue of the respondents. All interview were conducted from January 03, 2024 and March 15, 2024.

### **3.4. Research Tools**

The researcher collected data by self-developed questionnaire that comprises of 89 close-ended questions including 04 based on demographics. There are for survey in section-one 19 questions, in section two 15 questions, in section three 16 questions, in section four 15 questions, in section five 15 questions and 9 questions for interview in-depth in section six. A pilot study was conducted to find out the reliability of the tool. The questionnaire was modified according to the pilot study response and distributed among the respondents. For survey total 400 questionnaire distributed in six selected districts of Malakand division while response was 357; (response rate;  $357 \times 100 / 400 = 89\%$ ). Then the data was cleaned in hard form whereas 39 cases were excluded to 70% empty response. Additionally, data was entered in a soft named statistical Package for social Sciences (SPSS) whereas 18 case were deleted due to non-serious response. Total 300 cases were process and analyzed.

Moreover, the In-depth Interview were conducted with 24 experts (politicians) of the area on the recommendation external evaluator. Nine Open-ended questions were asked from the politicians of *Dir Lower, Dir upper, Malakand, Swat, Buner* and *Shangla* districts. Interview were conducted with consent of the interviewees. Interview responses were recorded in note-taking method. After the interview the notes were arranged for data analysis. Notes were written with each question to find out themes. Thematic analysis was done to find out the answer of the questions and explore the factors of terrorism and policies of the Zia and Musharraf dictatorial era. Thematic Sheet was developed with consultation of supervisor then submitted to an expert for validity. After the validation of the tool data was entered and analyzed while presented in tables and charts. It is worth mentioning that data was entered manually because the researcher haven't expertise in qualitative software such Altus, NVivo and MXQDA.

Grounded theory is a strategy of inquiry in which the researcher derives a general, abstract theory of a process, action, or interaction grounded in the views of participants. This process involves using multiple stages of data collection and the refinement and interrelationship of categories of information. Two primary characteristics of this design are the constant comparison of data with emerging categories and theoretical sampling of different groups to maximize the similarities and the differences of information.<sup>4</sup>

### **3.5. Variables of the Study**

In this study the variables are Factors of Terrorism in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, National Policies of Zia to Musharraf Regimes. In this regard, factors of terrorism in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa are dependent while national policies are independent variables. In this

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<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30.

context it is assumed that national policies are influences and affecting the terrorism in KP.

## CHAPTER-4

### RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter is having six sections in which five on the base of survey including section 1 under the theme “Emergence of Terrorism in KP”, section 2 “Responsibilities of the Government”, section 3 “National Policies and Public Response”, section 4 “Political and Social Behaviors”, section 5 “*Pashtun* Society & Culture and the last section 6 on the base of interview under the theme “Zia to Musharraf Policies and Factors of Terrorism in KP”.

#### **4.1. The Emergence of Terrorism in KP (Section One)**

##### **4.1.1 Introduction**

This section has explored the origins of terrorism in the world as well as in Pakistan especially its province KP. Specific groups to be examined here which are nominated for terrorism during General Zia-ul Haq to General Pervez Musharraf regime. Helping of religious parties by Zia to participate in soviet Afghan War and opponent of Musharraf to war the terrorism is main point which have discussed in detail. Soviet Afghan War in this specific era different policies which directly and indirectly lead Pakistan to be affected by this phenomenon to lead to out of terrorism. The democratic period of “Pakistan People’s Party (PPP) and Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz PMLN)” with in era critical analyzed. Trend of *Jihad* and terrorism in KP are evaluated. It is evaluated in this section with different angles from primary and secondary sources to point out the factors of terrorism in KP. For this study national and international books, articles and others helping material related to the topic were selected. A questionnaire was designed for collection of data from the sampling areas. After discussion and analysis, the views of different writers and scholars the collected data

was also tabulated which concluded the findings and then findings were summarized at the end.

#### **4.1.2. Background of terrorism in KP**

With special reference to Islamic War (*Jihad*) which the *Pashtun* had fought in Kashmir and the United States (US) using the Muslims specially the students (*Taliban*) of religious institutions by supplying weapon and training to them here in KP during the Zia regime against the Soviet Union.<sup>5</sup> During this war the Afghan refugees were also trained and utilized to defeat the Soviet Union. The US gambling backdoor game for their supremacy in the world. But it leftover a lot of warriors to Pakistan settled in KP and including in the *Pashtun* belt of Afghanistan. These warriors engaged to their profession in various time in specific activities. Instead of this burden the Afghan refugees also migrate here and create a lot of social, economic, religious and criminal problems in Pakistan.

Mohammad A Qadeer states

The Afghan *Jihad* overflowed into Pakistan as bomb impacts, the weapon and medication exchange, and engaging aggressors. General Zia adjusted Pakistan to the US to expel the Soviet Union from Afghanistan. Pakistan savvy administrations and the military were the channels for the stockpile of combat hardware and help to Afghan *Mujahedeen*. The fringe areas of NWFP and Baluchistan got home to around 3,000,000 Afghan displaced people, whose camps were the selecting justification for Afghan contenders. Every one of these measures had an after-effect impact on Pakistan.<sup>6</sup>

Under the US pressure Pakistan banned the cultivation of opium. The US did not take serious steps to work for the rehabilitation of Afghan refugees. The warier groups and the farmers and land lords affected by the ban for opium were left helpless. Leaving Afghanistan without a formulated stable government the internal war destroyed it furthermore. In PPP era the Afghan *Taliban* who are here in religious studies, they

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<sup>5</sup> Hussain Haqqani, *Pakistan between Mosque and Military*, (Lahore: Vanguard Book, 2005), p. 181.

<sup>6</sup> Qadeer, *Pakistan Social and Cultural Transformations*, p. 169.

attacked over the internal fighter group and occupied Afghanistan. They established a strong US opponent Islamic State. But after 9/11 incident the US attacked over *Taliban* and Established here a calibration government. To confront the US the *Taliban* established different bases in KP and. After those different criminals and other aggressive actors joined them and very soon, they occupied the various areas here. Suddenly they lost their management system and become involved in the state opponents' activities. They also started murdering, splattering, social evil and other out of laws activates. They also established their court in the mosques and Madrasas.

Mohammad A Qadeer shaped in his book

Pakistan's contribution in the Afghan opposition was apparently informal, steered through the Jamaat and other Islamic gatherings. They marshaled popular supposition and ran emergency clinics, schools, and base camps for Afghan contenders. The Jamaat specifically, assumed the job of the military's assistant. Its new pioneers, Qazi Hussain Ahmed as the *Amir* and Liaqat Baloch the head of gathering in Punjab, for instance were veterans of the IJT, whose solid arm strategies transformed into the independent *Jihad* of the 1980s.<sup>7</sup>

In Musharraf and the PPP eras steps were taken against all the state opponents. But till now they rise in different shapes and doing terrorist activities like bombing, suicide and guerrilla attacks.

Pakistan has been confronted for time as main challenger for the title of record dangerous country in world. Pakistan's approach remains enigmatic toward the War on Terror which appreciated for the US led international alliance but also for the people of Pakistan. When General Musharraf led Pakistan into the US camp in its war against terror, his decision to side with the US-led NATO forces in their attack in Afghanistan was seen as a contradiction of Pakistan's policy toward Afghanistan. Thereafter, Pakistan became the ally of the US in its war against terror. Despite public declarations

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<sup>7</sup> Qadeer, *Pakistan Social and Cultural Transformations*, p. 170.

of the strength for US Pakistan relationship during Musharraf's rule, there existed deep rooted suspicions on both sides.<sup>8</sup>

Mohammad A Qadeer states in book "*Pakistan Social and Cultural Transformations in a Muslim Nation*

To carry this exchange to the present, a short reference to general Musharraf's military principle is altogether. Strangely, the Islamists greatest appointive achievement came in the 2002 decisions. An alliance of Islamic gatherings, *Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal* (MMA-United Action Forum) prevailing with regards to winning dominant parts in NWFP and Baluchistan congregations and framing commonplace governments. At the government level, they caught 60 seats in the extended National Assembly of 341 individuals. Without precedent for Pakistan's history, the Islamists have a sizable nearness in congregations and are governing in two territories.<sup>9</sup>

#### **4.1.3. Pakistan and Terrorism**

KP, which in the past known as North West Frontier Province (NWFP), is one of the fourth provinces of Pakistan. KP is located in the North West of Pakistan. Near, Afghanistan and China, its geographic position is very important. Many invaders from the South Asia like Alexander of Greece, *Babar* and *Mahmood* of *Ghazna* from Central Asia used this province as a gateway to attack India.

Pakistan is the victim of terrorism which is the universal issue of the era. Although the word "terrorism" has started by using religious "extremism", especially for this region. But historically first of all, this word is used for communist terrorists in Pakistan. When Bhutto was assassinated, his son made an organization called 'Al- Bhutto' to take revenge of his father. It was an announcement of a terrorist organization. This organization also kidnapped a plane of Pakistan, due to which a wave of terror spread across the country and world. It is believed that the start of terrorism in Pakistan is initiated by Bhutto, not by the head of religious organizations.

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<sup>8</sup> Haqqani, *Pakistan between Mosque and Military*, pp. 302-303.

<sup>9</sup> Qadeer, *Pakistan Social and Cultural Transformations*, p. 171.

Mohammad A Qadeer, “*Pakistan Social and Cultural Transformations in a Muslim Nation*”

Similarly, as a global flood of well-known fights (1968) found a reverberation in hostile to Ayub unsettling and Bhutto's populism, the Iranian insurgency of *Ayatollah Khomeini* (1979) and Afghan *Jihad* against the Soviet Union's control of Afghanistan (1980) quickened the Islamization procedure in Pakistan. The Iranian transformation at first caught the individuals' creative mind as the response to the debasement and wrongdoing in Pakistan yet its plummet into unforgiving restraint and monetary decrease disintegrated its initial sentiment. Inside Pakistan, it highlighted the *Sunni-Shia* break and fueled an intermediary war between Saudi Arabia and Iran through their *Wahabi-Shia* intermediaries in Pakistan. There will be progressively about the ascent of sectarianism later.<sup>10</sup>

But after 9/11 the religious organizations have developed a threatening element of events. Lot of people, men, women and children as well as political and military influential even former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto and security forces, were targeted by terrorists. The phenomenon has complexity because of internal hostility and external factors. The rise of multiple centers of terrorism in the country cannot be ignored. During 1989 the withdrawal of Soviet Army from Afghanistan, Pakistan was deeply intricate in supporting the Islamic Militia (*Mujahidin*) that were fighting against Soviet aggression. Zia, military ruler in Pakistan during this period, inflicted great harm to the political and social structure in Pakistan. He followed the policy of providing services to Mujahedeen in Afghanistan. He also promoted the strong radicalization in Pakistani society. Zia thought that supporting of the Islamic *Mujahedeen* would make him successful in international acceptance, for stable Islamic politics and extending his regime. He allied with the United States (US) in the Soviet-Afghan war instead of consideration the hostile effect of linking and helping radicalism by way of policy.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Qadeer, *Pakistan Social and Cultural Transformations*, p. 169.

<sup>11</sup> Talat Masood, *Pakistan's Fight Against Terrorism, Defense Against Terrorism Review* 4.1 (2012): 13-30, p. 14. [chrome-extension://oemmndcblldboiebfnladdacbfmadadm/http://](http://chrome-extension://oemmndcblldboiebfnladdacbfmadadm/http://)

According to Mohammad A Qadeer states in book “*Pakistan Social and Cultural Transformations in a Muslim Nation*”

General Zia's passing (August 1988) introduced the second period of the third time frame. Pakistan's patterned majority rule government returned in spite of the fact that the military despite everything called the shots. The Islamists got themselves again on the out opposite the force structure. Individuals reliably decided in favor of the standard ideological groups, for example, the PPP, PML, or MQM, by passing the Islamic gatherings. Three national political races individually yielded just 17 (1988), 17 (1990) and 9 (1993) parliamentary seats for the Jamaat, JUI, and JUP set up together to the National Assembly of 207 individuals. The Islamization of the 1980s didn't expand the constituent ubiquity of the Islamists. Every one of the three fundamental Islamic gatherings remained generally bound to their verifiable pockets in NWFP, Baluchistan, and *Karachi*. So baffled were the Islamists with the appointive procedure that the Jamaat and some other Islamic gatherings didn't take an interest in the 1997 elections.<sup>12</sup>

One of the most common implications of the current terrorism is that of targeting mosques, temples schools and universities and doing suicide attacks in Pakistan. The suicide that targets the educational institutions here is part of well-organized and trained groups. It is absolutely wrong to criticize a religious sect for these actions. It was learned to children in their childhood that the soldiers in the battlefield tied the bombs on their breasts and blasted the enemy's tanks. Psychologists call suicide attackers the vengeance or are trying to know about a higher purpose. This is the war of elders in which the children are being killing. During fighting the soldiers were killing of the both sides and the people of the nation's slept with joy.

Mohammad A Qadeer states in book “*Pakistan Social and Cultural Transformations in a Muslim Nation*”

Fight solidified *Jihadi* warriors turned into the safeguards of Islam during the 1990s. They return into their nations of origin to achieve Islamic disclosure. Numerous Arabs

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[pakistanhouse.net/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/CounterTerrorism.pdf](http://pakistanhouse.net/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/CounterTerrorism.pdf) (Accessed 8 February 2019)

<sup>12</sup> Qadeer, *Pakistan Social and Cultural Transformations*, p. 171.

*Jihadist* remained behind in Pakistan to help the Islamic freedom developments in Kashmir, Uzbekistan, Chechnya, and so forth. Their quality brought the US war on psychological oppression Pakistan's doorstep after the September 11, 2001 assaults on New York and Washington.<sup>13</sup>

Therefore, the paradigm changes in January, 2002, when Musharraf interrogated both the domestic and international community and gave a clear-cut statement for the end of supporting the militant organizations that are engaged in terrorism. He confirmed that he would be take effective actions against terrorists and extremist in the country. Because of his new paradigm the past policies changed. Thousands of Militants were arrested which many of them were set free later on.<sup>14</sup>

#### **4.1.4. Terrorism and its Impacts on Islam**

Using the name of religion, the terrorism has become main approach in the modern world for political violence which is a main issue in this regard. Religious terrorism is increasing by different frequencies and scales of violence. Religious terrorism is a type of violence which motivated by beliefs<sup>15</sup>. Political violence is opposed religious terrorism which conducted by fervent religious groups, the true believer of the same faith. Particularly Christianity, Islam, Hinduism and Judaism have extremist supporters, and they are hired by terrorist groups. These cults have their own core of beliefs, for which the accused each other.<sup>16</sup>

Consequence the origin of the term “Islam phobia” is the great impact of terrorism in the world. Particularly in West the negative attitudes affect the norms of Islam all over the world. *Jihad* is the Holy War in Islam which permitted the followers to fight for the

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<sup>13</sup> Qadeer, *Pakistan Social and Cultural Transformations*, p. 170.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> Gus Martin, *Essentials of terrorism, concepts and controversies*, (London, SAGE, 2016), p. 130.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 141.

religious purpose on specific occasions. But unfortunately, some countries, organizations and shallow religious do not know the concept of *Jihad*. So, this the matter that they often deceived toward the terrorism. Islam is a religion of peace in the entire universe for humanity and cannot allowed any one to force in religious matters. Therefore, the recent waves of terrorism are badly affecting the standards of Islam. Terrorism also affected the turn of *Jihad* in Muslim. Now they often fizzled to differentiate *Jihad* and Terrorism.

#### **4.1.5. Pashtun and Terrorism**

During this decade Terrorism in Pakistan is seen as the consequence of the Afghan conflict. The Afghan (KHAD) and Russian (KGB) Intelligence services were widely said to be behind the terrorist during this period.<sup>17</sup> Bombing in public places which designed to inflict more civilian casualties were the terrorist weapons which were used in the major cities of KP near Afghanistan. The *Khomeini-drove* insurgency in Iran fortified, uncovering obligation lines between the *Sunni* Gulf states and great extent *Shias* Iran. Battle for local influence, it defined alongside partisan lines. It was additionally happened by an intermediary psychological oppressor war in the outskirts of Pakistan. An energetic *Sunni* government, Saudi Arabia financially upheld Zia for his Islamizing approaches and furthermore for *Jihad* in Afghanistan. Anyway, in Pakistan, the *Shias* minority got frightened after those administering systems who started to actualize *Sunni*-situated Islamic arrangements. In this reaction, Iran stretched out its help to the *Shias* people group for picking up influence in this voting

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<sup>17</sup> Lawrence Wright, *The looming tower: Al-Qaeda and the road to 9/11*, Alfred a Knopf Incorporated, 2006. [https://scholar.google.com.pk/scholar?hl=en&as\\_sdt=0%2C5&q=+Al-Qaeda+and+Road+to+9%2F11&btnG=](https://scholar.google.com.pk/scholar?hl=en&as_sdt=0%2C5&q=+Al-Qaeda+and+Road+to+9%2F11&btnG=) (Accessed 10 February 2019).

demographic. "Mohammad A Qadeer states in book "*Pakistan Social and Cultural Transformations in a Muslim Nation*"

Neighborhood *Mullah* declared Islamic objectives to propel their political advantages, joining Islamic revivalism with individual quest for power. *Mullahs* and *Ulema* started announcing *Jihad* and broadcasting *Sharia* rule alone. Non state *Jihadists* and self-declared implementers of Islamic request rose as the purveyor of a privatized Islamic insurgency.<sup>18</sup>

The subsequent partisan clash has brought about some genuine conflicts among *Sunni* and *Shias* bunches from the Kurram Agency in the north to Karachi in the south. The foundations of racial favoritism in Pakistan are settled even before the hour of parcel, yet in the hour of Afghan *Jihad* it expanded essentially until it turned into a predominant type of dread during the 1990s. The savagery happened more every now and again than the common fear monger assaults of the 1990s, yet was progressively genuine and packed basically in the southern area of the nation. Until the finish of the only remaining century, fear-based oppressor assaults had declined, just to be re-brought into the world after the US-started "Suffering Freedom" tasks in Afghanistan since 9/11. In Islamabad, the legislature, under the administration of General Musharraf, chose to join with the US against the *Taliban*. The choice is accepted by the despot "In the Line of Fire" in his memory.

National intrigue is likewise breaking down that India had just attempted to move American bases by offering their bases; in the event that we didn't join the US, it would acknowledge India's offer then what will occur? India will get a brilliant open door with respect to Kashmir. Second, the security of our vital resources will be uncovered. We would not like to lose or harm the military equity accomplished with India by turning into an atomic weapons state.

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<sup>18</sup> Qadeer, *Pakistan Social and Cultural*, p.170.

The choice to be with the United States right away. Afterward, monetary and military guide started to stream into Pakistan. The connection of superpowers in the locale by and by left Pakistan with the ugly reality and developing psychological oppressor occurrences. After the assault on Wana in 2003 and the strike on the *Red Mosque* in 2007, psychological militant exercises were on the ascent. Psychological oppression during this decade was recorded and across the board. The developing revolt in Baluchistan has added another patriot width to this pattern of fear mongering.<sup>19</sup>

Mohammad A Qadeer states in His book “*Pakistan Social and Cultural Transformations in a Muslim Nation*”

Global fear mongering has discovered rich ground in Pakistan. On being driven out of Afghanistan (2002), individual from *Al-Qaeda* (Osama Bin Laden's *Jehadi* organize established in Afghanistan) scattered among Afghan displaced people living in Pakistan they likewise discovered sympathizers among Pakistani supporters of Afghans against Soviet *Jehad*. Their quality drew the consideration of the USA and provoked Pakistan's legislature to get serious about them, excessively Islamic aggressor's indignation. This worldwide and nearby Islamic militancy have connected together to additionally fan partisan brutality and execute disorder in Pakistan.<sup>20</sup>

#### **4.1.6. Terrorism and its Impacts on KP**

After Afghan *Jihad*, terrorism became more targeted. This is explained by the nature of the events of terror in this period. During this period racial and sectarian terrorism was dominated. There are circles in the general population of ethnic and sectarian terrorists who do not want to be harmed by discriminatory killings. During this period, terrorist attacks became more sophisticated and more focused. On the other hand, the number of claimants claiming most casualties increased dramatically during the terrorist period.

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<sup>19</sup> Luqman Saeed, Shabib Haider Syed, and Roger P. Martin, Historical patterns of terrorism in Pakistan, (*Defense & Security Analysis* 30.3 (2014): 209-229), pp. 210-211.

[www.researchgate.net/profile/Shabib](http://www.researchgate.net/profile/Shabib) (Accessed 10 February 2019)

<sup>20</sup> Qadeer, *Pakistan Social and Cultural Transformations*, p. 173.

Since the 1980s, the normal yearly number of setbacks in every occurrence has expanded by about 500%. This pattern has offered ascend to politically-spurred psychological warfare as of late, prompting more financially savvy and unpredictable basic fear-based oppressor rehearses, for example, suicide bombings. The nearness of partisan, patriot, and ethnic fear-based oppression episodes makes Pakistan a remarkable case in the psychological warfare contention. Generally, normal setbacks in non-partisan and partisan fear-based oppression episodes in Pakistan have been six and losses separately. However, as mentioned earlier, sectarian violence has advanced non-sectarian status in recent decades. This is because, unlike previous decades, suicide bombings for sectarian killings have seen an extraordinary increase over the decades.<sup>21</sup>

#### 4.1.7. Tabulation of demographic data of the survey respondents

The below tabulated data of respondent as discussed by the following tables.

**Table 4.1. Total selected respondents for survey according to gender**

Respondents	Frequency	Sex	
		Male	Female
Total	300	213	87
%	100	71	29

The above table displays gender of the respondents as 213 (71%) of them were males while 87 (29%) were female. Highest ratio of the respondents were males.

**Table 4.2. Showing ages of the respondents included in survey**

Respondents	Frequency	Age
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<sup>21</sup> Luqman Saeed, Shabib Haider Syed, and Roger P. Martin, *Historical patterns of terrorism in Pakistan*, (*Defense & Security Analysis* 30.3 (2014): 209-229), p. 213.

[www.researchgate.net/profile/Shabib](http://www.researchgate.net/profile/Shabib) (Accessed 10 February 2019)

		18-25	26-35	36-50	51 and above
Total	300	96	68	99	36
%	100	32	23	33	12

The above table displays ages of the respondents that 96 (32%) were in the age group of 18-25, 68 (23%) were in the age group of 26-35, while 99 (33%) belong to the age group of 36-50 and 36 (12%) were in the Age group of 51 and above. Widely respondents belong to the age group of 36-50.

**Table 4.3 Respondent's Educational status and level**

Respondents	Frequency	Educational Status										
		Literate	Illiterate	PhD	M Phil	Master	Graduate	Intermediate	Matriculate	Primary	Vocational	Religious
Total	300	288	12	12	18	78	66	33	36	21	15	9
%	100	96	4	4	6	26	22	11	12	7	5	3

### Denotation

Educational status of the respondents

Literate

Illiterate

Level of education of the literate respondents

- |             |                 |               |
|-------------|-----------------|---------------|
| a. PhD      | e. Intermediate | i. Vocational |
| b. M Phil   | f. Matriculate  | j. Religious  |
| c. Master   | g. Primary      |               |
| d. Graduate | h. Illiterate   |               |

In the above table shows educational status as that 288 (96%) of the respondents were literate and 12 (4%) were illiterate. This table further shows the level of education in literate respondents that 12 (4%) respondents have the educational level of PhD, 18



the religion services, 3 (1%) were farmers, 9 (3%) of the respondents were labor workers, 12 (4%) were of different technical fields, 3 (1%) were artists, while 6 (2%) were business men, 3 (1%) belonged to transportation, while 9 (3%) were in health services. Majority of the respondents have different professions but highest ratio was of politicians.

#### 4.1.8. Tabulation and analysis of data

The below tabulated and analyzed data of survey represents section one "The Emergence of Terrorism in KP".

*Do you think that terrorism affected peace in KP?*

**Table 4.5. The effects of terrorism on peace in KP**

Respondents	Frequency	Response		If yes				
		Yes	No	A	B	C	D	E
Total	300	285	15	50	47	30	29	129
%	100	95	5	18	16	11	10	45

#### **Denotation:**

- a. Instability in Afghanistan
- b. Unstable governance
- c. Lack of education
- d. Poverty
- e. All of the above

The above table explains that 285 (95%) of the respondents agreed that terrorism affected peace in KP while 15 (5%) did not agree. Furthermore, of the agreed respondents to the affection of peace in sequence as 50 (18%) for instability in Afghanistan, 47 (16%) for unstable governance, 30 (11%) for lack of education, 29 (10%) for poverty and 129 (45%) considered all the above causes. Majority of the respondents agreed that terrorism affected peace in KP. Majority of the agreed respondents considered all the causes for the affection of that are instability in Afghanistan, unstable governance, lack of education, and poverty.

***Do you agree with the statement that people of KP are involved in terrorism?***

**Table 4.6. Involvement of people in terrorism**

Respondents	Frequency	Response		If yes		
		Yes	No	A	B	C
Total	300	144	156	30	30	84
%	100	48	52	21	21	58

**Denotation**

- a. Directly
- b. Indirectly
- c. Both of the above

The above table explains that 144 (48%) of the respondents agreed with the statement that people of KP are involved in terrorism while 156 (52%) disagreed. The table further explains that 30 (21%) were of the agreed views think that people of KP are directly involved in terrorism, 30 (21%) were in favor of indirect involvement and 84(58%) views go for the above both. Majority of the respondents did not agree with the statement that people in KP are involved in terrorism and have believe that they are directly and in directly involved in terrorism.

***Do you differentiate in Islamic Jihad and terrorism?***

**Table 4.7. Differentiation in Islamic Jihad and terrorism?**

Respondents	Frequency	Response		If yes	
		Yes	No	A	B
Total	300	237	63	61	176
%	100	79	21	26	74

**Denotation**

If yes then how can you consider, the past and present situation of terrorism in KP?

- a. Jihad
- b. Terrorism

The above table explains that 237 (48%) of the respondents can differentiate between Islamic *Jihad* and terrorism while 63 (21%) cannot differentiate between them. The table further explain that 61 (21%) among the agreed respondents thinks that they can consider, the past and present condition of terrorism in KP which was *Jihad*, 176 (74%) were of the agreed respondents thinks that they can you consider the past and present situation of terrorism in KP which was terrorism. Majority of the respondents can differentiate between Islamic *Jihad* and terrorism that they can evaluate the past and present condition of terrorism in KP which was believe it terrorism.

***Do you know the causes of terrorism in KP?***

**Table 4.8. Causes of terrorism in KP?**

Respondents	Frequency	Response		If yes			
		Yes	No	Lack of education	Economic factors	Drawbacks in National Policies	Cultural behavior
Total	300	264	36	5	137	16	106
%	100	88	12	2	51	7	40

**Denotation**

- a. Lack of education:
- b. Economic factors
- c. Drawbacks in National Policies
- d. Cultural behavior

The above table explains that 264 (88%) of the respondents know the causes of terrorism in KP, 36 (12%) do not know. The table further explains that 5 (2%) agreed to the view that they consider it economic factor, 137 (51%) were agreed for the factor of drawbacks in national policies, 16 (7%) considering cultural behavior is the factor and 137 (51%) are agree for the lack of education which responsible factor for of terrorism in KP. The highest ratio of the respondents known the causes of terrorism in KP and considering the drawbacks in national policies as causes of terrorism.



***Do you agree that Afghan refugees affected peace in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa?***

**Table 4.11. Afghan refugees affected peace**

Respondents	Frequency	Response		If yes			
		Yes	No	A	B	C	D
Total	300	174	126	15	54	10	95
%	100	58	42	54	10	6	54

**Denotation**

- a. Introducing weapons
- b. Involvement in terrorism
- c. Differences in religious beliefs
- d. All of the above

The above table explains that 174 (58%) of the respondents agreed that Afghan refugees affected the peace in KP while 126 (42%) were disagreed. The table further explain that 15 (9%) were of the agreed the views that Afghan refugees introduced weapons, 54 (31%) were in favor that they involved in terrorism, 10 (6%) thinks that the affected religious beliefs and 95 (54%) views in favor of all the above effects. Majority of the respondents 174(58%) of the respondents agreed that Afghan refugees affected the peace in KP and they were agreed with all the above factors that are introduced of weapons, involved in terrorism and differences in the religious beliefs that affected peace in KP.

***Do you agree that terrorism affected traditional Jirga system?***

**Table 4.12. Effects of terrorism on traditional Jirga system**

Respondents	Frequency	Response	
		Yes	No
Total	300	267	33
%	100	89	11

The above table explains that 267(89%) of the respondents agreed that terrorism affected traditional *Jirga* system and 33(11%) of them disagreed. Majority of the respondents agreed that terrorism affected traditional *Jirga* system.

***Do you agree that invasion of Soviet Union in Afghanistan is a cause of terrorism in KP?***

**Table 4.13. Invasion of Soviet Union in Afghanistan is a cause of terrorism**

<i>Respondents</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	Response	
		Yes	No
Total	300	189	11
%	100	63	37

The above table explains that 189 (63%) of the respondents were of the view that invasion of Soviet Union in Afghanistan is a cause of terrorism in KP and 11 (37%) of the respondents did not agree the same view. Many more of the respondents of the respondents were of the view that that invasion of Soviet Union in Afghanistan is a cause of terrorism in KP.

***Do you agree that poverty is the main cause of terrorism?***

**Table 4.14. Poverty is the main cause of terrorism**

Respondents	Frequency	Response	
		Yes	No
Total	300	177	123
%	100	59	41

The above table shows that 177 (59%) respondents agreed with the views that the main cause of terrorism is poverty while 123 (41%) view were found disagreed to the above statement. Most of the respondents agreed the views that the main cause of terrorism is poverty.

***Do you agree that terrorism is still prevailing in KP?***

**Table 4.15. Terrorism is still prevailing in KP?**

Respondents	Frequency	Response										
		Yes	No	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
Total	300	180	120	46	15	5	0	0	5	5	5	99
%	100	60	40	25	8	3	0	0	3	3	3	55

**Denotation**

- |                                                           |                      |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|----------------------|
| a. Draw back in governmental policies                     | e. Unemployment      |
| b. Non implementation of Law and Order                    | f. Feudalism         |
| c. Rush of the media resources                            | g. Lack of Education |
| d. Fast communication specially roads and transportation. | h. Disunity          |
|                                                           | i. All the above     |

The above table explains that 180 (60%) of the respondents were of the view that terrorism is still prevailing in KP, 120 (40%) did not agree. The table further explain that 46 (25%)

were of the agreed respondents considering it because of draw back in government policies, 15 (8%) were agreed for non-implementation of law and order, 5 (3%) for rush of the media resources, feudalism, lack of education and disunity and 0 (0%) for fast communication specially roads and transportation. and Unemployment while 99 (55%) for views stand for all the above factors. Majority of the respondents have views that that terrorism is still prevailing in KP while they considered the prevailing of terrorism in KP because of draw back in governmental policies, non-implementation of law and order, rush of the media resources, feudalism, lack of education and disunity and for fast communication specially roads and transportation and unemployment.

*Do you know about the “major class” being involved in terrorism?*

**Table 4.16. The “major class” being involved in terrorism?**

Respondents	Frequency	Response					If yes		
		Yes	No	A	B	C	D	E	
Total	300	213	87	10	5	40	115	43	
%	100	73	29	5	2	19	54	20	

**Denotation**

- a. Students of Religious Institutes
- b. Students of Government Institutes
- c. Common people
- d. Criminal people
- e. All of the above

The above table explains that 213 (73%) of the respondents know that the “major class” being involved in terrorism, 87 (29%) did not know. The table further explains that 10 (5%) were of the agreed respondents considering that students of religious institute are involved in terrorism, 5 (2%) were agreed for students of government institute, 40(19%) for common people, 115 (54%) for criminal people 43 (20%) for all the above classes. Greatest ratio of the respondents known the “major class” being involved in terrorism and views that major class” being involved in terrorism are criminal people.

***Do you agree that some people of KP are still involved in terrorist activities?***

**Table 4.17. Some people of KP are still involved in terrorist activities**

Respondents	Frequency	Response	
		Yes	No
Total	300	132	168
%	100	44	56

The above table explains that 132 (44%) of the respondents were of the view that some people of KP still involved in terrorist activities while 168 (56%) were not agreed this statement. Majority of the respondents, views that some people of KP still involved in terrorist activities.

***Do you agree with the statement that generally poor people are engaged in terrorism?***

**Table 4.18. Generally poor people are engaged in terrorism**

Respondents	Frequency	Response	
		Yes	No
Total	300	171	129
%	100	57	43

The above table explains that 171(57%) of the respondent agreed with the statement that generally poor people are engage in terrorism and 129 (43%) of them were not agreed. Common of the respondents of the respondent were agree with the statement that generally poor people are engage in terrorisms

***Do you think that fundamental religious mind and unemployed youth is the main source of terrorism in KP” do you agree with the statement?***

**Table 4.19. Fundamental religious mind and unemployed youth is the main source of terrorism in KP”**

Respondents	Frequency	Response	
		Yes	No
Total	300	159	141
%	100	53	47

The above table explains that 159 (53%) of the respondent agreed with the statement that “fundamental religious mind and unemployed youth is the main source of terrorism in KP”. Majority of the respondents agreed with the statement that “fundamental religious mind and unemployed youth is the main source of terrorism in KP”.

#### **4.1.9. Summary**

From the above description, it is summarized that Islamic War (*Jihad*) in Kashmir, struggle of US for supremacy over Soviet Union create different warriors, groups and a lot of other strategic, social problems for Pakistan in the regions of KP. Supplying weapon and training of different group here, during the Zia regime, they were utilized in Afghan-USSR war. But unfortunately, these warriors engaged to their profession in various time involved in specific activities. Instead of this burden the Afghan refugees also migrate here which create a lot of social, economic, religious and criminal problems in Pakistan.

After these circumstances no steps were taken for the restoration of peace, otherwise US pressurized Pakistan to ban the cultivation of opium. Afghan refugees were set free helpless. Leaving Afghanistan without a formulated stable government the internal war destroyed it furthermore. In the PPP era the Afghan *Taliban* studies here in Pakistan occupied Afghanistan. Establishing a strong Islamic and US opponent Islamic government, US attacked them after 9/11 incident and established here a calibration government. To confront the US the *Taliban* established different bases in KP and here different criminals and other aggressive actor joined them and very soon they occupied the various areas of KP and suddenly they lost their management system and become involve in the state opponents activates. They also started murdering, splattering, social evil and other out of laws activates. They also established their court in the mosques and Madrasas to decide the disputes of the public.

The approach of Pakistan toward “War on Terror” remains enigmatic and appreciated by US and Musharraf drove Pakistan in US camp war against fear war. From that point, Pakistan turned into the most partnered of the US in its war against dread. Pakistan is one of the most injured individual nations by fear mongering. Withdrawal of Soviet Army from Afghanistan, the Pakistan was profoundly associated with supporting the (*Mujahidin*) Islamic Militia that were battling against Soviet animosity. In Pakistan Zia, military ruler during this period, dispensed extraordinary mischief to the political and social structure of Pakistan. He followed the policies of providing serves to *Mujahedeen* in Afghanistan. Religious terrorism is increasing by different frequencies and scales of violence. Religious terrorism is a type of violence which motivated by beliefs. Consequence the origin of the term “Islam phobia” is the great impact of terrorism in the World. Particularly in West the negative attitudes affect the norms of Islam all over the World. *Jihad* is the Holy War in Islam which permitted the followers to fight for

the religious purpose on specific occasions. But unfortunately, some countries, organizations and shallow religious scholars did not know the concept of *Jihad*. Therefore, they often deceived toward the terrorism. Islam is universal religion of peace and humanity and cannot allowed any one to force in religion matters. So, the recent waves of terrorism are badly affecting the standards of Islam. Terrorism has also affected the turn of *Jihad* in Muslim. Now they often fizzled to differentiate *Jihad* and Terrorism. Enthusiastic *Sunni* government Saudi Arabia, financially bolstered Zia's Islamizing approaches and furthermore *Jihad* Afghanistan. Anyway, in Pakistan, the *Shias* minority became caution in logical inconsistency *Sunni*-situated Islamic approaches. Iran upheld the *Shias* people group.

The USA, monetary and military guide started into Pakistan. The association of the superpower in the district once more, Pakistan was left with in the expanded fear monger brutality. In Baluchistan added another patriot measurement to this psychological militant wonder. This pattern has offered ascend to politically-propelled fear-based oppression as of late, prompting more financially savvy and aimless ruinous psychological militant practices, for example, suicide bombings. The nearness of partisan strict, patriot, and ethnic fear-based oppression episodes makes Pakistan a one-of-a-kind case in the psychological oppression contention. From the collected data it was summarized that there was no incident of terrorism in KP before the creation of Pakistan. The people were peaceful but terrorism affected peace in KP with consideration that all the causes like instability in Afghanistan, unstable governance, lack of education, and poverty were responsible in this regard. Some people of KP are involved in terrorism directly and in directly. The people in KP can differentiate between Islamic *Jihad* and terrorism so they consider as the past and present situation in KP. The people know the causes of terrorism in KP which have factor of drawbacks

in national policies. Likely all the people of KP opposed terrorism in the nearby. Some people were considering that terrorism was emerged from KP and Afghan refugees affected the peace in KP by introducing the tradition of weapons, involving in terrorism and differences in the religious beliefs. The terrorism affected traditional *Jirga* system. The invasion of Soviet Union in Afghanistan is a big cause of terrorism in KP. Poverty is also the main cause of terrorism. The terrorism is still prevailing in KP due to draw back in governmental policies, non-implementation of law and order, rush of the media resources, feudalism, lack of education and disunity, fast communication specially roads and transportation and Unemployment. The “major class” being involved in terrorism are criminal people. Some people of KP are still involved in terrorist activities and generally poor people are engage in terrorism that “fundamental religious mind and unemployed youth is the main source of terrorism in KP”. In the Musharraf and the PPP era steps was taken against all the state opponents. But still now they rise in different shapes and doing terror activities like bombing, suicide and guerrilla attacks

## **4.2. Responsibilities of the Government in a State (Section Two)**

### **4.2.1. Introduction**

This section elaborates the concept of state and its responsibilities of government and the duties of the public are also highlighted. The major responsibilities of a responsible society in developing of a nationhood discusses. Living in multi linguistic and multi racism country like Pakistan the people in the province KP is always targeted. It is evaluated in this chapter from different angles from primary and secondary sources that to point out factors of terrorism in *Pashtun* especially in KP. For this study national and international books, articles and others helping material related to the topic were selected. A questionnaire has designed to collect data from the sampling areas. After discussing and analyzing the views of different writer, scholars the collected data have

been also tabulated which concluded the findings and then summarized findings at the end.

#### **4.2.2. The State**

Politically state is an organized community and society which since very early existed in human life. Greeks in the ancient stage called it polls, which give the meaning of a city or community which is politically organized.<sup>1</sup> Later on the word polls changed into politics in English. The Romans called city or State or civitas from which words like city, citizen, and civic or civilization derived in English. Although it is also adopted in various forms in European languages during 15th and 16th centuries. Now in French, English and German it is called State.<sup>2</sup>

In the mid Century the State considered by Muslims was as outstanding power. Philosophers and writers in modern era also described by various ways like general joint stock company or others as like living organism. Idealist philosophers consider the State is an ethical personality and an image of God happening on earth. Marxists called it as an instrument for power class and an institution for government.<sup>3</sup>

A State has four elements in which population and land are the physical aspects and the government and sovereignty are the political or spiritual bases of a State. The first one is the living organ and by nature is like a social being. The second is land which provide space and other needs for its living. The first one people and second the land shaping a society and traditions regulate the society. But when many societies go together, it

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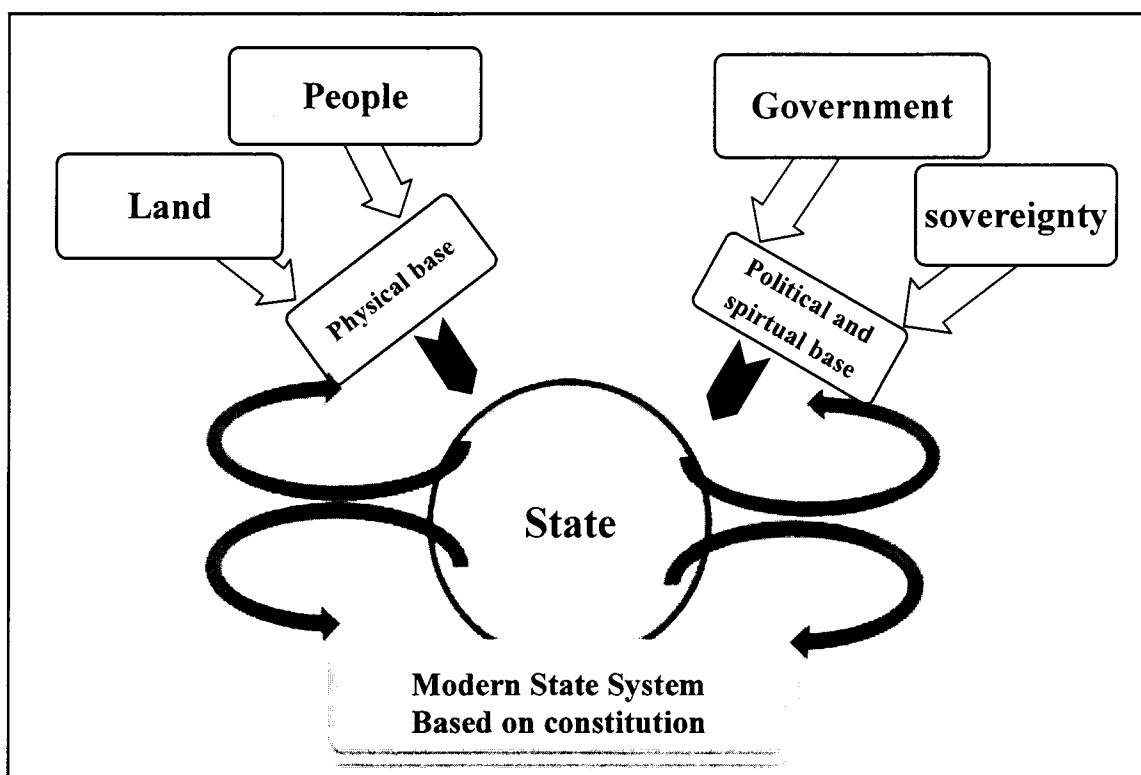
<sup>1</sup> Ishtiaq Ahmad, *The concept of an Islamic State in Pakistan: An Analysis of Ideological Controversies*, (Lahore: Vanguard Book, 1991), pp. 209-211.

<sup>2</sup> <https://www.awamipolitics.com/origin-of-the-term-state-7032.html> (Accessed 14 February 2019).

<sup>3</sup> Mazhar Ul Haq, *Political Science: Theories and Practice*, (Lahore: Bookland, 2009), pp.132-133.

creates differences among different societies. Therefore, a peaceful life become difficult and the concept of third element i.e. government is considered essential at that time. So, for this purpose the different societies constitute laws for the government and appoint the boundaries for the implementation of that constitution. The constitution insures all the societies according to the traditional, social, religious and other values. The sovereignty the fourth element of the state is the freedom of state from internal and external pressure.<sup>4</sup>

The State is a permanent and continuous but government is changeable. Due the change in public opinions and needs the government also keeps on changing in a democratic state. Accordingly, the public and national policies are change with the passage of time.<sup>5</sup>



4.1. Figure shows the concept and element of the State developed by the Researcher

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 135-137.

<sup>5</sup> <https://www.awamipolitics.com/origin-of-the-term-state-7032.html> (Accessed 14 February 2019).

### 4.2.3. The Nation State

In the past states were raised in various shape which had differences in the nature of land and people that affect the State and government. By the evolution one State came to an end and the other State came forward with stresses motive<sup>6</sup>. As evaluated from primitive era to the recent stage the State is useful instrument for managing different societies. The Stateless societies in the primitive times show the darkness of that time. The Tribal set ups and Kingdoms of Ancient times suppose, at first time they build cities and their environs. The Oriental Empire was on the base of conquest and power and the tribes were organized in on social equality. Polis or Greek City-State was different from others and based on the individual liberty, free and equal participation in the governing of the State which was the real sense of democracy<sup>7</sup>.

The Roman Empire was law base on the nature of the nation and their strong administrative system was sign of great achievement. The Feudal State is a leftovers shape of the Roman Empire in which the society was divided in to two classes the nobility and serfs. At least a village was in the control of a Lord.<sup>8</sup>

The Nation State is a new type of State which is based on connections to nationality. These connections are common as religion, language, customs and traditions, and these connections are further strengthened by the chain of nation<sup>9</sup>.

The meaning of nation state is an independent national distinctiveness under the separate sovereign, State geographical factors are common as well as religion, culture, language and other experimental historical of National freedom are also common.

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<sup>6</sup> Mazhar Ul Haq, *Political Science: Theories and Practice*, (Bookland, Lahore, 2009), p149.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 150-154.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 57.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 132-133.

Modern State is based on internal and external laws which are based on the enforcement of the State.<sup>10</sup>

The concept of state in Islam is the complete system of life because the Islam encircled all the life of human being in its limitations. The Islamic ideas for a State was developed by integrative views in the State elements<sup>11</sup>. The principle of sovereignty to Allah, dominated in a State which Allah revaluated to Muslim by the last Prophet peace be upon him (PBUH). Every man making laws should be respectful to the sovereignty of Allah i.e. *Quran-wa-Sunna*<sup>12</sup>. In this kind of state, the concept of government is called Caliphate (*Khilafat*) which the organized political structure of Muslim Community. In an Islamic State the *Khalifa* or *Amir* is nominated on the basis of Islamic principles by Muslim Legislative Council (*Majlis-e-Shora*).<sup>13</sup>

Evaluating Pakistan as a State it is necessary to come back to its ideological history. The great social achievement of Islam was to unite the divided society in India from top to bottom by its own religious characteristics. Because of these division two parallel societies confronted each other which created complicated relationship between Hindus and Muslims in the Subcontinent.<sup>14</sup>

The Hindu Muslim differences laid the foundation of two separates nations. Between these two nations continuity of the struggle for supremacy one another the reality of the nature. Different wars were fought for this purpose in which Urdu is originated. The

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<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 199.

<sup>11</sup> Asghar Khan, *The Pakistan Experience State and Religion*, (Lahore: Vanguard Book, 1985), p21.

<sup>12</sup> Mazhar Ul Haq, *Political Science: Theories and Practice*, (Lahore: Bookland, 2009), p201.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp202-205.

<sup>14</sup> Sharif al Mujahid, *Ideology of Pakistan*, (Rawalpindi: Service Book Club, 2001), pp19-20.

struggle of the spiritual also have importance which motivated a lot of Hindus toward Islam and the Muslim Population became enlarge.

By the above factors i.e. religion, language, territories and people the Muslim became Nation fulfilling all the criteria for it. So, they started struggled for separate home land where they develop their own civilization according to their religion.

#### **4.2.4. The State of Pakistan**

The arrival of Islam in Spain and India was at the same time. After conquer by Tariq Bin Zayyad and Muhammad Bin Qasim, Muslims ruled over till 1452 A.D. in Spain and till 1877 A.D. India. In 1877 A.D. the British regret the last Muslim ruler of Mughal dynasty, Bahadar Shah Zafar and captured the Indian throne.<sup>15</sup> The British slowly replaced the Islamic Laws by introducing the Indian Penal Code with Criminal Procedure Code. For the first time Muslim started living with Hindu under the non-Muslim ruler. During British period the Muslims suffered a lot of difficulties and politically, literally and economically they were pushed very back. Different movement were started for their reforms. The struggle of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan played very important role for the reconciliation between Muslim and British. In the reawaking of the Muslim in India the Aligarh Movement has remarkable achievement. The movement provide a platform to the Muslim that many of the students and members became a part of Pakistan Movement through “All India Muslim League”. In the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam at last the Muslims own their home land for Muslim nationalism in India 14<sup>th</sup> August, 1947.<sup>16</sup>

Nearly Six months after Quaid’s death on September 11, 1948, the Objectives Resolution moved by Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan on March 7, 1949 which are the main

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<sup>15</sup> Afazl Iqbal, *Islamisation of Pakistan*, (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1986), pp. 13-15.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 18-41.

principals for the further constitution of the country.<sup>17</sup> The Objective Resolution which is adopted in the constitution of 1973 as preambles are based upon on the Islamic principle of state.<sup>18</sup> Unfortunately, the religious extremism and economic volition is increasing in Pakistan, and the violation of the constitution is routine of their life.

The Zia abrogated the 1973 constitution make the country by military power a terror cultivated field especially KP, still seeds grow up wherever and whenever they find suitable environment.

Pakistani nation is the combination of multi societies, differentiated from each other in respect of interest, ethnic roots, language, religion and school of taught. The majority of its population is Muslim but they are divided in to sectarian groups and do not recognizing each other. The minority groups are said to be stand different kind of problems in Pakistan by anti-Pakistani nationalism elements.

In Pakistan, it is very difficult to bring terrorists in the court of justice, weak laws and lack of evidence. Most of the certified terrorists due to absence evidence the courts have withdrawn their cases. This is because of fears the revenges, happen to judges as well as to witnesses and police. Providing the protection is the duty of the state but, fearing their lives, witnesses do not come forward to provide evidence. In the lack of actual evidence and failure of state to provide for judges and witnesses proper security, as well as security persons, the terrorists in the past were mostly released which clearly indicate to the failure state.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 42.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51.

<sup>19</sup> Talat Masood, *Pakistan's Fight Against Terrorism, Defense Against Terrorism Review* 4.1 (2012), pp.13-30.

Chromeextension://oemmndcbldboiebfnladdacbfdmadadm/http://pakistanhouse.net/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/CounterTerrorism.pdf (Accessed 8 February 2019)

#### **4.2.5. The Responsibilities of Government**

The Governments all over the world keep their citizens accountable for some tasks, like paying taxes, and cooperation of law. But people in return, assigns responsibilities and duties to the government. The Citizens know and perform these duties are able to hold the governments accountable. About modern thinking the government concept comes out social contract. Almost really the government is organized for the need of protection during conflicts and maintain of law and order in the state. It is the main duty of government to exercise defense for State from external enemy and provide protect to the citizen from internal disturbance. To provide protection the government is responsible to organizing police and enforce the law for each citizen of the State. Nowadays most people expect their governments for taking action to sponsor national prosperity and worth of life. The system of ensure competition and fairness, involving to protect local business, create jobs and other processes to stabilize and developed local growth of economy. In a democratic system, the government is responsible for planning to develop economic growth, major and minors' industries in the country. Government is always responsible to provide basic facilities to their citizens, like building roads and Supply of water, education. For the welfare of citizen, the government also to provide assistance like in food, housing or medical care to needy citizen. In democratic or socialist government this is a basic system.

The guarantee of basic constitutional and fundamental rights for the citizens is the responsibility of the government. Human life is meaningless without basic rights. These rights are definite in the constitution of Pakistan. According to Article 3, the removal of all types of exploitation is the primary responsibility of the state. And the division of all facilities and opportunities is ensured that everyone will be given according to their

ability and everyone will be given compensation according to his work. A person has not permitted to do any work which prohibit in the law.

It is proved that poverty in a welfare state is rapidly decreasing, money is spent on public in a welfare state. The main responsibility of the state is that equitable distribution of resources in such a way that every citizen can be equally utilize. The state is free to have any external pressure on its territory, population, government and sovereignty. One important responsibility of the state to provide full protection for its citizens, to protect their lives and property. To maintain peace in the boundaries of the state, ensuring the freedom of all kinds of economic, political and religious activities according to state laws within the state for citizens.

Establishing a better system of justice in the boundaries of the state. No discrimination gives equal rights to every citizen, easy access to justice and access to justice is the main right of every citizen. Regarding the same laws of all citizens without any respect. These are all the basic responsibilities of the state. The Government is set to fulfill these responsibilities of the state. The state extends its rights to government and the government makes different responsibilities to get the job done by these responsibilities.

#### **4.2.6. Responsibilities of Public**

The welfare state refers to the concept of the state in which the government takes the responsibility for protection and improvement of citizens. In a welfare state the government recognizes its citizen's financial security as the first priority. The government cannot discriminate in its citizens, whether it is linguistic, religious, regional discrimination or economic or social. In ancient times, states used to be controlled by the interests of the rulers only, and there were rarely born such a bright man who had given new ideas in the state, which has improved human life. State

rearranged the system of state and explained the rights of the people. Human thoughts grew in democracy and the state system improved. One step ahead, another new concept had been presented in the state system, called a welfare state.

But where there are rights, there is a need to do some duties. Therefore, Pakistan also imposes some basic duties on its citizens and other people living in the state whose restrictions are necessary. The loyalty of state is the primary duty of every citizen. They must be obeying the law, as per the state which is the basic duty considered and the most important task. Because of the state, everything dependent on institutions, whose respect is not only required on the public but also by the ruler and elite. The Parliament of any country is a much-respected institution comprising of the elected representatives by the people. A state's parliament also speaks for the civil society. The national responsibility is such that we should keep the morale of the army, strengthen their hands, and keep away from the fact that there is a negative impact on the morale of the army. There are the citizens have right to criticize but in a positive manner.

Mohammad Ali Jinnah also said in his speech that Pakistan's constitution and economic and social justice system will be established in Pakistan, but today the people of Pakistan are deprived of basic needs and facilities. There is no guarantee of bread, clothes, houses, health and employment in Pakistan's constitution, but the basic rights of the fundamental rights are in the case of political and legal matters. Article 9 gives fundamental rights. To days it is observing that many people is expelling of their economic sources.

#### 4.2.7. Tabulation and Analysis of Data

The below tabulated and analyzed data of survey represent the section two "Responsibilities of the Government in a State".

*Is the government taking part in development of the KP province?*

**Table 4.20. Government participant in development of KP**

Respondents	Frequency	Response	
		Yes	No
Total	300	243	120
%	100	81	80

The above table shows that 243 (81%) of the respondents agreed that government taking part in development of the KP province while of the 120 (80%) did not agree. The majority of respondents agreed that government taking part in development of the KP province

*Do you agree that the government gives safety to those who help the government in counter-terrorism?*

**Table 4.21. Giving safety to those who help the government in counter-terrorism**

Respondents	Frequency	Response					
		Yes	No	Fear of the concern official from terrorists	The officials their selves have links with terrorists	Direct threat to the person	All the above
Total	300	120	180	15	28	24	113
%	100	40	40	8	16	13	63

#### **Denotation:**

- a. Fear of the concern official from terrorists.
- b. The officials their selves have links with terrorists
- c. Direct threat to the person
- d. All the above

The above table explains that 120 (40%) of the respondents agreed that government gives safety to those who help the government in counter-terrorism while 180 (60%) disagreed. Furthermore, of the disagreed respondent, point out the causes in the above direction in sequence as 15 (8%) fear of the concern official from terrorists, 28 (16%) for the officials their selves have links with terrorists, 24 (13%) for direct threat to the person, and 113 (63%) considered all the above causes. The highest ratio of the respondents agreed that government gives safety to those who help the government in counter-terrorism. The considered that all of the above reasons that are the fear of the concern official from terrorists, officials their selves have links with terrorists and direct threat to the person

***Do you agree that life is uncomfortable due to terrorism in Pakistan?***

**Table 4.22. Life is uncomfortable due to terrorism**

Respondents	Frequency	Response	
		Yes	No
Total	300	276	24
%	100	92	8

The above table explains that 276 (92%) of the respondents agreed that life is uncomfortable due to terrorism in Pakistan while 24 (8%) disagreed. Majority of the respondents of the respondents agreed that life is uncomfortable due to terrorism in Pakistan.

***Do you agree that low ratio of education is one of causes of terrorism?***

**Table 4.23. Low ratio of education is one of the causes of terrorism**

Respondents	Frequency	Response		If yes		
		Yes	No	Male education	Female education	Both of the Above

Total	300	237	63	35	20	182
%	100	79	21	15	8	77

**Denotation**

- a. Male education
- b. Female education
- c. Both of the Above

The above table explains that 237 (79%) of the respondents agreed that low ratio of education is one cause of terrorism while 63 (21%) did not agreed. The table further explains that 35 (15%) of the agreed respondents think that male education, 20 (8%) male education and 182 (77%) thinks that low ratio of male and female education is cause of terrorism. Majority of the respondents agreed that low ratio of education is one cause of terrorism and thinks that low ratio of male and female education is cause of terrorism.

***Do you agree that terrorist activities are according to the law and human rights?***

**Table 4.24. Terrorist activities and law and human rights**

Respondents	Frequency	Response	
		Yes	No
Total	300	51	249
%	100	17	83

The above table explains that 51 (17%) agreed that terrorist activities are according to the law and human rights, 249 (83%) did not agreed that agree that terrorist activities are according to the law and human rights. Many more of the respondents did not agree that agree that terrorist activities are according to the law and human rights.

***Do you agree that anti-terrorism operations are according to the law and human rights?***

**Table 5.25. Anti-terrorism operations, law and human rights?**

Respondents	Frequency	Response	
		Yes	No
Total	300	153	147
%	100	51	49

The above table explains that 153 (51%) respondents agreed that ant-terrorism operations are according to the law and human rights while 147 (49%) did not agreed

that anti-terrorism operations are according to the law and human rights. The highest ratio of the respondents agreed that anti-terrorism operations are according to the law and human rights

***Do you agree that modern communication system and mass media are promoting terrorism in KP?***

**Table 4.26. Modern communication and media and promotion of terrorism in KP**

Respondents	Frequency	Response	
		Yes	No
Total	300	99	201
%	100	33	67

The above table explains that 99(33%) of the respondents agreed that modern communication system and mass media are promoting terrorism in KP while 201(67%) view were found against the above opinion that modern communication system and mass media are promoting terrorism in KP. Majority of the respondents view were found against the opinion that modern communication system and mass media are promoting terrorism in KP.

***Do you satisfied about the basic needs being provided by the state to their citizens in Pakistan?***

**Table 4.27. Satisfaction of the basic needs which provided by the state**

Respondents	Frequency	Response	
		Yes	No
Total	300	78	222
%	100	26	74

The above table explains that 78(26%) of the respondents satisfied about the basic needs being provided by the state to their citizens in Pakistan while 222(74%) did not satisfy about the basic needs being provided by the state to their citizens in Pakistan. Mostly

respondents did not satisfy about the basic needs being provided by the state to their citizens in Pakistan.

***Do you agree that as citizens of Pakistan the people of KP accepting their responsibilities?***

**Table 4.28. As citizens accepting of responsibilities**

Respondents	Frequency	Response		If yes	
		Yes	No	Some People	All People
Total	300	222	78	161	61
%	100	74	26	73	27

**Denotation**

- a. Some people
- b. All people

The above table explains that 222(74%) of the respondents agreed that as citizens of Pakistan the people of KP accepting their responsibilities and 78(26%) of them disagreed. Further the table shows that of the agreed respondent 161(73%) views for some people and 61(27%) views for all people. Majority of the respondents agreed that as citizens of Pakistan some people in KP accepting their responsibilities.

***Is the state responsible for reducing ethnicity among different races of the country by various policies?***

**Table 4.29. State responsible for reducing ethnicity**

Respondents	Frequency	Response	
		Yes	No
Total	300	222	78
%	100	74	26

The above table explains that 222 (74%) of the respondents were of the view that the state is responsible for reducing ethnicity among different races of the country by various policies and 78 (26%) of the respondents disagreed the same view. Maximum

ratio of the respondents was of the view that the state is responsible for reducing ethnicity among different races of the country by various policies

***Are the policies from Zia to Musharraf reduced the terrorism in KP?***

**Table 4.30. Degradation of terrorism Zia to Musharraf and their policies**

Respondents	Frequency	Response		If No	
		Yes	No	Maintain it	Accelerated it
Total	300	54	246	54	192
%	100	18	82	22	78

**Denotation**

a. Maintain it

b. Accelerated it

The above table shows that 54 (18%) respondents agreed that policies from Zia to Musharraf reduced the terrorism in KP and 246 (82%) view were that policies from Zia to Musharraf did not reduce the terrorism in KP. Furthermore 54 (%) of the disagreed views considered maintain of terrorism and 192 (78%) considered it accelerating. Majority of the respondents believe that policies from Zia to Musharraf did not reduce the terrorism in KP and were view that policies from Zia to Musharraf did not reduce the terrorism in KP but accelerated.

***Zia cooperation with America in Russia-Afghan War, is a root cause of terrorism in KP. Do you agree?***

**Table 4.31. Zia cooperation with America in Russia-Afghan War and terrorism**

Respondents	Frequency	Response	
		Yes	No
Total	300	192	108
%	100	64	36

The above table explains that 192 (64%) respondents agreed and had the views that G. Zia cooperation with America in Russia-Afghan War, is a root cause of terrorism in KP while 108 (36%) of them did not agree with the above view. Majority of the respondents agreed and have the views that G. Zia cooperation with America in Russia-Afghan War, is a root cause of terrorism in KP.

***Do you agree that 9/11 incident is the accelerating point for terrorist to use KP and for their activities?***

**Table 4.32. 9/11 incident and terrorist in KP**

Respondents	Frequency	Response	
		Yes	No
Total	300	225	75
%	100	75	25

The above table explains that 225 (75%) of the respondents agreed that 9/11 incident is the accelerating point for terrorist to use KP and for their activities, 75 (25%) disagreed. Majority of the respondents agreed that 9/11 incident is the accelerating point for terrorist to use KP and Ex-FATA.

***Do you agree that due to international policies Pakistan is not in a position to control terrorism and non-state valiance actors?***

**Table 4.33. Position to control terrorism and non-state valiance actors**

Respondents	Frequency	Response	
		Yes	No
Total	300	177	123
%	100	59	41

The above table explains that 177 (59%) of the respondents' views agreed that due to international policies Pakistan is not in a position to control terrorism and non-state valiance actors, 123 (41%) were not agreed this statement. Majority of the respondent's

views agreed that due to international policies Pakistan is not in a position to control terrorism and non-state valiance actors

*Are you agree that the state of Pakistan is implementing their public policies with full control?*

**Table 4.34. Implementing of public policies with full control**

Respondents	Frequency	Response	
		Yes	No
Total	300	171	129
%	100	57	43

The above table explains that 114 (38%) of the respondents agreed that the state of Pakistan is implementing their public policies with full control and 186 (62%) disagreed that the state of Pakistan is implementing their public policies with full control. Majority of the respondents were not agreed that the state of Pakistan is implementing their public policies with full control

#### **4.2.8. Summery**

From the above description, it is concluded that living in multi linguistic and multi racism country like Pakistan the people need to be more responsible because any time there is danger to its sovereignty. Politically state is an organized community and society that from the very beginning exists in history of human. In the mid Centuries the State considered by Muslims was an outstanding power. A State has four elements in which population and land are the physical and the government and sovereignty are the political or spiritual bases of the State.

The State is a permanent and continuous and the government is changeable. Due the change in public opinions and needs the government is also changeable in democratic state. Accordingly, the public and national policies also are changing with the passage of time. As evaluated from primitive era with the recent stage, the State is useful

instrument for managing different societies. The Nation State is a new type of State which is based on connections of nationality. These connections are as common religion, language, customs and traditions, these connections are strengthened by the chain of nation. Modern State is based on internal and external laws which base on the enforcement of the State.

The concept of state in Islam is a complete system of life because the Islam encircled all the life of human being in his limitations. The Islamic ideas for a State are develop by integrative views in the State elements. Evaluating Pakistan as a State it necessary to come back to it ideological history. The great social achievement of Islam was to unite the divided society in India top to bottom by its own religious characteristics.

The Hindu Muslim differences laid the foundation of two separates nations. Between these two nations continuity of the struggle for supremacy one another the reality of the nature.

The straggle of the spiritual also have importance which motivated a lot of Hindus to ward Islam and the Muslim population became enlarge. By the above factors like religion, language, territories and people the Muslim became Nation fulfilling all the criteria for it. So, they started struggled for separate home land where they develop their own civilization according to their religion.

The British slowly replaced the Islamic Laws by introducing the Indian Penal Code with Criminal Procedure Code. For the first time Muslim started living with Hindu under the non-Muslim ruler. During British period the Muslims suffered a lot of difficulties and politically, literally and economically they were pushed very back. Different movement were started for their reform. The straggle of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan played very important role for reconciliation between Muslim and British. In the reawaking of the Muslim in India the Aligarh Movement has remarkable achievement.

The movement provide a platform to the Muslim that many of the students and members became a part of Pakistan Movement through “All India Muslim League”. In the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam at last the Muslims own their home land for Muslim nationalism in India on 14<sup>th</sup> August, 1947. The Objective Resolution which is adopted in the constitution of 1973 as preambles are based upon on the Islamic principle of state. The Zia abrogated the 1973 constitution and make the country by military power a terror cultivated field especially in KP which until its seeds grow up wherever and whenever they find suitable environment.

The minority groups are said to be stand different kind of problems in Pakistan by anti-Pakistani nationalism elements. In Pakistan, it has been very difficult to bring terrorists in the court of justice, by the weak laws and lack of evidence. Most of the certified terrorists, cases due to nonappearance evidence, the courts have withdrawn their cases. The Governments all over the world keep their citizens accountable for some tasks, like paying taxes, and cooperation of law. But people in return, assigns responsibilities and duties to the government. To provide protection the government is responsible to organizing police and enforce the law for each citizen. The guarantee of basic constitutional and fundamental rights of the citizens is the responsibility of the government. Human life is meaningless without basic rights. These rights guaranteed by constitution of Pakistan. To maintain peace in the boundaries of the state, ensuring the freedom of all kinds of economic, political and religious activities according to state laws within the state for citizens.

Establishing a better system of justice in the boundaries of the state. No discrimination gives equal rights to every citizen, easy access to justice and access to justice is the main right of every citizen without any differences.

The government cannot discriminate in its citizens, whether it is linguistic, religious, regional discrimination or economic and social discrimination. In ancient times, states used to be controlled by the interests of the rulers only, and there were rarely born such a bright man who had given new ideas in the state, which has improved human life. He rearranged the system of state and explained the rights of the people.

But where, there are rights, there is a need to do some duties. Therefore, Pakistan also imposes some basic duties on its citizens and other people living in the state whose restrictions are necessary.

The national responsibility is such that we should keep the morale of the army, strengthen their hands, and keep away from the fact that there is a negative impact on the morale of the army. There are the citizens have right to criticize but in a positive manner.

Life is uncomfortable due to terrorism in Pakistan and low ratio of education is one of its causes. In this regard low ratio of male and female education is responsible. All the terrorist activities are not according to the law and human rights. Counter-terrorism operations are according to the law and human rights in KP. Modern communication system and mass media are not responsible in promoting terrorism. People in KP were not satisfied about the basic needs. As citizens of Pakistan some people of KP accepting their responsibilities. The state is responsible for reducing ethnicity among different races of the country by various policies. Policies from Zia to Musharraf did not reduce the terrorism in KP but accelerated. G. Zia cooperation with America in Russia-Afghan War, is a root cause of terrorism in KP. The 9/11 incident is the accelerating point for terrorist, to use KP and due to international policies Pakistan is not in a position to control terrorism and non-state valiance actors. Pakistan is implementing their public policies with full control.

### **4.3. National Policies and Public Response (Section Three)**

#### **4.3.1. Introduction**

This section elaborates the national policies of Pakistan. It is also evaluated that how the public response towards these policies. The analyses and pointed out the need of different policies in a country like Pakistan, where the people of different cultures and unfamiliar psyche are living. The *Pashtun* Society, its culture and religion with special reference to the existing policies is discussed. As it is previously discussed that *Pashtun* are psychologically emotional so the need of different policies for them also be considered. It tried and evaluated the discussion by various angles of the primary and secondary sources to critical analyzed the governmental policies. For the said study national and international books, articles, different policies, laws and regulation and others relevant helping material were selected. Questionnaire was designed for collection of data from the sampling areas. After discussion and analysis, the views of different writer and scholars the collected data have also been tabulated and the conclusion is given at the end.

#### **4.3.2. National Policies:**

A policy is principles of action proposed and adopted by an organization or a state government. These principles came out of the planning ideas for base to make decision which is particularly using in politics. The basic principle for a state which the government guide to achieved national goals, aims and objectives of a state. A national policy has independence objectives for political and economic autonomy. Through national policies government have efficient economic resources that should use the existing resources and generate new for future. Resources conservation objectives preserving the national natural resources with equity. National policies have the norms that customize fair distribution of income and wealth in the society.

Some governments used Islam as a means to strengthen the national state and to support their position of power. In August, 1947 was established as an independent homeland for the Muslims of the Indian subcontinent. According to the vision and image of its founder Jinnah, Pakistan was designed to become a modern country of Muslim democracy rather than a democratic state. But, shortly after Jinnah's death in 1948, prominent political and religious leaders began lobbying to recognize Pakistan as an Islamic state. Because East Pakistan has to fight against the growth of nationalism. Islam was the only glue that would keep Pakistan together. The purpose was partially realized in 1949 when the objectives resolution was adopted. The objectives resolution was adopted by the Constituent Assembly for first constitution for Pakistan. It was announced that the forthcoming constitution of would not be shown in European style, but would be based on the ideology and democratic beliefs of Islam. For example, its specific principles will indicate that universal sovereignty is firmly to Allah, the state is defined as Pakistan in the boundaries and according to the teachings and requirements of Islam the Muslims in individual or collectively will be allowed to order life in Islam, set in the *Quran* and *Sunnah*. After a nine-year struggle, the drafting of the constitution was successfully concluded and Pakistan was declared the Islamic Republic.<sup>1</sup>

Pakistani leaders have always faced the fundamental problem of nation and state formation. Its division between the East and the West, the bloody withdrawal of Bangladesh, and its insecure borders have had disturbing effects in Pakistan. The idea was challenged by the free history and strong cultural identity of each of the four

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<sup>1</sup> Marco Mezzera, Safiya Aftab, *Pakistan State-Society Analysis.*" Report from the *Democratization and Transitional Justice Cluster, Initiative for Peace building* (2009), p. 17. chrome-extension://oemmndcbldboiebfnladdacbfdm/adm/https://www.clingendael.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/20090300\_cru\_pakistan\_mezzera.pdf (Accessed 18 February 2019)

provinces of Pakistan. The provinces are in fact composed of four main ethnic groups: Punjabi, Sindhi, Balochi and *Pashtun*, each of which features several sub-ethnic groups based on ethnic, vocational and caste distribution. Especially in Baluchistan and Sindh, nationalist and separatist movements have given rise to these diverse histories and identities that directly challenge the federal government. Beside all these challenges the terror events in KP are the mirror of the whole situation.<sup>2</sup>

#### **4.3.3. Public Response**

Pakistan was emerged in the Sub-Continent due to by the struggle of the Muslim. The Muslim want to practice here according to their own religion but unfortunately the British laws spread its roots here. Therefore, the majority population, the Muslim till now praying in their mosques for the enforcement of Islamic Laws in the country. From the very beginning the leadership in Pakistan face with different type of problems which created due to partition, did not handle to achieve the desires of the public to enforce Islamic Laws here. The public response toward the existing system of government is not satisfied in the religion directions. So therefore, different movement rises on the religion base for the enforcement of Islamic Laws. These movement often mislead and creating tensions for the government time to time. The government is responsible to solve the problem with the proposals of the religious scholars from different schools of thoughts. In this way the government can reduce a lot of terrorism in the country.

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<sup>2</sup> Marco. Mezzera and Safiya. Aftab, *Pakistan State-Society Analysis.*" Report from the *Democratization and Transitional Justice*" (Cluster, Initiative for Peace building, 2009), p. 16. [chromeextension://oemmnadbldboiebfnladdacbdm/https://www.clingendael.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/20090300\\_cru\\_pakistan\\_mezzera.pdf](chromeextension://oemmnadbldboiebfnladdacbdm/https://www.clingendael.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/20090300_cru_pakistan_mezzera.pdf) (Accessed 18 February 2019)

#### **4.3.4. Democratic Government and National Policy**

The democratic government faces a lot of hurdles in Pakistan and in fact this kind of government failed in Pakistan because the foundation of Pakistan laid with Islamic mortar.<sup>3</sup> According to Islamic electoral system a scholar and an illiterate are not equal while in democracy electoral system a mad or senseless person is equal to a great scholar. Therefore, the policies constituted through democratic process are not developed scholarly because the ideas of senseless people have majority over the wisdom and knowledge. In country like Pakistan where the Muslims are in majority and they also got their country on base of their religion. Now it is necessary to apply and practice their religion. But unfortunately, in Pakistan this basic goal is not achieved up till now.

#### **4.3.5. Military Government and National Policy**

Since the mid-1960s, Pakistan has been using various militant groups as a state policy tool, but it is moving forward with US policy on the Soviet-Afghan war. These groups attained great importance in Zia's government. Zia supported militant clashes within Pakistan to fight in Kashmir, which is expected to push India to negotiate. In order to legitimize his rule, Zia also united with conservative and fundamental religious groups, such as understanding with extremist groups. Further, because of the millions of refugees from Afghanistan were entering Pakistan via the Durand border line which makes demographic and security challenges for Pakistan. Apart from Pakistan's appointment with India, the main threat to the military and supremacy influence continues in the region.

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<sup>3</sup> Muhammad Imtiaz Shaid, *History of Modern World*, (Lahore: Advance Publishers, 2012), p. 484.

Mohammad A Qadeer states in his book "*Pakistan Social and Cultural Transformations in a Muslim Nation*"

General Zia's achievement in initiating standard Islamic laws and mores became legitimization for his authoritarian guideline. The Islamists assumed acknowledgment for these approaches and delighted in the products of military law rule for a couple of years. However, as the military system looked for authenticity through oversight decisions, the Islamists separated themselves from general Zia to upgrade their appointive intrigue. Additionally, the doctrinal contrasts among Islamic gatherings dissolved the solidarity that they had produced in restricting the Bhutto government. General Zia played one gathering against another to keep them subject to him. For instance, he sought JUI and JUP just as the caretakers of holy places to the inconvenience of the *Jamaat*. After Bhutto's execution (1979), General Zia was even less subject to Islamic gatherings.<sup>4</sup>

The plants of differences that the British left here unresolved particularly Kashmir has rooted dangerous shadow on Pakistan. In contrast to India's growing economic and armed forces, Pakistan has used aggressive proxies to shut down Indian forces. But some irregular forces, such as *Lashkar-e-Jhangvi* and *Sipah-e-Sahaba*, whose purpose was to advance Pakistan's strategic interests, have become strong and independent, and are now challenging the power of the state. They have now turned inward and are responsible for many acts of violence in Pakistan.

Mohammad A Qadeer states in his book "*Pakistan Social and Cultural Transformations in a Muslim Nation*"

A ruined pioneer regularly swears by resuscitating Islam as his/her strategic. Bhutto discovered Islam at the hour of his disagreeability. Zia legitimized his long principle through Islamization. Confronted with difficulties from the Supreme Court, the military and resistance groups, Nawaz Sharif presents the Shariat Bill in the National Assembly (1998) to authorize Islamic practices and ethics and for "advancing temperance and stifling bad habit". Pakistan barely got away from this endeavor at the further abridgement of individual opportunity. The Bill was all the while anticipating the Senate's vote when Sharif's administration was toppled by General Musharraf (1999). The arrangements of this bill have reemerged in the *Hasba* Act of the MMA common government in the NWFP (2005). Apparently, there is constantly another

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<sup>4</sup> Qadeer, *Pakistan Social and Cultural: Transformations*, pp. 170-171.

street to cross in the walk toward an Islamic request. It is an ideal world, based upon the reexamination of custom.<sup>5</sup>

The fact that the narrow direction of security during the martial process in Pakistan may have some relevance. It has now turned into a major security challenge. This is an unexpected event in which India's central policy as part of a non-state actress. Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) took place terror actions in country. Some of the Punjab and Kashmir based radical organizations also established a connection with the TTP and the leftovers of *Al-Qaeda*.

They are involved in serious incidents in the country. *Al-Qaeda* has destabilized here due to the continued influence and constant pressure of Pakistan and the United States. Recently, this violence has become a primary threat to everyone's safety. The growing sense of domestic extremism represents a major threat to the country.

Military rule confirmed less operative in fighting terrorism, as experience has shown. For this purpose, the elements of national political power, economic, social and cultural comprehensive solution is necessary. Pakistan was return with positive democracy and development in 2008 but the state institutions are weak because of effective fighting against militants.

The democracy can be cooperative to gain and organize public support in contradiction of militants. The democratic countries let their citizens to use their feelings for creating moderate societies. Autocratic regimes overpower the people and give increase to extremist movements. It is ultimately lead themselves to the terrorist activities.

In Pakistan the public experience is pragmatic and shows that the policies followed at the time of military rule give acceleration to extremism growth in the militant's groups that are involved in the activities of terrorism. General Zia-ul-Haq's policies of the

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<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 174.

1980s is still now suffering the Pakistan. When Zia played the Afghanistan *Jihadists* and indorsed the culture narrow-mindedness in the religion and the Musharraf's dallying with 9/11, in a revolutionary speech, declared to end, Pakistan become as a base for violence and terrorism.<sup>6</sup>

Mohammad A Qadeer states in his book "*Pakistan Social and Cultural Transformations in a Muslim Nation*"

"The farewell party between the military government and the Islamic gatherings was rushed, as well-known discontent with Zia's system started to rise. In spite of Islamization, wrongdoing, debasement, joblessness, especially of military officials and furthermore social mistreatment kept on racking the nation. The manipulative expectation of the 1984 submission further distanced people in general and touched off mainstream dissents under the standard of the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy. Islamization had lost a lot of its radiance and claim."<sup>7</sup>

The national security protection can be put on a military force, so it is absolutely wrong that if forces are equipped with modern weapons and are much trained, then there will be no tragedy on the country's security. If it is possible, the former powerful of Soviet Union would not get looted like a car window under the economic pressure. Therefore, the security and defense of the country is national sovereignty. It is very important for the pillars of national sovereignty to be fully supported. A parliamentary system in a state is responsible to keep national interest of the country and cover the risks related to them.

In every case, national solidarity and integrity should be stable always to handle civil war, due to sectarianism, linguistic, religious extremism, political terrorism and tribalism.

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<sup>6</sup> Talat Masood. "Pakistan's Fight Against Terrorism." *Defense Against Terrorism Review* 4.1 (2012), p. 14.

chromeextension://oemmnadbldboiebfnladdacbfmadadm/http://pakistanhouse.net/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/CounterTerrorism.pdf (Accessed 8 February 2019)

<sup>7</sup> Qadeer, *Pakistan Social and Cultural Transformations*, p. 171.

After withdrawal of Soviet Union from of the Afghanistan, in 1989, the US prepared a premature to withdrawal from the region therefore the Afghanistan plunged into civilian war and fighting started among them.<sup>8</sup>

#### **4.3.6. National Policy and Internal Pressure**

National policy of a country represents the wishes of the people who live in it. It adopts all the important values from the same society. Beside these norms it is also essential for any country to see and adjust the international laws in their policies. In this scenario some policies come forward against the wishes of the public. So, the contrast appears between public and government that resulted in internal pressure over the policies making of the country. In Pakistan where Western democracy is practicing as a governing system, the matter is complicated for the government to run the country according to international laws. Pakistan was a part of the Sub-Continent which ruled over for many years. The British establish here Western type of governing system which cause here a sustainable effect which still now affecting policies and rules regulations in the country. In this era during civil government Muhammad Khan Junejo severed as 10th Prime Minister of Pakistan from 1985-88 but he was opposed By Zia. In 1986–87, his political relations with President Zia began to deteriorate over the control of foreign policy and surprisingly announced to have dissolved the Parliament, using the Eighth Amendment. In September 1996, the *Taliban* secured power in Afghanistan. Benazir Bhutto's government was one of only three countries to recognize it as the legitimate Afghan government, a move that further distanced it from its Western allies. The *Taliban*'s rise coincided with a broader growth in opposition to Bhutto from Salafi Islamist groups. Nawaz continued the simultaneous Islamization

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<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

and conservatism of Pakistan society, a policy begun by Zia. Reforms were made to introduce fiscal conservatism, supply-side economics and religious conservatism in Pakistan. Nawaz's government criticized Iraq for invading the fellow Muslim country, which strained Pakistan's relationships with Iraq. This continued as Pakistan sought to strengthen its relations with Iran. Nawaz raised the issue of Kashmir in international forums and worked toward a peaceful transfer of power in Afghanistan to curb the rampant trading of illegal drugs and weapons across the border. In May 1998, soon after Indian nuclear tests, Nawaz vowed that his country would make a suitable reply. On 14 May, Leader of the Opposition Benazir Bhutto and MQM called for nuclear tests, followed by calls from the public. When India tested its nuclear weapons the second time, it caused a great alarm in Pakistan and pressure mounted on Nawaz. On 15 May, Nawaz put the armed forces on high-alert and called a National Security Council meeting, discussing the financial, diplomatic, military, strategic and national security concerns.

#### **4.3.7. National Policy and External Pressure**

Like internal pressure, the external pressure also affects national policies. When a country takes care of external pressure in their policies the internal power makes problems and make noise. Pakistan is always accepting the external pressure and ignoring the internal. The super power of the world also dominating their superiority on the other nations. So, they are trying to force them by dominating different policies. This was also the time when domestic politics in Pakistan was disrupted by disagreement. General Zia-ul-Haq's slip-up in 1977 and the execution of chose Prime Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto in 1979 rendered military abilities in Islamabad irreversible. Political and security prerequisites in Pakistan mutually set arrangement activities with noteworthy activities comparable to Pakistan and the remainder of the

world. In a frantic endeavor to keep up the authenticity of the system, General Zia's administration followed the arrangement of Islamization and stood firm against the Soviet Red Army. The politically-persuaded strict change of General Zia's military government incorporates the help of strict volunteer armies, strictly empowered, instruction and the portrayal of laws, for example, zakat.

Such Islamization assisted with shaping a hover of help for General Zia's. for some scholars, this Islamism has helped fuel religious tensions in the country. India has been plagued by national security experts since the time it was linked with Delhi against Islamabad. It was contended that a well-disposed government in Kabul would give "vital profundity" in case of a question with India.

#### **4.3.8. National Policies and *Pashtun***

Basically, *Pashtuns* have majority in KP but also living in other provinces of Pakistan as well as across the border in Afghanistan. They have their own culture and traditions. Beside rest of the races in Pakistan the *Pashtuns* are very hard to accept different policies in the country which are against of their social values. So, the *Pashtun* are forever become an obstacle for the national policies in the country. A part from this, they are in majority backward and do not hold key positions in the country. Therefore, the policies in the country constituting mostly are against their wishes and psyche comments by Musharraf, were spurred by the way that the Pakistani armed force is pressurizing the *Taliban* to suit the requests of the global network. Musharraf is consoling the *Taliban* that Pakistan's help for the *Taliban* development isn't being referred to and that it would not join developing universal endeavors to undermine the *Taliban* initiative. Pakistan has reliably asked the universal network to draw in with the *Taliban* as opposed to disconnect them. Musharraf's remarks, coming when the Pakistani military system faces developing worldwide weight from its neighbors and

the United States to reign in the *Taliban* and manage fear-based oppression, tranquilize multiplication and Islamic fundamentalism exuding from Afghanistan, show up especially inhumane. Musharraf's remarks repudiate Pakistan's purported aims to help make a wide based government in Afghanistan, while they overlook the truth of Afghanistan's multi-ethnic culture. *Pashtuns* structure the biggest ethnic gathering in Afghanistan, however establish just an expected 40% of the 20 million Afghans. Pakistan itself is a multi-ethnic express that faces developing ethnic issues because of the hatred of littler ethnic gatherings against the biggest area Punjab.

By openly claiming a master *Pashtun* strategy, Pakistan has all the earmarks of being disregarding the interests of Afghanistan's ethnic minorities and the interests of the Central Asian republics, who have upheld their ethnic siblings in Afghanistan. In actuality, other neighboring nations have additionally sought after ethnic one-sided arrangements. Uzbekistan backs Afghan Uzbeks, Tajikistan bolsters Afghan Tajiks and Iran at first upheld its Shia co-religionists, the Hazaras. Be that as it may, none have openly verbalized an ethnically one-sided approach towards Afghanistan. Musharraf's remarks made no settlement to the national security interests of these neighbors, interests that have fueled their own impedance in Afghanistan.

The Pakistan armed force sees itself as having authentic security interests in Afghanistan yet isn't set up to surrender that different nations have comparative interests too. Islamabad's ongoing endeavors to accommodate contrasts among Pakistan and Iran over Afghanistan are slowed down by Pakistan's non-acknowledgment of Iran's own national advantages in Afghanistan. Until the entirety of the neighboring states acknowledge and suit each other's national security interests in Afghanistan, help with closure Afghanistan's affable war, and stop the provisions of arms and ammo to

Afghanistan, the intermediary war in Afghanistan will keep on being fueled by Afghanistan's neighbors.

Musharraf's genius *Pashtun* strategy was planned to console the *Taliban* yet rather it has genuinely undermined the Pakistan Foreign Office's ongoing endeavors to be all the fairer towards the Afghan groups. Musharraf has additionally expanded the counter Pakistan talk of the non-*Pashtun* Afghan gatherings and further threatened Afghanistan's neighbors by managing a hit to harmony intervention endeavors, for example, the Rome activity by the Organization of the Islamic States Conference. *Taliban's* resistance, the Northern Alliance, proclaimed that Musharraf's remarks uncovered Pakistan's expansionist objectives in Afghanistan. As the main outside player in Afghanistan, Pakistan can't bear to have an absolutely uneven ethnic strategy in Afghanistan on the off chance that it needs to live in harmony with all Afghans and the Central Asian states.<sup>9</sup>

#### **4.3.9. Counter-Terrorism Policies in Pakistan and KP**

National Internal Security Policy (NISP) is a big revolution in Pakistan's history. Being the first complete internal security paper, it sketches a picture of safe and protected Pakistan. Document has been prized by all political housings. It expects freedom of rights, protection of life, property and fundamental rights. NISP also believes in promoting diversity, democracy and culture of tolerance. It discusses the challenging of internal security threats in transparency and accountability manner. In its policy framework, NISP has been divided into two sections, one is soft component which is supported by comprehensive response plan and it involves political process in bringing peace in society. Whereas, second is a hard component that would use security

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<sup>9</sup><https://www.cacianalyst.org/publications/analytical-articles/item/7201-analytical-articles-caci-analyst-2000-6-21-art-7201.html>, (access 11th, July 2019).

apparatus and intelligence sharing to be synched with all of the agencies. NISP has elements of dialogue, deterrence and isolation. National Counter-Terrorism Act (NACTA) would implement this doctrine by coordinating with all provincial and federal departments. Since police is actually responsible to take care of law enforcement in civilian areas, and to implement NISP as far as implementation is concerned. But unfortunately, police have been ignored in this doctrine. It has been mentioned in the initial document of NISP that capacity building of police would be carried out but nothing more beyond has been envisioned. Furthermore, neither funds have been allocated nor has the modus operandi been chalked out. So, ignoring police may jeopardize the efforts for proper implementation of NISP. Therefore, at this stage, what all is required, is the national effort by all concerned institutions for implementation of NISP.<sup>10</sup>

#### **4.3.10. International laws**

Under the agreement of United Nations (UN) made plans to save succeeding ages from the worst thing about war, which twice in the close to time has conveyed untold trouble to mankind. To affirm trust in focal human rights, in the poise and worth of the human individual, in the equal benefits of individuals and of nations gigantic and little, and to develop conditions under which value and respect for the responsibilities rising up out of courses of action and various wellsprings of worldwide law can be kept up, and to propel social headway and better standards of life in greater chance, and for these

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<sup>10</sup> Qurat-ul-Ain, Qamar Cheema, *Pakistan's Police and Counter Terrorism': Challenges and Policy Options in the Backdrop of internal Security Policy*, 2073-0926, (Islamabad, National Defense University, no. xxx, 2026), p. 150.

chrome-extension://oemmndcblboiebfnladdacbfmadadm/http://digitalrightsmonitor.pk/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/National-Internal-Security-Policy-2018-2023-1.pdf. (Accessed 7 June 2019).

completions to practice opposition and live separately in congruity with one another as extraordinary neighbors, and to join our solidarity to keep up widespread agreement and security, and to guarantee, by the acknowledgment of standards and the foundation of strategies, that equipped power will not be utilized, spare in the regular intrigue, and to utilize worldwide apparatus for the advancement of the monetary and social progression everything being equal, have made plans to consolidate our endeavors to achieve these points. Appropriately, our separate Governments, through agents collected in the city of San Francisco, who have displayed their full powers saw as in great and due structure, have consented to the present Charter of the United Nations and do thus build up a universally association to be recognized as the United Nations<sup>11</sup>.

#### **4.3.11. Laws International counter-terrorism:**

Accentuating the requirement for all States is taking note of with concern the malignant effect of fear mongering on global relations. Suspend type of any persuasive activity planned for denying people groups of their entitlement to self-assurance, opportunity and freedom. The supporting duty of states to settle their worldwide debates by tranquil methods, aware of the significance of fortifying the United Nations arrangement of aggregate security. Comportment as a main priority the widespread centrality of human rights and key opportunities as fundamental variables for universal harmony and security.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>United Nations, International Law Hand book collection Of Instruments, New York, 2017, p. 3.

chromeextension://oemmndcbldboiebfnladdacbfdmadadm/http://legal.un.org/avl/studymaterials/handbook/english/book\_1.pdf (Accessed 7 June 2019).

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 338.

Basic components for global harmony and security are just as for equity and the advancement of well-disposed relations and co-activity among all States that reaffirm the regard for powerful exercise of every single human right and basic opportunities and insurance thereof. There ought to be advance and empower regard for human rights and essential opportunities for all, without differentiation as to race, sexual orientation, language or religion. States will co-work at the two-sided, provincial and universal levels so as to, forestall and battle worldwide psychological oppression, contribute effectively to the end of the causes basic global fear-based oppression.<sup>13</sup>

The demonstrations, strategies and practices of fear mongering in the entirety of its structures and signs just as linkage in certain nations to sedate dealing are exercises focused on the decimation of human rights, major opportunities and vote based system, compromising regional respectability, security of States and destabilizing truly established Governments. The global network should find a way to improve participation to forestall and battle fear-based oppression. The "World Conference on Human Rights" additionally communicates its consternation and judgment that unseemly and deliberate infringement and circumstances that establish genuine deterrents to the full pleasure in every single human right keep on happening in various areas of the world. In which incorporate, just as torment and barbarous, cruel and debasing treatment or discipline, synopsis and discretionary executions, subjective detainments, vanishings, all types of prejudice, racial politically-sanctioned racial segregation, and separation outside occupation and new control, xenophobia, craving, neediness, and different disavowals of monetary, social and social rights, strict narrow

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<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 340.

mindedness, fear based oppression, victimization ladies and absence of the standard of law.<sup>14</sup>

#### **4.3.12. International counter-terrorism agencies**

The "Joined Nations General Assembly" embraced the Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy on 8 September 2006. The system is a one-of-a-kind worldwide instrument to improve national, provincial and global endeavors to counter psychological warfare. Through its reception that all Member States have concurred the first run through to a typical vital and operational way to deal with battle psychological warfare, not just sending a reasonable message that fear mongering is unsatisfactory in the entirety of its structures and appearance yet in addition making plans to make down to earth strides exclusively and by and large to forestall and battle it. Those down to earth steps incorporate a wide determination of measures extending from fortifying state ability to tally fear monger dangers to better planning "Joined Nations" framework's counter-psychological warfare exercises. The usage of the procedure full documented the responsibility made by world pioneers at the 2005 September Summit and expands on huge numbers of the components proposed by the Secretary-General, in his 2 May 2006 report, entitled *Uniting against Terrorism "Proposals for a Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy"*. 2016 denoted the tenth commemoration of the "UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy".

The UN General Assembly audits the Strategy at regular intervals, making it a living archive consented to Member States' counter-psychological warfare needs. The Sixth Review of the "UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy" occurred on 26 June 2018. The General Assembly analyzed the report of the Secretary-General (A/72/840) on the

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<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 528,

execution of the UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy over the previous decade. The General Assembly embraced the goals (A/RES/72/284) by agreement.

The UN General Assembly surveys the Strategy like clockwork, making it a living report receptive to Member States' counter-fear based oppression needs. The fourth audit of the Strategy occurred in June 2014 (A/RES/68/276) and was gone before by a report from the United Nations Secretary-General (A/68/841) that incorporated a review of the advancing psychological warfare scene, suggestions to address difficulties and dangers, and an assemblage of measures taken by Member States and United Nations substances to battle against fear-based oppression. The Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy as a goal and an attached Plan of Action (A/RES/60/288) made out of 4 columns:

Tending to the conditions helpful for the spread of psychological warfare.

Measures to forestall and battle psychological oppression.

Measures to assemble states' ability to forestall and battle psychological warfare and to reinforce the job of the United Nations framework in such manner.

Measures to guarantee regard for human rights for all and the standard of law as the essential reason for the battle against psychological warfare.<sup>15</sup>

#### **4.3.13. Constitution**

The constitution provides the sacred covenant among the people of Pakistan and the State. It guarantees the fundamental human rights including that to the life and property for all citizens of the country irrespective of their religion, sect, caste, gender or

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<sup>15</sup><https://www.un.org/counterterrorism/ctitf/en/un-global-counter-terrorism-strategy>, (Accessed 7 June 2019)

ethnicity. The Constitution provides guarantees for the safety and protection of religious minorities in the country. Moreover, there are also guarantees for the institution of local government and the provision of basic necessities of life such as food, housing, clothing and medical facilities. It is therefore the primary responsibility of the state to serve all citizens without discrimination. Some of the salient features of the Constitution which are especially relevant for the internal security policy and its wider vision are given below: Protection of minorities. Principles of Policy ensure the protection of interest and legitimate rights of minorities including their due representation in national and provincial services. Promotion of local government: The state is responsible to establish and maintain local government institutions so that a locality is served at their doorsteps. Elected representatives elected by the general public run local governments. This is another step taken under principles of policy.

Promotion of social justice and eradication of social evils: Article 37 of constitution under Principles of Policy provides a long list of relevant domains including the eradication of uneven social and economic development. As such, the state is liable to provide facilities for education and economic activities in under developed areas so that they come up to the level of rest of the country. Social and economic well-being: The Principles of Policy has also provided under Article 38 of constitution, provisions of the social and economic well-being of the people. Article 38 provides six provisions on the topic, some of which are as below:

1. State shall ensure the due compliance of social contracts, which is meant between government and people and employers and employees. State shall also ensure equitable distribution of wealth and means of production.
2. These principles bind the state to provide facilities for work and adequate livelihood with reasonable rest and leisure. This is for all citizens within available and limited

resources. Minimum wages have been defined. Medical, casual, and annual leaves are provided under labor laws.

3. State is responsible to provide sufficient social security by compulsory social insurance or other means.

4. State is also obliged to provide necessities to its citizens either in service or not. These necessities include food, clothing, housing, education, and medical relief. 5. No distinction is allowed with relation to age, sex, creed, tribe, caste, and race.

6. Equitable distribution of wealth within territory of Pakistan is ensured under Principles of Policy.<sup>16</sup>

#### **4.3.14. Federal laws**

Whereas the sovereignty over of the entire universe belongs to Allah Almighty alone and the authority which He has delegated to the State of Pakistan, through its people for being exercised within the limits prescribed by him is a sacred trust.

This constitution of the people of Pakistan was passed by the Constituent Assembly for the independent state of Pakistan. In which the state will have to exercise the powers. The powers of the elected representatives of those in which the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice will be viewed as the amicability of Islam.

In which Muslims will be able to dictate their lives in the individual and collective sectors in accordance with the teachings and requirements of Islam which are set out in

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<sup>16</sup> Ministry of Interior Government of Pakistan, National Internal Security Policy (2018-2025, p. 29).chrome-extension://oemmndcbldboiebfnladdacbfmadadm/http://digitalrightsmonitor.pk/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/National-Internal-Security-Policy-2018-2023-1.pdf, (Accessed 7 June 2019).

the Quran and Sunnah. In which appropriate arrangements can be made for minorities to freely admit and practice them. As may be suggested, it guarantees fundamental rights, including status, equality of opportunity and before the law, social, economic and political justice, and freedom of thought, expression, faith, faith, worship and association, subject to the law and public morals.

In order to safeguard the legitimate interests of the minorities, special arrangements will be made. In which the independence of the judiciary will be fully protected. Protecting the integrity of the territory of the federation, its independence and all its rights, including the rights of land, sea and air.

That the people of Pakistan may prosper and gain their dignity, among the nations of the world and contribute in the international peace and development for the happiness of humanity.<sup>17</sup>

#### **4.3.15. Counter-Terrorism in Pakistan**

On September 20, 2008, a suicide bomber in a car carrying about 800kg of explosives blew himself up at the entrance of the hotel Islamabad, killing 54 people 15 including foreigners. A highly police investigation led to the arrest of four people for their involvement in the attack. On May 5, 2010, however, the Anti-Terrorism Court (ATC) acquitted all four American Institutes of Peace in the trial.

Special Report was charged with lack of credible evidence. This is a cause of serious concern. More alarming is the large scale of prosecutions by courts in terrorism cases, especially in dealing with terrorism cases. There is a weakness in the Criminal Court system of Pakistan. The 2010 U.S. State Department report described Pakistan's counter-terrorism legal system as "almost non-processing of suspected terrorists."

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<sup>17</sup> <http://www.pakistani.org/pakistan/constitution/annex.html>, (Accessed 7 June 2019).

Pakistan's low penalty rate constitutes the idea that if terrorists are caught, the possibility is far too remote.

According to the Punjab Prosecutor General, during the year 2014, ATC heard 785 terrorist cases in the province, which resulted in 196 crimes - a crime rate of about 75%. This percentage is supported by the US State Department reporting. In general, and in particular the excessive pressure of the ATC's criminal justice system to lead to extraordinary lengths of police, prosecution, and the completion of terrorism cases in the ATC. This delay in justice reduces the impact of the sentence and may prevail. Witnesses' testimony leads to re-enactment resulting in widespread disappearance.

From police to prisons, to anti-terror legislation, there are many areas of weakness in various elements of Pakistan's criminal system. This article focuses on identifying major areas of concern in the Anti-Terrorism ACT (1997), or the ATA. It recommends measures to increase its effectiveness in challenge terrorist threats in Pakistan. The first part of this article examines issues arising from the language of the law, including its wider definition of terrorism. The second is examining the challenges facing police and the judiciary in the implementation of the law.<sup>18</sup>

#### **4.3.16. Pashtun Response**

*Pashtun* Response on the base of Regionalism and Nationalism as under:

Defend national geographical borders in every situation and protect the lives and property of the people inside the country.

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<sup>18</sup> Tariq Pervez, Mehwish Rani, *Appraisal of Pakistan Anti-Terrorism Act, Special Report* (United Nations Institute of Peace, 2015), p. 2.

[chromeextension://oemmndcbldboiebfnladdacbfdmadadm/https://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/SR377-An-Appraisal-of-Pakistan%E2%80%99s-Anti-Terrorism-Act.pdf](https://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/SR377-An-Appraisal-of-Pakistan%E2%80%99s-Anti-Terrorism-Act.pdf), (Accessed 7 June 2019).

In the world, especially in our region and neighbors, being a peaceful environment in our national interest is that peaceful, free and neutral Afghanistan is essential for Pakistan's national security.

The best strategy for the enemy will be to attack nuclear attack on inside the staggered tree without attacking nuclear weapons so that the strain becomes hollow and cannot bear the weight of the tree. That is why our enemy has repeatedly attacked the role of Pakistan, the ability of intelligence agencies and our Islamic identity, and under a huge project, our economic journalism, radioactive attacks, attacks on psychological, religious, political, and ideological borders It is doing the same and is looking at the army instead of making the entire nation parliament active.

Maintaining an environment within Pakistan, not only Pakistanis can live independently, living according to their religion, faith, belief, Islamic values and traditions.

#### **4.3.17. *Pashtun* psyche and need to adopt accordingly in policies**

*Pashtuns* are the ethnic group in Afghanistan and Pakistan and the majority of *Pashtuns* live across the western border and inside, who share linguistic, cultural and traditional similarities on both sides of the Durand line. This historical experience is often rejected by ethnic nationalism, but it has become very important. For example, *Pashtuns* in Afghanistan have been under government control for centuries and are considered to be a dominant ethnic group. In contrast, *Pashtuns* in Pakistan are a minority group in a large number and see themselves politically and economically deprived.<sup>19</sup>

Between Afghanistan and Pakistan, these areas have unique characteristics. These areas have been isolated from the rest of the world for centuries. This is because there

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<sup>19</sup> A. Ghafoor Liwal. "' *Eurasia Border Review*: ' Areas between Afghanistan and Pakistan and the present turmoil'" 1, no. 1 (2010).

is no change in its background. In these areas, central government has always been weak because people are free and love freedom. The administrative system in tribal areas is completely different from the populated areas. On the other hand, all tribal areas are under the control of a governor who acts as an agent for the presidency of tribal affairs. Administrative matters are called frontier crime regulation (FCR) under centuries-old British law.

The political agent has unlimited power. The whole agency is under its control and tribal people's lives are often viewed as miserable because the laws regarding them are often very brutal and harsh. The nature of the residents as *Pashtuns* living in the area which has a long history of independence. By nature, the *Pashtuns* are conservative, culturally established, traditional and peaceful, but they live in a region that is the gateway to India, and throughout history, they have been constantly attacked by others. They had to defend themselves, but they never attacked anyone, nor did they ever surrender to anyone. *Pashtuns* have believed in peaceful ways of peacefully resolving issues that are either in themselves or with outsiders, such as in the 1930s, instead of violent methods, millions of *Pashtuns* tried the non-violent disobedience of the British colonial.

But today they are going through a difficult and dangerous time, because the Afghan title has been abducted by those who do not really represent the interests and sentiments of the *Pashtuns*. Today the *Pashtun* areas have turned into a blood theater and they use the area as a training camp for terrorists and serve as a safe haven for them, killing their young children and killing innocent people. Used for suicide operations to complete others designs.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 75-76.

#### 4.3.18. Tabulation and Analysis of Data

The below tabulated and analyzed data of survey represent the section Three "National Policies and Public Response".

*Do you agree that terrorism affected national policies of Pakistan?*

**Table 4.35. Terrorism affected national policies of Pakistan**

Respondents	Frequency	Response	
		Yes	No
Total	300	237	63
%	100	79	21

The above table explains that 237(79%) respondents have the views that terrorism affected national policies of Pakistan while 63(21%) of them did not agree with the above view. Majority in the respondents have the views that terrorism affected national policies of Pakistan.

*Do you agree that there should be a strict policy against terrorists?*

**Table 4.36. Do you agree that there should be a strict policy against terrorists?**

Respondents	Frequency	Response	
		Yes	No
Total	300	252	48
%	100	84	16

Above table explains that 252 (84%) of the respondents agreed that there should be a strict policy against terrorists, and 48(16%) did not agree to strict policy. Highest ratio of the respondents agreed that there should be a strict policy against terrorists.

*Do you agree that terrorism is caused by the international conspiracy?*

**Table 4.37. Terrorism is and international conspiracy**

Re	sp	Fre	...	Response	If yes
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		Yes	No	Geographical conspiracy	Economical conspiracy	Political conspiracy	Religious conspiracy
Total	300	213	87	34	36	90	53
%	100	71	29	16	17	42	25

### Denotation

- a. Geographical conspiracy
- b. Economical conspiracy
- c. Political conspiracy
- d. Religious conspiracy

The above table explains that 213 (71%) of the respondents agreed that terrorism is caused by the international conspiracy while 87 (29%) not agree of the view that terrorism is caused by the international conspiracy. Further the table shows that of the agreed respondents 34 (16%) considered it for geographical conspiracy, 36 (17%) for economical conspiracy, 90 (42%) for political conspiracy and 53 (25%) considered terrorism because of religious conspiracy. Majority of the respondents agreed that terrorism is caused by the international conspiracy for political conspiracy reason.

### *Are you in favor of army operation against terrorist?*

**Table 4.38. Favor of army operation against terrorist**

Respondents	Frequency	Response		If No		
		Yes	No	Leave them	Solve the problem by negotiation	Revise the national policies
Total	300	105	195	24	55	116
%	100	35	65	12	28	60

## Denotation

- a. Leave them
- b. Solve the problem by negotiation
- c. Revise the national policies

The above table explain that 105 (35%) of the respondents were in favor of army operation against terrorist while 195 (65%) were against army operation on terrorist. Further the table shows that of the disagreed 24 (12%) in favor to leave them, 55 (28%) in favor to solve the problem by negotiation, 116 (60%) in favor of revision of the national policies. Many more of the respondents were not in favor of army operation against terrorist and in favor of revision of the national policies

### *What are the effects of counter-terrorism policy on terrorism?*

**Table 4.39. What are the effects of counter-terrorism policy on terrorism?**

Respondents	Frequency	Response			
		Yes	No	Being increased	Being decreased
Total	300	240	60	117	123
%	100	80	20	49	51

## Denotation

- a. Being increased
- b. Being decreased

The above table explains that 240(80%) of the respondents agreed the view that the effects of counter-terrorism policy on terrorism are existing, 60(20%) did not agree. The table further explains that 117(49%) of the agreed respondents were of the view that it being increase and 123(51%) views considered it as decreased. Majority of the respondents 240(80%) agreed the view that the effects of counter-terrorism policy on terrorism are existing, because the effects of counter-terrorism policy the terrorism being decreased.

***Do you know about the financial sources of terrorist?***

**Table 4.40. Financial sources of terrorist**

Respondents	Frequency	Response			If yes					
		Yes	No	No comments	Have own economic sources	Foreign agencies are supporting them	Using unfair means	Religious donation	The above b, c, and d	
Total	300	198	102	70	0	45	50	33	0	
%	100	66	34	35	0	23	25	17	0	

**Denotation**

- a. No comments
- b. The have their own economic sources
- c. Foreign agencies are supporting them
- d. Using unfair means
- e. Religious donation
- f. The above b, c, d and e

The above table explains that 198 (66%) of the respondents knew about the financial sources of terrorist, 102 (34%) did not know. The table further explain that 70 (35%) were of the agreed respondents did not agree to write more comments, 0 (0%) were views that they have their own economic sources, 45 (23%) know that the foreign agencies are supporting them, 59 (25%) views stands for using unfair means and 33 (17%) views for religious donation while 0 (0%) for views stand for the above sources i.e. the terrorists have their own economic sources, foreign agencies are supporting them, using unfair means and religious donation. Majority of the respondents were known about the financial sources of terrorists and did not agree to write more comments for identifying terrorist financial source.

***Is there any difference in psyche of Pashtuns from other races of Pakistan?***

**Table 4.41. Differences in psyche of *Pashtuns***

Respondents	Frequency	Response			If yes
		Yes	No	The existing policies are enough	Need to revised according to psychological needs
Total	300	183	117	15	168
%	100	61	39	8	92

**Denotation**

- a. The existing policies are enough
- b. The policies should be revised according to their psychological needs

The above table explains that 183 (61%) of the respondents were of the views that there is difference in psyche of *Pashtuns* other races of Pakistan while 117 (39%) did not agree to this view. Furthermore 15 (8%) of the agreed respondent giving the choice that existing policies are enough and 168 (92) were the choice for the revision of policies according to psychological needs of *Pashtun*. Highest ratio of the respondents was of the views that there are differences in psyche of *Pashtuns* other races of Pakistan and wants to revised the policies according to their psychological needs

***Do you wish that there should be different policies to reduce terrorism?*****Table 4.42. Do you wish that there should be different policies to reduce terrorism?**

Respondents	Frequency	Response	
		Yes	No
Total	300	261	39
%	100	87	13

The above table explain that 261(87%) of the respondents wished that there should be different policies to reduce terrorism while 39(13%) do not wish for the said purpose.

Majority of the respondents wished that there should be different policies to reduce terrorism.

*Are you satisfied of anti-terrorism courts?*

**Table 4.43. Satisfaction of anti-terrorism courts**

<i>Respondents</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Response</i>	
		Yes	No
Total	300	120	180
%	100	40	60

The above table explains that 120 (40%) of the respondents were with satisfied anti-terrorism courts while 180 (60%) were not satisfied of anti-terrorism courts. Majority of the respondents not satisfied with anti-terrorism courts.

*Do you agree that there are some deficiencies in policies of counter-terrorism?*

**Table 4.44. Deficiencies in policies of counter-terrorism**

<i>Respondents</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Response</i>		<i>If yes</i>			
		Yes	No	No statement on terrorism	It is not suitable	Slowness in implementation	Against the psyche of the people
Total	300	201	99	43	34	55	69
%	100	67	33	21	17	27	35

**Denotation**

- a. There is no statement on terrorism
- b. It is not suitable
- c. Slowness in implementation
- d. Against the psyche of the people

The above table explains that 201 (67%) of the respondents agreed that there are some deficiencies in polices of counter-terrorism and 99 (33%) of did not agree. Further 43 (21%) of the agreed respondents have no statement, 34 (17%) of them considered these are not suitable, 55 (27%) considered it slow in implementation and 69 (35%) consider these against of the psyche of the people. Majority of the respondents agreed that there are some deficiencies in polices of counter-terrorism which is against of the psyche of the people.

***Give your answer, in yes or no that the governmental policies are enough and psychologically suitable for Pashtun's society.***

**Table 4.45. Government policies and psyche of Pashtuns**

Respondents	Frequency	Response	
		Yes	No
Total	300	99	201
%	100	33	67

The above table explains, that 99 (33%) of the respondents had the view that the governmental policies are enough and psychologically suitable for *Pashtun's* society while 201 (67%) views did not agree to statement. Maximum of the respondents of the respondents have views that the governmental policies are not enough and psychologically do not suitable for *Pashtuns* society.

***Are you agree to that some authorities may reduce terrorism in KP?***

**Table 4.46. Some authorities may reduce terrorism in KP**

Respondents	Frequency	Response					
		Response		If yes			
		Yes	No	Government	Public	<i>Jirga</i>	Religion
Total	300	237	63	139	29	24	45
%	100	79	21	59	13	10	19

## Denotation

- a. Government
- b. Public
- c. *Jirga*
- d. Religion

The above table explains that 237 (79%) of the respondents were of the view that some authorities may reduce terrorism in KP and 63 (21%) of the respondents, view is not in favor of the above statement. Further of the agreed respondents 139 (59%) selected the government, 29 (13%) selected the public, 24 (10%) and 45 (19%) selected religion that can reduce terrorism. Highest ratio of the respondents of the respondents were of the view that some authorities may reduce terrorism in KP i.e. government.

***Are you agree that national policies of Pakistan are representing social value and norms of the people live in it?***

**Table 4.47. National policies, representation social value and norms**

Respondents	Frequency	Response		If No	
		Yes	No	Represent influence of other nations	Represent influence of specific class
Total	300	123	177	55	122
%	100	41	59	31	69

## Denotation

If no then select one below:

- a. Represent influence of other nations
- b. Represent influence of specific class

c. The above table shows that 123 (41%) respondents agreed that national policies of Pakistan are representing social value and norms of the people living in it while 177 (59%) view were agreed that national policies of Pakistan are not representing social value and norms of the people live in it. Furthermore, of the disagreed

respondents 55 (31%) views considered it the representing influence of other nations while 122 (69%) them considered it the influence of representing specific class. Majority of the respondents agreed that national policies of Pakistan are not representing social value and norms of the people live but representing specific class.

***Are you in favor of solving the Kashmir issue?***

**Table 4.48. Solution of Kashmir issue**

Respondents	Frequency	Response		If No		
		Yes	No	Pakistan did not want to solve	India did not want to solve	UNO did not want to solve
Total	300	270	30	67	78	125
%	100	90	10	25	29	46

**Denotation**

- a. The government of Pakistan did not in favor of to solving
- b. The government of India did not in favor of to solving
- c. UNO did not in favor of to solving

The above table explains that 270 (90%) respondents were in favor of solving the Kashmir issue while 30 (30%) of them did not want the solution of Kashmir Issue. The table further explain that of the agree respondents 67 (25%) considering that the government of Pakistan did not in favor of to solve, 78 (29%) thinks that the government of India did not in favor of to solve, and 125 (46%) views are considering that UNO did not in favor of solving this issue. Majority of the respondents were in favor of solving the Kashmir issue while they are considering that UNO did not in favor to solve Kashmir Issue.

***Are you wish that India and Pakistan would be friends?***

**Table 4.49. India and Pakistan friendly relation**

Respondents	Frequency	Response	
		Yes	No
Total	300	267	33
%	100	89	11

The above table shows that 267 (33%) of respondents agreed and wished that India and Pakistan to be friends while 33 (11%) respondents did not want the Indian-Pakistan friendship. Many more of the respondents of respondents agreed and wishing to that India and Pakistan would be friends.

*Are the politicians in Pakistan are serious to solve the terrorism issue by peaceful way?*

**Table 4.50. Politicians in Pakistan and terrorism issue solution by peaceful way**

Respondents	Frequency	Response	
		Yes	No
Total	300	204	96
%	100	68	32

The above table explains that 204 (68%) of the respondents agreed the politician in Pakistan are serious to solve the terrorism issue by peaceful way while 96 (32%) did not agree to this statement. Majority of the respondents agreed that politicians in Pakistan are serious to solve the terrorism issue by peaceful way.

#### **4.3.19. Summery**

From the above description, it is concluded that national policies have the norms that customize fair distribution of the income and wealth in a country. The distribution of revenue and assets among different types of regions and allocation of land rights use and rights between producers. Distributions of power and employment between

different groups and regions within a state. Leaders in Pakistan have always confronted a fundamental difficulty for nation and state-building. In Baluchistan and Sindh, particularly, these conflicting histories and identities have been asserted by nationalist and separatist movements which directly challenge the federation of government. From the beginning the leadership in Pakistan faces with different types of problems which were created due to partition, did not manage to achieve the desires of the public to enforce Islamic Laws here. The public response toward the existing system of government is not satisfied in the religious directions. Different movements arise on the religious base and often mislead which create tensions. The democratic government has a lot of hurdles in Pakistan. Accordingly Islamic and democratic electoral systems are not leveled. In a country like Pakistan where the Muslim is in majority the basic goal has not been achieved till now.

Since the mid-1960s till now, Pakistan has used different militant groups as the tools of state policy. Particularly in Zia's regime in Kashmir and Afghan-USSR war. Refugees from Afghanistan who were streaming through the Durand border line into Pakistan produced demographic and security challenges for Pakistan. India has remained the main continuous threat as military and hegemonic inspiration of the region. The differences which the British left here unresolved have cast a dangerous shadow on Pakistan. In contrast of India's rising armed and economic power, Pakistan has used aggressive proxies to push in to back the forces of India.

The direction of narrow security pursued at the time of Martial Law in Pakistan. The creation of non-state actors as a part of its India-centric policy. *Tehrik-e Taliban* in Pakistan has been active in dozens of terrorist outbreaks throughout the country. Punjab and Kashmir based some radical organizations also have established a link with the

TTP and the leftovers of *Al-Qaeda* which find involved in serious activities of violence in the country.

As experience showed the Military rule has confirmed less operative in fighting terrorism. For this purpose, the elements of national political power, economic, social and cultural comprehensive solutions is necessary. In 2008, Democracy in Pakistan was return with positive change but the state's institutions were weak because of effective fighting of militants. The Soviet Union's withdrawal in 1989 from Afghanistan, the premature prepared by the US of withdrawal from the region which caused Afghanistan plunged into civilian war and fighting started among them.

Therefore, the contrast appears between public and government which called the internal pressure over the policies making of the country. Contrast to the internal and external pressure also affecting national policies here. The ouster of General Zia-ul-Haq in 1977 and the hanging of chose Prime Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto in 1979 didn't keep up military nearness in Islamabad. Political and security conditions in Pakistan were joined in the definition of vital activities with fundamental standards for Pakistan and the remainder of the world. In an intense endeavor to keep the trustworthiness, General Zia's organization followed the Islamization game plans and seeping against the Soviet Red Army. It was guaranteed that a consistent government in Kabul would give "key profundity" in the event of contention with India emerge. *Pashtuns* are enormous in populace and have lion's share in KP, they have their own way of life and conventions. *Pashtuns* are exceptionally difficult to acknowledge various approaches against of their social qualities. So, the *Pashtun* are everlastingly become a snag for the national arrangements in the nation. Rest of this factor, they are greater part in reverse and are not in key places of the nation. In this manner the strategies in the nation comprising for the most part is against their desires and mind. Musharraf's remarks

negate Pakistan's pronounced goals to help make a wide based government in Afghanistan, while they disregard the truth of Afghanistan's multi-ethnic culture. No differentiation is permitted with connection to age, sex and statement of faith, clan, rank, and race. It ensures basic human rights including that to the life and property for all residents of the nation independent of their religion, organization, standing, sexual orientation or ethnicity. Afghanistan, Pakistan can't stand to have an absolutely uneven ethnic strategy in Afghanistan on the off chance that it needs to live in harmony with all Afghans and the Central Asian states. The *Pashtuns* are the biggest ethnic gathering in Afghanistan, most of the *Pashtun* lives over the fringe in Pakistan, and in these outskirt zones additionally the occupants are *Pashtuns* that live on the two sides of the Durand Line sharing etymological, social, and conventional likenesses. Collected was also summarized that terrorism affected national policies of Pakistan so there should be a strict policy against terrorists. Terrorism is caused by the international conspiracy which uses for political conspiracy reason. The people in KP are not in favor of army operation against terrorist and they are in favor of revision of the national policies. In KP the effects of counter-terrorism policy are existing but being decreased. Many people were known about the financial sources of terrorist but they were not agreed to give more comments for identifying terrorist financial source. There is difference in psyche of *Pashtuns* from other races of Pakistan and it is need to revise the policies according to their psychological needs. There should be different policies to reduce terrorism. The people were not satisfied of anti-terrorism courts because there are some deficiencies in polices of counter-terrorism. The people views that these policies were against of the psyche of the people.

These governmental policies are not enough and psychologically do not suitable for *Pashtun's* society. There are some authorities that may reduce terrorism in KP i.e.

government. The national policies of Pakistan are not representing the social value and norms of the people living in but considered it the influence of representing specific class. The public were in favor of solving the Kashmir issue while it was considering that UNO did not in favor to solve Kashmir Issue. The people wishing to that India and Pakistan would be friends. The politicians in Pakistan are serious to solve the terrorism issue by peaceful way.

#### **4.4. Political and Social Behaviors (Section Four)**

##### **5.4.1 Introduction**

In this section, the regional forces of nationalism which involved in politics especially in KP and the factors that are responsible for increasing extremes views and links of political leaders with the anti-state actors have been evaluated. The role of society in upsetting or preserving the peace is also discussed. This chapter encircled the *Pashtun* Society, its culture and religion with special reference to social values, such a nation have for its honorable life, in the past and present scenario. The *Pashtun* consider themselves political marginalized ethnic group in Pakistan. It was examined that the discrimination in them spread by propaganda or psychologically they have minded the term. The evaluation in this chapter is drawn from different angles from primary and secondary sources to point out the factors of terrorism in *Pashtun* especially in KP. For this study national and international books, articles and others helping material related to the topic were selected. A questionnaire was designed to collect data from the sampling areas. After discussing and analyzing the views of different writer and scholars the collected data was tabulated and concluded at the end.

##### **4.4.2. Social Behaviors**

Social human behavior is the relationship among human being, the action and manner with which one affects the other. By the qualities these manners can be stimulated for

the individual and the environmental factors. Therefore, social behavior arises as a result of an interaction among the two individuals and its concomitances. Finally, in respects of social, human's behavior has determined through the both individual characters of person, and in the situation where they are living in.<sup>1</sup> The major aspect in social behavior is communication. Social behavior has two processes. Working together or oppose to one another. There is also difference among various types of social behavior, like ordinary against self-justifying social behavior. This kind social behavior is a consequence of interactions in daily life. On the other side, self-justifying behavior rises out of wish, when one is faced with conflicting desires.<sup>2</sup>

The social structure of *Pashtun* resembles anthropologist's term of a framework as segment genealogy which have chain of command of social partnerships beginning at the local level, at that point continuing expanding through different stages to a whole conventional gathering. These connections are found on family relationship and open culture. At any predefined level like nearby, territorial and customary gathering of social sections work just contrary to comparing fragments of neighborhood family relationship gathering.

Administration is situational to some degree than organized. Both authority and section association end when fight closes. The social model is fairness. *Pashtun* culture is atomized in the sense which depends on the most rudimentary component, the person. Everyone contemplates himself/herself self-sufficient and autonomous, and at the same time in contention with all others singular *Pashtun*. This sureness in self - ampleness, and the endless test, make it precarious for *Pashtun* to tie for supportive endeavors, or

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<sup>1</sup><https://www.google.com/search?q=Social+behavior&tbm=isch&source=iu&ictx=1&fir=eIKKwQvfN2zP8M%253A%252CKoB47AA87VaBM%252C%252Fm%252F069pvj&usg=AI4-kRIGX1Hcqz7GMclbEYsgg5Z8RXV>: (Accessed 16 February 2019)

<sup>2</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Social\\_behavior](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Social_behavior)

even to partake in financial exchange. The ideal fiscal dispute among the *Pashtun* is normal and balanced. The *Pashtun* reflect all non-*Pashtun* to be inadmissible. *Pashtun* might be associated with monetary relations with non-*Pashtun* without losing honor, yet in addition thinks of it as satisfactory to cheat non-*Pashtun*. Then again, on account of rivalry inside their own fragment.<sup>3</sup>

As Akbar S. Ahmad states in his book “*Pashtun Economy and society: Traditional Structure and Economic Development in a Tribal Society*”

The focal issues in *Pashtun* society spin around the quest for force, status and respect, an interest that is firmly related and restricted to agnatic kinfolk on the innate genealogical contract. The imagery of kin drop from a typical apical precursor is viable in articulating a lot of the authoritative elements of these gatherings. To illustrate, the operative segment of the tribe which defines the genealogical and geographical boundaries, the arena of conflict, and produces its leaders and alliances, is the subsection. Analyzing tribal social organization and political activity in terms of the subsection as the operative lineage. The single most important feature of society with far-reaching socio-economic ramifications is that of agnatic rivalry. As Freudian man is accused of antagonistic vibe towards his dad and Malinowski a man against avuncular power, the object of threatening vibe toward the *Pukhtun* is his Father's Brother's Son (tarboor). The answers to questions underlying both psychological and sociological motivation invariably lie in agnatic kin or tarboor relationships and at the core of the concept of agnatic rivalry translated in society as tarboorwali. There is thus a significant dividing line between true siblings and classificatory siblings. 'Balanced opposition' in tribal structure means the opposing subgroups of cousins, usually of that generation.<sup>4</sup>

#### 4.4.3. Political Behaviors

In Pakistan where the situation of vantage, worked about a verbal blend of military-drove patriotism and Islamization of society. These has been continuously reinforced

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<sup>3</sup> Joseph A. Tainter and Donald G. MacGregor, *Pashtun Social Structure: Cultural Perceptions and Segmentary Lineage Organization*, (2011), chrome-extension://oemmnadbldboiebfnladdac bdfmadadm/https://apps.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a553265.pdf (Accessed 18 February 2019).

<sup>4</sup> Akbar S. Ahmad, *Pukhtun Economy and society: Traditional Structure and Economic Development in a Tribal Society*, (London: Routledge, 1980), p6.

through a tight control of the political procedures of the nation. The military is the main force vendor in the nation. Global and national weight is applied on it, which doing everything possible to keep up its situation of practically unlimited oversight over the nation's fortune. This restricted ability to work adequately and to assemble the important authenticity to legitimize its predominant situation in Pakistan's culture, speaks to perhaps the greatest danger regarding the nation's long-haul security. The authenticity vacuum left by a first class that is totally lethargic to the requirements of most of the populace, takes steps to be filled by entertainers and philosophies that can prepare masses viably, however not really along a dynamic way. The present flood of strict fanaticism in the nation should be comprehend in this specific situation.

At last, the universal network appears to have gotten progressively mindful of the solid perils lying in front of future improvements of the Pakistan's. The risk here is that security considerations will beat the need to participate in a long stretch strategy of genuine democratization and working of substantive citizenship for most Pakistanis. The EU appears specifically to begun have setting some away from as far as democratization, administration and human rights. It is not yet clear how much these aims will in the long run be accomplished, given the quick lessening working space in Pakistan for the non-military personnel worldwide community.<sup>5</sup>

Evaluating the aims of a state and society to identify the fundamental factors of weak communication in state's foundations and its citizens. Defective situation often leads to root to in country internal emergence of violence and social conflicts. This explores the conducts where the factors and actions influence the incentives and opportunities for

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<sup>5</sup> Marco Mezzera, Safiya Aftab. "Pakistan State-Society Analysis." *Report from the Democratization and Transitional Justice Cluster. Initiative for Peacebuilding*, (2009), pp. 7-8.

present actors. Foundational factors like social, economic and geographical factors form the state as well as political system in Pakistan.

In Pakistan the political culture, as per constitutional and legal right all citizens are considered to be capable of taking advantage of political opportunities on equal basis. But practically the same it is not observed in country. Some social classes that are depriving the political rights of others. Consequently, in the deprived class this feeling of depression increased so they come to gain rights through the non-political ways. Now they have come out to fight their war, so our political culture attracts the deprived people to extremism and the KP and is the best example.

Factors behind political culture and conflicts have led to the culture of non-tolerance, conflict and insecurity has increased in the country. The history tells that the whole country suffered a lot of political confusion since the beginning. Aggression raises, the political situation has created problems in the way of peace and prosperity. People do not trust political rulers and institutions, in such a situation, any invitation to extremism is particularly attractive and this background gives fertile land work for aggressive elements.

Akbar S. Ahmad states in his book *“Pukhtun Economy and society: Traditional Structure and Economic Development in a Tribal Society”*

The *Pukhtun* model presupposes that politics is a central activity involving competition for power and as a mode for acquiring honor and status in society. I will be arguing that *Pukhtunwali* survives and that its main aim is political domination at a certain lineage level and not economic aggrandizement. Political domination gives political status which in turn affords access to political administration, which may or may not give direct economic benefits. The implications for agnatic rivalry are obvious: while appropriating power agnatic rivals are excluded from it. It is a zero-sum' situation. The structure of political domination is at once a behavioral and an ideological phenomenon. Briefly, the quickly, the issue concerns the *Pukhtun* perspective on his reality and the progressions set moving inside it as an outcome of embodiment. Aberrance from and bargain of the *Pukhtun* model are social instruments of modification. The consciousness of abnormality represents an intense difficulty for the

*Pukhtun*: possibly he dismisses his Code or expels himself to those un-encapsulated territories where he can rehearse it. The situation is as yet uncertain, as the investigation will outline.<sup>6</sup>

#### **4.4.4. Role of Social Behaviors in KP**

Local extremists in KP instead of accepting influence from their culture, influencing from external influence which are emotional extremism and behaviors. Pakistani culture, particularly the ancient exclusive culture, passed through the process of relatively much change in the province of KP and spread rapidly and the noticeable examples of people who have been given regional and international wars.

The Pakistan has historically remained under foreign invaders that is why foreign cultures also grew here. The invaders did not use their power to be unhappy and the local people considered themselves as weak and helpless, in fact their weakness was the main reason for which the invaders used to use their power and fought. Now when the population tastes the power of self-determination, establishes its political influence in the society and the state, the circumstances become transformed into some people and classes became so strong and they adopted such methods that would have social, political and economic changes. And since centuries, the internationally growing culture was finally born in extremism.

To say that the same style of culture is the result of the present global social change that the local cultures drift their traditional roots is right in Pakistan, extremists strictly intervene against this global culture. They understand that the West wants to have their cultural object on them. That's why international relations of extremist elements are

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<sup>6</sup> Akbar S. Ahmad, *Pukhtun Economy and society: Traditional Structure and Economic Development in a Tribal Society* (London: Routledge, 1980), p. 6-7.

particularly strong. And they think that their religion and social values are under external attack.

In the causes of growing extremism in Pakistan, economic culture is also involved. The nation divided into economic units can be divided into the groups like poverty based middle class, middle class and the rich, Poor feeling are deprived of depression and middle-class count is in deprived people. This feeling of deprivation becomes deeper even when unemployment is normal matter. Fear also popularized during the Russia intervention in Afghanistan. In such a situation, youths join religious extremist organizations in such a situation.

The rapidly growing world and economic changes are also responsible for uncertainty because the traditional scale of the world is passing through the change process. If there is no suitable structure for young people to stimulate, then evil defects will be export, and this situation guides towards negative activities.

Akbar S. Ahmad states in his book *“Pukhtun Economy and society: Traditional Structure and Economic Development in a Tribal Society”*

What then are the fundamental principles of *Pukhtun* social organization? The underlying principles are threefold and interconnected, the primary principal rests on tarboorwali which in turn crudely ensures a ceiling to the wealth and power an individual may accumulate and therefore more or less forces the second principle, which is an intense spirit of democracy that finds ratification in the tribal charter. The third principle is that of honor deriving from certain features of the *Pukhtun* Code particularly regarding women and their chastity. The model as built through the case-studies reveals a man's world in the most chauvinistic sense of the concept. There is manifest and constant glorification of machismo. The entire concepts of *Pukhto* revolve round the concept of manhood (*saritob*) and honor which in turn involves man's ideal image of himself. The highest compliment is 'he is a man' (*saray day*). The three key and prestige conferring symbols of tribal society, the male guest house

(*Hujra*), the gun (*topak*) and the council of elders (*Jirga*), are exclusively the reserve of *Pukhtun* males. In the most profound sense, it is a man's world.<sup>7</sup>

Rich class and rich people have exploited the weak people, middle and poor sections that are on the grounds of the rich are deprived, resulting in feeling that they take revenge. In this way our economic system also raises the factors of extremism because fewer opportunities are available for the youth. The conditions before 9/11, says that some social and economic groups have also involved in corruption and fiscal which was dangerous for the country.

Under social procedures, education has also been intensifying, for example, the system of education and society is completely failed to attract youth's basic social behavior. It was possible to bring the desired social change and prepare the best citizen by providing them quality education.

#### **5.4.5. Social Structure of *Pashtun***

*Pashtun* social structure is just like in other societies legitimized by ethical paradigms that provide a moral base and sort the social system in appropriate natural order which is unchallengeable. The social building relationships, political action, ethical and financials life is completely governed by the same set of rules. Fundamental principles i.e. *Tarborwali* are way of institutionalized like competition among close male relatives. A strong spirit of equality in tribal charter a sequential organization going ahead by ability. The principal of democracy is protected in the code of *Pukhtunwali*. *Pukhtunwali*, the system of the *Pashtun* traditional life is a code of behavior based upon honor and personal independence. It is founded on the values of honor, bravery, hospitality, taking revenge from any apparent injustice, protection of women and

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<sup>7</sup> Akbar S. Ahmad, *Pukhtun Economy and society: Traditional Structure and Economic Development in a Tribal Society*, (London: Routledge, 1980), p. 5-6.

land. The equal in principle and function of *Pashtunwali* but Women are not giving the place of men. Male respect just as family respect start considering with the set of principles winning ladies. Ladies typically don't interface with separate people, regardless of whether they living inside a similar family. Despite the life of balance, it is demonstrated that the crucial issues of *Pashtun* society spindle the recognition of power, position, and respect in the clan innate system.

The objective of man is political mastery on a specific family (segment) level, not is increasing monetary. Accommodation is crucial to the estimation of *Pukhtunwali* framework, and liberality by which to win supporters. *Pashtun* society has solid social on honesty and all *Pashtun* men are equivalent economically by progressive system and by this guideline has remarkable difficulties for outer intervention.<sup>8</sup>

Individuals from an area are definitely plummeted after a typical male progenitor. At the pinnacle level the *Pashtun* are with rule slid from a joint forefather, Qais, who lived in the seventh century A.D. That lineage, the correspondence of Pashto, and submission to the code of conduct, *Pukhtunwali*, characterize a person as *Pashtun*. The base unit of association is the ancestry, an insignificant one-sided plunge bunch for instance granddad, father and child.

*Pashtun* heredities are known by the postfix (*zaiway*), which means "child of". A gathering of family will be joined at a higher genealogical level into a group, known by the term *Khel* (sub-area). Plummet gatherings can exist at various degrees of connection, for example, an area, a town, or subdivisions inside a town. At the broadest level, all *Pashtun* are individuals from one of four maximal plummet gatherings, all of which started in natural or assenting relatives.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Tainter and MacGregor, *Pashtun Social Structure* (2011),

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

#### **4.4.6. Political History of KP**

After the defeat and capture of Punjab by the British in 1849, the frontier came under the control of the British Empire. One point to consider here is that this was the last region in the subcontinent that was annexed by the East India Company. The company intervened in the affairs of the belt, until the time of Lord Curzon in India until 9th November 1901, it intervened in the affairs of various provinces, and it was declared a separate province.

An authoritative chamber was likewise framed, comprising of 40 individuals, of whom 22 were Muslims. Since the attacking clans of the outskirts' locales controlled the division of the organization into two sections, there was immediate guideline with the organization in the fields, while the strong rugged zones were known as the free ancestral belt. His first decision was the Muslim Group, yet he was disillusioned, however the association can't. The panel suggested the area be administered by the region and proposed the formation of an administrative committee to run the region. During the gathering session, a subcommittee was entrusted with taking a gander at the change issue for the Northwest Territory. In this way, there was an interest for changes in which the All-India Muslim Alliance had its offer.

After the conclusion of Second Round Table Meeting on December 1, 1931, the NWFP was given the Senator's Area and its Main Official, Mr. Ralph Griffith was made its first Senator. At a Congress meeting in December 1929, agents of the Goddesses or Red Shirts held in Lahore visited. Master Curzon had trusted that under the immediate guideline of the administration, this creation would be helpful to both the legislature and the individuals of the new area. Be that as it may, when political cognizance stirred, different residents of India began requesting a similar sacred change. After the outskirts was added to the English Domain, it was overwhelmed with the assistance of an

uncommon law as the neighborhood *Pashtuns* kept on standing up to. Thus, after a long battle, the Northwest Area turned into a free region.

In 1926, the Muslim Alliance Board and the *Swarajya* Gathering exhibited a goal together and requesting equivalent change rights for the residents of the NWFP. The Congress started its common defiance development in 1930 and requested total autonomy from India, as an end-result of which the *Khudai Khidmatgar* upheld this objective. On November 17, 1928, Simon landed in Peshawar to take a shot at the Board of trustees for Assessments and Protected Changes of 1919, where a gathering of follower loyalist khans headed by K.B. landed on November 19. At first there was a part of the All-Indian National Congress in Peshawar, however inside three to four days of its foundation, which the administration prohibited it.<sup>10</sup>

The government challenges looking in KP have deep social roots. The territory formal foundations are fixed in the public arena, and the limits among open and private reaches are overwhelmed. Political Pioneers in KP at all levels are bound to verify their place of formal authority by social linkages and backing, of them by free and sensible procedures. Residents resemble to have more access for the base of products benefits by close to home systems of families and beradri. On a nearby level, the conventional procedures and rules are regularly unwell comprehended by directors. Until when they are, officials utilize their position like watchmen to access for data, documentation and open assistances.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> <https://historypak.com/nwfp-as-an-independent-province/>, (Accessed 18, January 2020).

<sup>11</sup> Marco. Mezzera and Safiya. Aftab, "Pakistan State-Society Analysis." *Report from the Democratization and Transitional Justice Cluster. Initiative for Peacebuilding* (2009), p. 19. [chromeextension://oemmndcblldboiebfnladdacbfmadadm/https://www.clingendael.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/20090300\\_cru\\_pakistan\\_mezzera.pdf#page=19&zoom=auto](chromeextension://oemmndcblldboiebfnladdacbfmadadm/https://www.clingendael.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/20090300_cru_pakistan_mezzera.pdf#page=19&zoom=auto), - 107,687(Accessed 17 February 2019)

Hussain Haqqani in his book "*Pakistan between Mosque and Military* stated"

At the point when the making of Pakistan was seemed inescapable, Ghaffar Khan requested that the *Pashtun* regions be permitted as autonomy as *Pashtunistan*, an interest that was not acknowledged by the British. On submission on whether to join Pakistan was in this way held in NWFP-a choice that Ghaffar Khan and his supporters boycotted-and taking an interest voters picked incorporation in Pakistan.<sup>12</sup>

Foundational factors, with influence of geography on the government to the Pakistan in KP is the regional trustworthiness, the political effect and geo-vital importance. The challenges looked by the legislatures in rehashing a coordinated state, premise on incomes and social frameworks. The geopolitical position Pakistan is on the geo-key go across streets of South Asia, the Middle East, Central Asia, and China. Vulnerabilities in geo-vital made by Pakistan, accurately stressed relationship with India and furthermore with Afghanistan. Afghanistan have assumed a huge job in how the engaging quality of the state has changed. They have comparably paid to the militarization in Pakistani legislative issues. Concerning's delicate and testing association with India. Their geographic neighborhood has been estimated by some uncertain issues.

There are twofold social customs of reviewing and administration between the *Pashtun* that have offered increment to two sorts of political gathering and to the structure of ongoing clash. The law-based kind of association controlled among the eastern *Pashtun*. These people groups dismiss the legitimacy of innate force. Pioneers among such people groups are just first among rises to, and can be successful just when there is an accord to help the activities, they propose.<sup>13</sup>

British began to kickback such pioneers and molded a differentiation among pioneers and other the *Pashtun*. Progressive kind of association showed in them in light of the

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<sup>12</sup> Haqqani, *Pakistan between Mosque and Military*, p. 161.

<sup>13</sup> Tainter and MacGregor, *Pashtun Social Structure: Cultural*.

*Turku-Mongolian* in India until the mid-eighteenth century. This sort of association depends on family's positions, factions, and clans. The initiative is innate and accepted inside explicit plunge gatherings. This custom included a lot bigger groupings, up to upwards of a million of individuals under a solitary chief.

The *Pashtun* had filled in as military assistants in *Turku-Mongolian* lines situated in Iran, and from them they took in the legislative structure and military association, just as this various leveled type of association. The western *Pashtun* are in this manner more unpredictably sorted out than are the eastern gatherings. They are skilled to sort out into bigger social organizations that is of raising colossal military powers, and shaping governments. Administering houses making from majority rule clans would in general fleeting, however required less assets. Houses situated in progressive social orders made last controls, yet required the higher *Pashtun* social structure.<sup>14</sup>

Hussain Haqqani in his book "*Pakistan between Mosque and Military*" stated"

Not long after Pakistan's autonomy, Afghanistan casted a ballot against Pakistan's admission to the United Nations, contending that Afghanistan's settlements with British India identifying with Afghan outskirts were never again legitimate in light of the fact that once more nation was being made where none existed at the hour of marking of these bargains. Afghanistan requested the formation of a *Pashtun* state, *Pashtunistan* that would connect the *Pashtun* clans living in Afghanistan with those in the NWFP and Baluchistan. Questionable requests were likewise advanced for a Baloch state "connecting Baloch zones in Pakistan and Iran with a little portion of neighboring Baloch region in Afghanistan". The most out spoken promoter of this irredentist guarantee was Sardar Muhammad Daoud, a cousin of Afghanistan lord, Zahir Shah, who likewise filled in as Zahir Shah's Prime Minister for quite a long while.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> Haqqani, *Pakistan between Mosque and Military*, p. 161.

#### 4.4.7. Tabulation and Analysis of Data

The below tabulated and analyzed data of survey represent the section four “Political and Social Behaviors”.

##### *Are the religious scholars conveying the real message of Islam?*

**Table 4.51. Real message of Islam and religious scholars**

Respondents	Frequency	Response	
		Yes	No
Total	300	144	156
%	100	48	52

The above table shows that 144(48%) of the respondents agreed that religious scholars conveying the real message of Islam, and 156(52%) were not agreed in perspectives. Majority of the respondents not agree that religious scholars conveying the real message of Islam.

##### *Are terrorism affects the meaning and concept of Jihad in the mind of common people?*

**Table 4.52. Terrorism affects the meaning and concept of Jihad**

Respondents	Frequency	Response	
		Yes	No
Total	300	294	6
%	100	98	2

The above table explain that 294(98%) of the respondents agreed that terrorism affects the meaning and concept of *Jihad* in the mind of common people while 6(2%) were not agreed of the view that terrorism affects the meaning and concept of *Jihad* in the mind of common people. The highest ratio of the respondents agreed that terrorism affects the meaning and concept of *Jihad* in the mind of common people

***Do you agree that the people of KP seeking peace?***

**Table 4.53. The people of KP seeking peace**

Respondents	Frequency	Response			If yes	
		Yes	No	By <i>Jirga</i>	Through government	Leave the matter on the behalf of government
Total	300	264	36	112	112	40
%	100	88	12	42	42	16

**Denotation**

- a. By *Jirga*
- b. Through government
- c. Leave the matter on the behalf of government

The above table explains that 264 (88%) of the respondents agreed that the people of KP seeking peace 36 (12%) do not seeking peace. Further the table shows that of the agreed respondents 112 (42%) views agreed that people are seeking peace by *Jirga*, 112 (42%) were of the view that people do not seeking peace through government while 40 (16%) want to leave the matter on the behalf of government. Majority of the respondents agreed that the people of KP seeking peace by *Jirga* and by government.

***Do you agree that non-Muslims are supporting terrorist?***

**Table 4.54. Do you agree that non-Muslims are supporting terrorist?**

Respondents	Frequency	Response	
		Yes	No
Total	300	198	102
%	100	66	34

The above table explains that 198 (66%) of the respondents agreed that non-Muslims are supporting terrorist, 102 (34%) were not agreed that non-Muslims are supporting terrorist. Maximum of the respondents agreed that non-Muslims are supporting terrorist.

*Do you think that politicians in Pakistan are on one page on this sensitive issue?*

**Table 4.55. Politicians in Pakistan are on one page on this sensitive issue**

Respondents	Frequency	Response	
		Yes	No
Total	300	168	132
%	100	56	44

### **Explanation**

The above table explains that 168 (56%) of the respondents were think that politicians in Pakistan are on one page on this sensitive issues, 132 (44%) do not know that politicians in Pakistan are on one page on this sensitive issues. Majority of the respondents of the respondents were think that politicians in Pakistan are on one page on this sensitive issues.

*Do you agree that the people of Pakistan have sufficient knowledge about this sensitive issue?*

**Table 4.56. Sufficient knowledge about this sensitive issues**

Respondents	Frequency	Response	
		Yes	No
Total	300	108	192
%	100	36	64

The above table explains that 183(61%) of the respondents agreed that the people of Pakistan have sufficient knowledge about this sensitive issue, while 192(64%) were not agreed of the view. Majority of the respondents 192(64%) of the respondents were the views that the people of Pakistan have not sufficient knowledge about this sensitive issue.

*Do you think that the people of KP are able to keep an eye on their selected representatives?*

**Table 4.57. People of KP are able to keep an eye on their selected representatives**

Respondents	Frequency	Response	
		Yes	No
Total	300	192	108
%	100	64	36

The above table explains that 192(66%) of the respondents were think that the people of KP are able to keep an eye on their selected representatives while 108(34%) views in negative direction. Highest ratio of the respondents was thinks that the people of KP are able to keep an eye on their selected representatives

*Do you agree that political parties in Pakistan are adopting the intraparty democracy?*

**Table 4.58. Political parties in Pakistan and adopting the intraparty democracy**

Respondents	Frequency	Response		If No						
		Yes	No	Economic stability	Education	Family background	Social interaction	Political experience	Honesty and truthfulness	
Total	300	120	180	64	20	42	5	25	25	
%	100	40	60	36	11	23	3	13	14	

### Denotation

- |                       |                             |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------|
| a. Economic stability | d. Social interaction       |
| b. Education          | e. Political experience     |
| c. Family background  | f. Honesty and truthfulness |

The above table explains that 120 (40%) of the respondents agreed that political parties in Pakistan are adopting the intraparty democracy and 180 (60%) of the represented the

non-demographic system. Furthermore 64 (36%) of the disagreed respondents had the view that the people selecting their leaders on the base of economic stability, 20 (11%) views for on the base of education, 42 (23%) considered it on the base of family background. 5 (3%) bases on social interaction, 24 (13%) for political experience and 25 (14%) consider it on the base of honesty and truthfulness. Majority of the respondents 180(60%) represent that political parties in Pakistan are not adopting the intraparty democracy and the people selected their leader on the base of economic stability.

*In your opinion, are the people of KP able to select their suitable representatives?*

**Table 4.59. People in KP able to select their suitable representatives**

Respondents	Frequency	Response			If No	
		Yes	No	Racism and nepotism	Party base	By influential people
Total	300	117	183	38	55	90
%	100	39	61	21	30	49

**Denotation**

- a. Racism and nepotism
- b. Party base
- c. By influential people

The above table explains that 117 (39%) of the respondents were of the view that the people of KP are able to select their suitable representatives and 183 (61%) of the respondents, views the people of KP are not able to select their suitable representatives. Further of the disagreed respondents 38 (21%) selected their leaders on the base of racism and nepotism, 55 (30%) considered it on party base, and 90 (49%) think that the people select their leaders by influence of influential people. Maximum of the respondent views shows the people of KP are not able to select their suitable

representatives and further think that the people select their leaders by influence of influential people.

***Do you agree that social classification in different societies of the country produce imbalance in Pakistan?***

**Table 4.60. Social classification produce imbalance**

Respondents	Frequency	Response	
		Yes	No
Total	300	231	69
%	100	77	23

The above table explains that 231 (77%) of the respondents have views that social classification in different societies of the country produce imbalance in Pakistan while 29 (67%) views do not agree to statement. Majority of the respondents have views that social classification in different societies of the country produce imbalance in Pakistan.

***Is the government taking more interest in developing of those people being affected by terrorism?***

**Table 4.61. Government and development of affected people by terrorism**

Respondents	Frequency	Response	
		Yes	No
Total	300	144	156
%	100	48	52

The above table shows that 144(48%) respondents were agreed that government taking more interest in developing of those people being affected by terrorism while 156(52%) disagreed that government taking more interest in developing of those people being affected by terrorism. Majority of the respondents disagreed that government taking more interest in developing of those people being affected by terrorism.

***Do you know that lose control over non-state violence actors (VNSAs) is the main cause of terrorism?***

**Table 4.62. Loose control over non-state violence actors (VNSAs) and terrorism**

Respondents	Frequency	Response	
		Yes	No
Total	300	189	111
%	100	63	37

The above table explains that 189(63%) respondents views that lose control over non-state violence actors (VNSAs) is the main cause of terrorism, 111(37%) of them did not agree. Majority of the respondents 189(63%) views that lose control over non-state violence actors (VNSAs) is the main cause of terrorism.

***Do you agree that the depressed people of the society commonly joining terrorist groups?***

**Table 4.63. Depressed people of the society commonly joining terrorist groups**

Respondents	Frequency	Response	
		Yes	No
Total	300	228	72
%	100	76	24

The above table shows that 228(76%) of respondents agreed that the depressed people of the society commonly joining terrorist groups while 72(24%) were not agreed. Majority of the respondents agreed that the depressed people of the society commonly joining terrorist groups.

***Do you agree that the innocent people being affected by operations are going part of terrorism?***

**Table 4.64. Innocent affected by operations are going part of terrorism**

Respondents	Frequency	Response	
		Yes	No
Total	300	246	54

%	100	82	18
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The above table explains that 256 (82%) of the respondents agreed that the innocent people being affected by operations are going part of terrorism while 54 (18%) do not agreed to this statement. Highest ratio of the respondents agreed that the innocent people being affected by operations are going part of terrorism.

***Do you agree that politician illegally blamed their opponents of having their links with terrorist?***

**Table 4.65. Politician illegally blamed opponents to having links with terrorist**

Respondents	Frequency	Response	
		Yes	No
Total	300	189	111
%	100	63	37

The above table explains that 189(63%) of the respondents agreed that politician illegally blamed their opponents of having their links with terrorist while 111(37%) do not agreed to this statement. Majority of the respondents agreed that politician illegally blamed their opponents of having their links with terrorist

#### **4.4.8. Summery**

From the above description it is summarized that social human behavior is the relationship between two or more human being, the action and manner of any in which one affects the other. Social behavior has two different processes i.e. working together or oppose each another. There are also difference between various types in social behavior, like ordinary against self-justifying social behavior. This kind of social behavior is a consequence of interactions in daily life. On the other side, self-justifying behavior rises out of wish, when one is faced with conflicting desires.

The *Pashtun* social structure is a section lineage system. Leadership is situational and, in some time, institutionalized. After the battle both leadership and segment organization also come to an end. The cultural model has equality. *Pashtun* culture is atomized in the sense which is based on the most elementary element, the individual and considers their selves' independent, self-sufficient and concurrently in competition with all others *Pashtun*.

Military is the dominant power dealer in the country Worldwide and national weight is applied on it, which making every effort to keep up its situation of practically unlimited authority over the nation's fortune. The global network appears to have gotten progressively mindful of the solid perils lying in front of Pakistan's future improvements. Temperamental circumstance is regularly lead to establish to in nation interior rise of savagery and social clashes. This investigates the compartments wherein these elements and methodology impact the inspirations and open doors for current entertainers. In Pakistan the political culture, as per constitutional and legal right all citizens are considered to be capable of taking advantage of political opportunities on equal basis. Now they have come out to fight their war, so our political culture attracts the deprived people to extremism and the KP and are the best examples. Aggression raises, the political situation has created problems in the way of peace and prosperity. Local extremists in KP instead of accepting influence from their culture. Influence of external society and culture, or other words, had the factors to accept extremism emotions and behavior, because the Pakistani culture, particularly the exclusive culture of the ancient culture, passed through the process of relatively much change in KP. According to, now when the population tastes the power of self-determination, establishes its political influence in the society and the state, the circumstances become

transformed into a few people and different groups became so strong and they adopted such methods that would have social, political and began to adapt to economic changes. In the causes of growing extremism in Pakistan, economic culture is also involved in this regard. The nation divided into economic units can be divided into the groups like poor, middle and rich. Rich class and rich people have exploited the weak people, middle and poorer sections that are on the grounds of the rich are deprived, resulting in feeling that they take revenge.

It was possible to bring the desired social change and prepare the best citizen by providing them quality education. *Pashtun* social structure is like in other societies legitimized by ethical paradigms that provide a moral base and sort the social system in appropriate natural order which is unchallengeable. *Tarborwali* is a way of institutionalized like competition among close male relatives. A strong spirit of equality in tribal charter a sequential organization going ahead by ability. They equivalent on a basic level and capacity of *Pukhtunwali* however women dislike to men. Male respect like family respect start considering with the set of principles winning ladies. The objective of man is political mastery on a specific family level. Plunge gatherings can exist at various degrees of connection, for example, a locale, a town, or subdivisions inside a town. The administration challenges standing up to in KP have profound social roots. The region formal establishments are steady in the public arena, the limits among open and private arrangement are overwhelmed. Political Leaders in KP at all levels are bound to protect their place of formal authority with social linkages and backing, of than by free and sensible procedures.

Basic variables, with impact of topography on the administration to the Pakistan in KP are the regional trustworthiness, the political impact and geo-key essentialness. As to delicate and testing association with India, their geographic neighborhood has been

considered with some uncertain issues. The British began that attempt to kickback such pioneers and molded a differentiation among pioneers and others *Pashtun*.

*Pashtun* had served in military of Turku-Mongolian administrations situated in Iran, and from them they learned authoritative structure and military affiliation, and furthermore this various leveled kind of association. They are gifted of arranging into bigger social groupings that is of raising enormous military powers, and framing governments. Administering houses beginning from law-based clans would in general be fleeting, however required less assets. Houses situated in various leveled social orders made enduring controls, yet required higher *Pashtun* social structure. From the calculated data it was summarized that religious do not scholars conveying the real message to follower of Islam. Terrorism affects the meaning and concept of *Jihad* in the mind of common people and the people of KP seeking peace by *Jirga* and by government. Non-Muslims are also supporting terrorist so the politicians in Pakistan are on one page on this sensitive issue. That people in Pakistan have not sufficient knowledge about this sensitive issue but that the people of KP are able to keep an eye on their selected representatives however, political parties in Pakistan do not adopt the intraparty democracy. The people selected their leader on the base of economic stability and majority of the people in KP are not able to select their suitable representatives therefore they select their representatives on party base through pressure of influential people. The social classification in different societies of the country produce imbalance in Pakistan. The government taking more interest in developing of those people being affected by terrorism and the lose control over non-state violence actors (VNSAs) is the main cause. The depressed people in the society commonly joining terrorist groups and the innocent people being affected by operations are going part of terrorism. The politician illegally blamed their opponents of having their links with terrorist.

## **4.5. Pashtun Society and Culture (Section Five)**

### **4.5.1. Introduction**

This section encircled the *Pashtun* Society, its culture and religion with special reference to social values, such as a nation have for its honorable life, in the past and present scenario. The *Pashtun* is a hard nation and they follow their culture and religion everywhere they lived. They are straight forward in their decisions and do not move easily from their chosen decision. They are psychologically emotional and have often mislead due to these characteristics. It is evaluated in this chapter with different angles from primary and secondary sources that to point out the factors of terrorism in Pakistan especially in *Pashtun* of KP. For this study national and international books, articles and others helping material related to the topic were selected. A questionnaire was designed for collection of data from the sampling areas. After discussing and analyzing the views of different writer and scholars the collected data was also tabulated which concluded and summarized.

### **4.5.2. Pashtun Society**

Pakistan is a multi-cultural, various tradition and linguistic country and have linkages to the ancient civilizations of *Mohenjo-Daro*<sup>1</sup>, *Harappa*<sup>2</sup> and Buddhist *Gandhara*. Different invaders came here time by time. The origin of *Urdu*<sup>3</sup> language in Sub-Continent is great example of multi-language culture. In Pakistan Urdu, Sindhi, *Punjabi*, *Saraiki*, *Pashto* etc., speaking people belonging to different regions and Urdu is the national language of Pakistan which means '*Lashkari Zuban*' the language of

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<sup>1</sup> The historical remains center near *Larkana* Sindh Pakistan for ancient Indus civilization.

<sup>2</sup> The historical remains center near *Sahiwal* Punjab Pakistan for the ancient Indus civilization.

<sup>3</sup> The national language of Pakistan which is called *Lashkari* language, Urdu is the combination of many languages which was develop in the Sub-Continent.

army (fighters). Therefore, Pakistani culture and tradition is very extensive and have differences. *Pashtun* is an old nation of the world. The total population of *Pashtun* throughout the world is more than 70 million. In the old Vedic<sup>4</sup> literature in the description of Herodotus<sup>5</sup>, Ptolemy<sup>6</sup> and other Greeks narratives of the past the behaviors of *Pashtun* have been described.

Man just like monkeys, bees and ants is considered a social animal. Social animal means that man wants to live together because man cannot solve their entire problems by himself alone. Man is forced to live together to fulfill the needs of one another. As man is a social animal then every society has some rules and regulation to spend their lives peacefully. As mentioned earlier *Pashtun* is an old nation then it has a language of its own, historical traditions and a particular geography in which they are living since time immemorial. In the Stone Age<sup>7</sup> the traditions of the people were different, in Bronze Age<sup>8</sup> man had a quite different traditions and customs and in the modern age man possess a different tradition. Majority of the population of *Pashtun* are still living in the tribal fashion of the past. As *Pashtun* were living and partially are still living in the tribal society. Thus, they have certain code of their life called *Pukhtunwali* (*Pashtun* Code of life) and *Riwaj*. These codes are unwritten and every same person of the society is aware of the importance of the *Pashtun* code of life.

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<sup>4</sup> The *Vedic* religion which also known as Brahmanism, Vedism, *Vedic* Brahmanism, and ancient Hinduism.

<sup>5</sup> An ancient Greek historian who was born in the Persian Empire, Halicarnassus. He is known for his book having *The Histories*.

<sup>6</sup> The Greek, most influential astronomers and geographers.

<sup>7</sup> Stone Age was a broad prehistoric period between 8700 BCE and 2000 BCE.

<sup>8</sup> Historical period characterized by the use of bronze.

### **4.5.3. Pashtun Culture**

Culture is a legendary background of confidence. Near some people, the culture is likely of the principles that come by understanding the human behavior. The customs and traditions of habits, beliefs, roles, political organizations, economical activities, and other aspects are transmitted from one generation to another. Culture also means that such traditions and beliefs, art, life and social organization that belong to a specific country or group, the culture is the name of the wonderful ability of the people. This is actually a constructive mechanism that protects society. Culture has also been called the resignation system. This is for particular nationality of society is a combination of customs and rules, while social values are related to society as their organizational traditions. It flows from tradition to tradition and tradition of people's behavior. The personal behavior is mostly influenced by the laws and traditions of customs, values, and peace and harmony in the society. There is another opinion, that it is largely found that community and culture behavior give birth to habits. All these points were discussed to find out the factors of terrorism in *Pashtun*.

If the whole society is on one side and the terrorists and on the other side then values and habits of social cultural behavior are not included in direct factors of terrorism. In this scenario factors of terrorism and extremism are hidden somewhere else in the country. However, social structure and culture cannot be completely misconduct. But social and cultural factors also should not be considered simple.

According to Richard Sans's point of view the social, economic and cultural factors are such hidden units that cause basic motivation in any society for terrorism. The availability of attractive environment for terrorism is a strong factor that the *Pashtun* are famous for. Either they are deceiving or they follow their social norms of hospitality

and protection. Ideology and methodology of extremism and terrorism has been promoted in different levels and groups.

Cultural and social structure of Pakistan is passing through the process of change, various types of social streams are moving forward. But the problem is that the direction of the society is negative and has shown to promote positive values on a very low rate. The tendency of change is more towards extremism and peaceful social and cultural progress is very short. From the last few decades extremism has increased very rapidly. Pakistani society is also moving towards rapid transformation and it is also an important cause of extremism.

The emergence of social changes in Pakistan has led to four types of conflicts i.e. culture and creative change, differences in regional and national culture, economic growth and culture promotion a moment into Islamic ideas and improvement.

The main reason of this unrest is Soviet-Afghanistan war of December 1979 and government's weaknesses in Pakistan especially KP and the external conservative factors have the opportunity to give strengthen US step in this region.

Social and cultural activities result in various types of changes in human behavior. The investigations have shown that the majority of extremists reduce their hands in social work and the society kick them out. Because the extremist segment is a combination of people who do not pass through a social process. Apart from society, the activities and interests of these people are also different. They are virtually supporters of the opposite political and social ideology. When they failed in achieving constitutional license for continuing their activities then they commit violations of social principles.

The activities of these groups show that the social journey of the country is being troubled every day. The weaknesses in social procedures indicate that the element of extremism and violence prevails. Family plays an important role in children's

development. Children training is incomplete until their psychological needs are met. If the parents really lose their love and attention the children suffer psychological conflicts from the beginning. Parents enroll children into nursery schools in lesser circumstances, they deprived with their parents' love and full attention. As a result, these factors cause the basis of violent behavior and behavioral habits.

Domestic disputes have pushed social development into false directions. The family is a small unit of society and the home environment plays an important role in social development. Most family gave evidence of discomfort in fulfilling the social justice requirements. According to Parson, four fixings are required to strengthen the social structure. Explanation options, completion of goals, requirement of the same moment and people too consider themselves responsive.

History of a country like Pakistan tells us that it has been facing difficulties in determining its right direction since its independence. The interpretation quality of patriotism is seen as anxiety. The social institutions in Pakistan are lacking in basic.

The *Pashtuns* have very extensive and important history of tradition and culture. If they live in KP, Baluchistan, Afghanistan or in non-*Pashtuns* areas, they still maintain their cultural activities. Even in (United Arab Emirates) UAE the *Pashtuns'* artists are presenting mega shows time to time.<sup>9</sup> Every application of Pakistani Culture represents the original shape of the society.

*Pakhtunwali* is the main factor of their life and society. It is the old law which is followed by the *Pashtuns* every time. Living in *Pashtuns* society it is necessary for

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<sup>9</sup> Olaf Caroe. *The Pathans 550 B.C.-A.D. 1957*, (London, New York Oxford, 1976), p. 162-202.

everyone to follow the *Pakhtunwali*. If they do not follow the *Pakhtunwali*, then they are not considered as *Pashtuns*.<sup>10</sup>

A *Jirga* is the council of the elders. The *Jirga* has very important role in *Pashtun* society. The *Jirga* values depend on the case and decision they make. For important decision between Afghanistan and Pakistan, both the countries often nominated *Loeya Jirga* (super council). The government in *Pashtun* areas also take help from *Jirga* for administration and other decisions. In Pakistan administration is impoverish to *Jirga*.<sup>11</sup> In the *Pashtun* communities the *Jirga* decide all the disputed matters and always try for reconciliation. In short, the *Jirga* play very important role in low to high level of matters<sup>12</sup> which has discussed in the below table.

**Table 4.66. *Jirga* role in *Pashtun* society**

o. Social Component	Cultural	p. Values & Advantages for Society
<i>Jirga</i> (council of elders) for the reconciliation Between the Disputed people		Quick decision making & justice
		Representation both of the sides
		The <i>Pashtuns</i> accept the decision of the elders
		r. Without expenses
q.		The decisions decide in the light of local customs and experience.

<sup>10</sup> Akbar S Ahmad. *Pukhtun Economy and society*, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, Boston and Henly 1980), p. 3-21.

<sup>11</sup> Noorul Bashir Naveed. *Liwali* (Magazine, V15, Peshawar, October, November. 2007), p. 5-7.

<sup>12</sup> Navid Ahmad Shenwari. *Qabaiali Alaqa ki Fahim, Community Appraisal & Motivation Program (CAMP, 2008)*, p. 5-6.

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Every one man, woman even the children  
can approach the *Jirga* easily.

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#### 4.5.4. *Pashtun* Religion

Majority of the *Pashtun* population is Muslim and has a specific world. They consider *Pakhtunwali* integrated with Islamic laws. The *Pashtun* are considered the only nation where all of the members are Muslims. The *Pashtun* embraced Islam in the leadership of their elder Qis Abdur Rashid by direct interaction with Prophet Muhammad peace be upon him (PBUH). Later on in *Pashtun*, spread the influence of Islam for many centuries by numerous Sufis network belonging the Middle East, Central Asia and India due to specific chain (*Piri-muridi*) relationship.

Islam is considered universal religion and has the potential of change through one of its constituent *Ijtihad*.<sup>13</sup> A small number of Muslims awaken and want to debate on Islam and modern thought. Islam is the universal religion and through its one continuant it has the capacity for change *Ijtihad* in Islam. It has a help in the concept of change. With the passage of time usually it is believed that Islam has no capacity to adopt the changes but by *Ijtihad* it can accept all the good things for the betterment of the society.<sup>14</sup>

The climate of this region is historically very moderate. In previous decades, Muslim writers wrote the moderate literature, especially in the eleventh century *Ali Hujwiri* and many other *Sufi* sophisticated modern ideas and concepts. The message of humanity for love and peace was light. The conditions broke out after the 1960s and 1970s. Extremism and terrorism emerged with full strength. This is the source of current social

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<sup>13</sup> The decision of qualified Muslim's scholars during the solution of a problem which not found in the Quran and Sunna.

<sup>14</sup> Leonard Binder, *Religion and Politics in Pakistan*, (California: University of California Press and London, England: Cambridge University Press, 1963), pp, 178-181.

and cultural changes. In general terms, capitalism stress on primary interest and communism on the individual interest in the social life. But Islam believes on both as a declaration toward collective good.<sup>15</sup>

#### **4.5.5. Social Values**

The differentiation of social and cultural values among different nations in the entire world is a fact. For example, before the revelation of Islam the Arabian society was notorious for burying their daughters alive. It was considered a symbol and act of respect and honor. The people who had no daughters had proud against those who had daughters. In that society several types of evils were present. But after the revelation of Islam these considered as sin. Islam gave a respectable position to the women in the profile of mother, sister and wife. It was the same society but the change prohibited them of dark customs.

Social and cultural facts can be divided into two categories. The first type of domestic environment and domestic culture, while global society and its culture come in its other form, and the later type is compatible with Pakistani society.

Although all these factors are natural, but in this research many aspects of political, economic, religious, psychological, social and cultural creative factors are discussed as these are deeply linked to society. Because social values only define the direction of society.

The radical society has influenced the factors, because they also start calling their colors in social and cultural values. For example, in political and social developments have also become a regular part of the extremist literature, newspapers, news. The old definition of extremism is positive, because basic extreme political challenges are by

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<sup>15</sup> Sharif Al Mujahid, *Ideology of Pakistan*, (Islamabad: International Islamic University, 2001), pp.134.

the lack of discipline. Intellectuals also analyzed extremism and terrorism in different contexts, and some people considered them in the same context. Some elements call fundamentalist as terrorism, which is not right because extremism has its own distinctive background. However, discussions are going on between the two ideologies, but it does not mean that radicalism can never be extremists or terrorists.

In this context, the creativity has set the following specific points regarding radical groups and their movements.

There are two social customs of chain of command and administration among the *Pashtun* which offer ascent to two sorts of political association, and to the structure of the present clash. Law based sort of association ruled among the eastern *Pashtun* of Afghanistan and the contiguous pieces of Pakistan. These individuals dismiss the authenticity of inherited position. Pioneers among such individuals are only first among rises to, and can be powerful just when there is a consent to help the activities they propose. The British found that attempting to reward such pioneers made a qualification among pioneers and others, and hence supported disfavor by damaging the law-based ethic.<sup>16</sup>

#### **4.5.6. Internal Differences in *Pashtun's* Society and Culture**

Commonly the whole province of KP comprises *Pashtun* population. According to the *Pashtun* code of life the people who follow the *Pashtunwali* (the code of life of the *Pashtun*) are called *Pashtun* but those people who do not follow *Pashtunwali*, are considered out of the *Pashtun* society. But basically, in KP there are different races and tribes. Majority tribes and races belong to *Pashtun* nationalism. Beside the *Pashtun*

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<sup>16</sup> Tainter and MacGregor, *Pashtun Social Structure*.



***Are the people taking self-initiatives to revenge their enemies?***

**Table 4.68. The people taking self-initiatives to revenge their enemies**

Respondents	Frequency	Response	
		Yes	No
Total	300	237	63
%	100	79	21

The above table explains that 237(79%) of the respondents agreed with the view that the people in KP are taking self-initiatives to revenge their enemies. The table further explain that 63(21%) were not agreed of the view that the people in KP are taking self-initiatives to revenge their enemies. Majority of the respondents of the respondents agreed with the view that the people in KP are taking self-initiatives to revenge their enemies.

***Do you agree that religious ethnicity is a cause of terrorism?***

**Table 4.69. Religious ethnicity is a cause of terrorism**

Respondents	Frequency	Response	
		Yes	No
Total	300	87	213
%	100	29	71

The above table explains that 87(29%) of the respondents agreed with the view that the religious ethnicity is a cause of terrorism in KP. The table further explain that 213(71%) were not agreed the view that religious ethnicity is a cause of terrorism. Highest ratio of the respondents 213(71%) were not agreed of the view that religious ethnicity is a cause of terrorism in KP.

***Do you agree that regionalism and racism are the main cause of terrorism?***

**Table 4.70. Regionalism and racism are the main cause of terrorism**

Respondents	Frequency	Response	
		Yes	No
Total	300	111	189
%	100	37	63

The above table explains that 111(37%) of the respondents agreed with the view that regionalism and racism are the main causes of terrorism. The table further explain that 189(63%) were not agreed with the view that regionalism and racism are the main causes of terrorism. Majority of the respondents were not agreed of the view that regionalism and racism are the main causes of terrorism

***Do you agree that religious hostility is also a main cause of terrorism?***

**Table 4.71. Religious hostility is also a main cause of terrorism**

Respondents	Frequency	Response	
		Yes	No
Total	300	138	162
%	100	46	54

The above table explains that 138(46%) of the respondent were of the views that religious hostility is also a main cause of terrorism. The table further explains that 162(54%) did not agree of the view that religious hostility is also a main cause of terrorism. maximum of the respondents was not approved of the view that religious hostility is also a main cause of terrorism.

***Do you agree that the people of KP are more interested in religious war (Jihad)?***

**Table 4.72. The people of KP are more interested in religious war (Jihad)**

Respondents	Frequency	Response	
		Yes	No

Total	300	234	66
%	100	78	22

The above table explains that 234 (78%) of the respondents were of the view that the people of KP are more interested in religious war (*Jihad*). The table further explain that 66 (22%) did not agree with the view that the people of KP are more interested in religious war (*Jihad*). Majority of the respondents of the respondents were of the views that the people of KP are more interested in religious war (*Jihad*)

***Do you agree that the terrorist’s videos clips are being watching by the People of KP?***

**Table 4.73. Terrorist’s videos clips are being watching by the People of KP**

Respondents	Frequency	Response			If yes	
		Yes	No	A	B	C
Total	300	216	84	150	15	51
%	100	72	28	69	7	24

**Denotation**

- a. It leaves negative effects on our society
- b. It leaves positive effects on our society
- c. Both of the above

The above table explains that 216 (84%) of the respondents were of the view that the terrorist’s videos clips are being watched by the People in KP while 84 (28%) view were found against the above mentioned. Furthermore 150 (69%) views shows that these videos clips leave negative impact on the society while 15 (7%) were of the views that it leaves positive effects and 51 (24) agreed for both the negative and positive effects on the society. Majority of the respondents have the view that terrorist’s videos clips are being watched by the People of KP and these videos clips lay negative effects on the society.

***Does media present the positive aspect of the cultural Values?***

**Table 4.74. Media present the positive aspect of the cultural Values**

Respondents	Frequency	Response	
		Yes	No
Total	300	54	246
%	100	18	82

The above table explains that 254 (71%) of the respondents were of the view that the media present the positive aspect of our cultural Values while 276 (82%) were of the respondents view that the media do not present the positive feature of the cultural values. Highest ratio of the respondents was of the view that media do not present the positive feature of the *Pashtun* cultural values.

***Do you agree that the military operations against terrorist in KP affected the social norms of Pashtuns?***

**Table 4.75. Military operations in KP affected the social norms of *Pashtuns***

Respondents	Frequency	Response	
		Yes	No
Total	m300	237	63
%	100	79	21

The above table explain that 237(79%) of the respondents agreed that the military operations against terrorist in KP affected the social norms of *Pashtuns* and 63(21%) of them disagreed. Many more respondents agreed that military operations against terrorist in KP affected social norms of *Pashtuns*.

***Do you agree that the people of KP are more interested in religious education?***

**Table 4.76. The people of KP are more interested in religious education**

Respondents	Frequency	Response	
		Yes	No

Total	300	255	63
%	100	79	21

The above table explains that 255 (79%) of the respondents were of the view that people of KP are more interested in religious education and 63 (21%) of the respondents did not agree the same view. Majority of the respondents were of the view that people of KP are more interested in religious education.

***Do you agree that the Pashtuns practices Tarborwali (antagonism in Brotherhood) in their brotherhood?***

**Table 4.77. Pashtuns practices Tarborwali (antagonism in Brotherhood)**

Respondents	Frequency	Response			If yes		
		Yes	No	A	B	C	
Total	300	237	63	134	59	44	
%	100	63	21	57	25	18	

**Denotation**

- a. It produces enmity and lead them to terrorism
- b. It keeps them in brotherhood and unity
- c. It has no effect on their brotherhood

The above table is showing that 237 (63%) respondents were agreed the view that the *Pashtuns* practices *Tarborwali* in their brotherhood while 63 (21%) view were found disagreed to the above. Furthermore 134 (57%) views show that *Tarborwali* produces enmity and lead them to terrorism, 59 (25%) were agreed that it keep them in brotherhood and unity while 44(18%) of the respondents, views that the *Tarborwali* has no effects on the *Pashtun* brotherhood. Majority of the respondents agreed of the view that the *Pashtuns* practices *Tarborwali* in their brotherhood to believe that *Tarborwali* produces enmity and lead them to terrorism.

***Pashtun follow Islam in all field of life?***

**Table 4.78. Pashtun follow Islam in all field of life**

Respondents	Frequency	Response			If No		
		Yes	No	A	B	C	
Total	300	156	144	35	25	84	
%	100	52	48	24	18	58	

**Denotation**

- a. *Pakhtunwali*
- b. Exiting rules and laws of the country
- c. Where they see their benefits

The above table explain that 156 (52%) respondents have the views that *Pashtun* follow Islam in all field of life while 144 (48%) of them did not agree with the above view. The table further explains that 35 (24%) were of the view that they follow *Pakhtunwali*, 25 (18%) thinks that they follow exiting rules and laws of the country and 84 (58%) were view that they follow the laws by their choice where they see benefits. maximum of the respondents has the views that *Pashtun* follow Islam in all field of life and they follow the laws by their choice where they see benefits.

***Are you agree that the Pashtuns keep care of their social values as they are famous for?***

**Table 4.79. Pashtuns keep care of their social values**

Respondents	Frequency	Response	
		Yes	No
Total	300	255	45
%	100	85	15

The above table shows that 255(85%) of respondents agreed that the *Pashtuns* keep care about their social values as they are famous for while 45(15%) disagreed to the

above statement. Majority of the respondents agreed that the *Pashtuns* do care of their social values as they are famous for.

***Are you agree with the statement that generally the Pashtuns have plenty of children and they are careless in socializing and educating them?***

**Table 4.80. *Pashtuns* have plenty of children and they are careless about them**

Respondents	Frequency	Response	
		Yes	No
Total	300	192	108
%	100	64	36

The above table explains that 192 (64%) of the respondents were agreed with the statement that generally the *Pashtuns* have plenty of children and they are careless in socializing and educating them while 108(36%) did not agree this statement. Majority of the respondents with the statement that generally the *Pashtuns* have plenty of children and they are careless in socializing and educating them.

***Do you agree that the people of KP are peaceful?***

**Table 4.81. The people of KP are peaceful**

Respondents	Frequency	Response	
		Yes	No
Total	300	251	48
%	100	84	16

The above table explains that 251(84%) of the respondent agreed that the people of KP are peaceful and 48 (16%) of them did not agree. Highest ratio of the respondents was believed that the people of KP are peaceful.

#### **4.5.8. Summery**

From the above description, accordingly it is concluded that *Pashtun* is a hard nation and they follow their culture and religion everywhere they lived. They are straight

forward in their decisions and did not move easily from their chosen decision. They are psychologically emotional and have often mislead due to their traditional behaviors. Pakistan is a multi-cultural, linguistic country. It has linkages to the ancient civilizations so similarly *Pashtun* is also an old nation and it has a language, historical culture, traditions and a particular geography in which they are living till centuries.

The customs and traditions of habits, beliefs, roles, political organizations, economical activities, and other aspects are transmitted from one generation to another. This is actually a constructive mechanism that protects society. Culture has also been called the resignation system. The personal behavior is more influenced by the laws and traditions of customs, values, peace and harmony in the society. The availability of attractive environments for terrorism is a strong fact that the *Pashtun* are famous for, either they are deceiving or follow their social norms of hospitality and protection for someone who need.

The cultural and social structure of Pakistan is passing through the process of change. Various types of social streams are moving forward, but the problem is that the direction of society is negative and has shown to promote positive values in a very low rate. The tendency of change is more towards extremism and peaceful social and cultural progress is very low. Extremism increases during the last few decades. The entire world is in vain because of these phenomena. Pakistani society is also moving towards rapid transformation and it is also an important cause of extremism. The investigations have shown that the majority of extremists reduce their hands in social work and the society keep kick them out. Because the extremist segment is a combination of people who do not pass through a social process.

The activities of the extremist groups show that the social journey of the country is being troubled. The weaknesses in social procedures indicate that the element of

extremism and violence prevails. Domestic disputes have pushed social development into false directions. The family is a small unit of society and the home environment plays an important role in the social development. History like Pakistan says that it has been facing difficulties in determining its right direction since its independence. Basically, there are shortage of social institutions in Pakistan so the people mostly follow their traditional system. *Pakhtunwali* is the main fact of *Pashtun* life and society. It is the old laws which are following by *Pashtuns*. Living in *Pashtuns* society, it is very necessary for everyone to follow the *Pakhtunwali*. If they do not follow the *Pakhtunwali*, then they are considered out of *Pashtuns*. The *Jirga* has very important role in the in their life. The *Pashtun* are Muslims and have specific place in the Muslims society. They consider *Pakhtunwali* integrated with Islamic laws.

Islam is universal religion and has potential of change through one of its constituent *Ijtihad*. The message of humanity for love and peace is the light every religion. The conditions broke out after the 1960s and 1970s, in which extremism and terrorism emerged with full strength. The difference among of social and cultural values between different nations in the entire world is a fact. Social and cultural facts divided into two categories of domestic environment and domestic culture. Global society and its culture come in other forms, and the other type is compatible with Pakistani society. Political and social developments have also become a regular part of the extremist literature, newspapers, news.

Analysis the calculated data, it is also summarized that the people in KP are still using the weapon as ornament that they are using it for their protection. They are taking self-initiatives take revenge of their enemies. Religious ethnicity is a cause of terrorism in KP. Regionalism and racism as well as religious hostility are also the main causes of terrorism. The people of KP are more interested in religious war (*Jihad*). The terrorist's

videos clips are being watched by the People in KP and these videos clips are laying negative effects on the society. The media do not present the positive aspect of the cultural Values. The military operations against terrorist in KP affected the social norms of *Pashtuns* society and culture. The people of KP are more interested in religious education. The *Pashtuns* practices *Tarborwali* in their brotherhood which produces enmity and lead them to terrorism. The *Pashtun* follow Islam in all field of life but they follow the laws like governmental and *Pakhtunwali* by their choice where they see benefits in their problems solving. They keep care of their social values as they are famous for but have plenty of children and they are careless in socializing and educating them. Generally, he people of KP are peaceful.

**5.6. Zia to Musharraf Policies and Factors of Terrorism in KP** (Section Six)

**5.6.1. Introduction**

The researcher conducted interviews with politicians to explore in-depth understating of the selected phenomena. Before this method, the researcher conducted survey whereas the data was collected from the different parts of the Malakand division of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

**5.6.4. Tabulation and analysis of Interviews contents**

*What are the factors of terrorism in KP?*

**Table 4.82. Factors of Terrorism in KP**

Theme	Category	Frequency	%
Factors of Terrorism in KP	Access to weaponization	1	4.2
	Afghan Refugees	3	12.5
	Federal Control over the Resources of KP	1	4.2

Economic Deprivations	1	4.2
External influences	1	4.2
Foreign Funding	1	4.2
Global Terrorist Networks	1	4.2
Ideological Narratives	1	4.2
Ineffective Policies of the State	1	4.2
Inequality	1	4.2
<i>Jihad</i>	1	4.2
Partition of India	1	4.2
Political Instability	1	4.2
Poverty	1	4.2
Radicalism	1	4.2
Religious extremism	3	12.5
Social Marginalization	1	4.2
Soviet-Afghan War	1	4.2
State sponsored Elements	1	4.2
Weak Governances	1	4.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>100</b>

The thematic table 87 illustrates the factors of terrorism in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa that 3(12.5%) of the interviewees believed that the Afghan refugees, 3(12.5%) were supposed to the radicalism while rest of other interviewees believe 1(4.2%) that t access to weaponization, , federal control over the resources of KP, economic deprivations, external influences, foreign funding, global terrorist networks, ideological narratives, ineffective policies of the state, inequality, *Jihad*, partition of India, political instability,

poverty, religious extremism, social marginalization, Soviet-Afghan war, state sponsored elements, weak governances are the factors for terrorism in KP.

The highest ratio of the interviewees thinks that the Afghan refugees and the radicalism both are the factors for terrorism in KP. The empirical data that is collected during in face-to-face communication with the respondents is statistically analyzed and reported in the technical research manner. In this regard, Table 87 demonstrate the factors of terrorism in the research area. The data openly make illustrations of the factors rote to terrorism based on various reasons that include the weaponization as Kalashnikov culture in KP and Ex- FATA as well as in Afghanistan which is a base for extremism here. Similarly, Afghan refugees live in KP since 1980. They crass the Durand Line between Pakistan and Afghanistan without any strict check and balance which was always become the cause of valiance in Pakistan and contradiction between the both countries. The deprivation objection that federal government control over the resources, economics of KP also indicate terrorism. External influences like foreign funding, global terrorist networks considered the factors of terrorism.

Ideological narratives that circulated in the shape of different propaganda like *Pakhtunistan* or the domination of the Punjab are also referred to terrorism in KP. Ineffective policies of the state drawn the common people the hopelessness, so they are trying for change in any way. Inequality, political instability, social marginalization poverty and weak, governances make rote to the terrorist. Radicalism, religious extremism, soviet-Afghan war, state sponsored elements and partition of India are the factors of terrorism in KP. Terrorism had political, social, and economic impacts on KP and Ex-FATA. It disturbed people's lives, social activities, businesses, livelihood, and other daily routine sectors. The causes of terrorism, as discussed are the government's ignorance and lack of public rights and security, fruitless negotiations, religious and

ideological reasons, political flaws, and poor administration.<sup>1</sup> Religious extremism is another important cause of terrorism. Poverty and economic differences among people also create disturbance in the minds of the deprived. It is argued that "a hungry man is an angry man." With time, class differences have increased, and the rich are getting richer while the poor are getting poorer. Poverty, hunger, and disease are common ills of society. As a result, common men have no option except to turn to weapons and violence to earn a living.<sup>2</sup>

***How Zia's and Musharraf's National Policies influences terrorism in KP?***

**Table 4.83. Zia; and Musharraf's National Policies and Influence on Terrorism**

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>Zia's National Policies and Terrorism</b>	Promotion	20	83.34
	Degradation	4	16.66
<b>Total</b>		24	100
<b>Musharraf's National Policies and Terrorism</b>	Promotion	7	29.16
	Degradation	17	77.84
<b>Total</b>		24	100

The researcher further explored the policies of Zia and Musharraf regarding KP terrorism influence in two categories i.e. promotion and degradation that 20(83.34%) of the interviewees believed that terrorism promoted in the era, while 4(16.66%) have the stance that terrorism declined under the national policies of Zia. In 1984, Pakistan's

<sup>1</sup> Yousufi, Musab, Samina Saeed, and Rashid Aftab. "A THEORETICAL STUDY OF ISLAMIC AND WESTERN POLITICAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE CAUSES OF TERRORISM AFTER 911 IN FATA AND KP PAKISTAN." *Pakistan Journal of International Affairs* 4, no. 2 (2021), p. 622.

<sup>2</sup> Wahab, Sumira, and A. Hussain. *Causes and consequences of terrorism in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan.* (*International Journal of Research* 8, no. 2, 2021), pp. 234-236.

military dictator General Zia ul Haq attempted to Islamize the country, which was already 97% Muslim, through a controversial referendum. He enforced his own interpretation of *Nizam-e-Mustafa* (Rule of the Prophet Muhammad), which marked the beginning of extremism in Pakistani society. This extremism later turned violent and generated terrorism with international implications.<sup>3</sup>

On the other side, about Musharraf regime 17(77.84%) of the interviewees thinks that terrorism declined and 7(29.16%) thinks that terrorism promoted under the national policies of Musharraf.

The highest ratio of the interviewees thinks that terrorism promoted under the national policies of Zia, while the highest ratio of the interviewees thinks that terrorism degraded under the national policies of Musharraf.

Pakistan became a haven for militant and terrorist groups during the *Taliban* regime in Afghanistan (1996-2001). The country's porous 2,430-kilometer-long border with Afghanistan and the poor governance of the Pakistani government in the Ex-FATA) made it an ideal location for these groups to operate. The region was governed under the Frontier Crime Regulation (FCR) rather than the 1973 Constitution of Pakistan, creating a legal vacuum that allowed *Taliban* and *Al-Qaeda* fighters to recruit and send reinforcements against US troops after the 2001 US invasion of Afghanistan.<sup>4</sup>

***How Zia's and Musharraf's National Policies were different?***

**Table 4.84. The differences of National Policies between Zia and Musharraf.**

Theme	Category	Frequency	%
	Supporting of Islamist Militancy	5	20.8

<sup>3</sup> Amin, Musarrat, Rizwan Naseer, and Saleem Raza. *Rise of Islamic State in Af-Pak Region: Pakistan's Counterterrorism Policy* (Journal of Indian Studies 8, no. 02, 2022), pp. 269-288.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 269-270.

<b>Zia's Nation</b>	Promotion of Religious Extremism	7	29.2
<b>Policies and</b>	Weaponization of Islamists	6	25.0
<b>Terrorism</b>	Misuse of Islamic ideology	3	12.5
	Promotion of <i>Jihad</i>	3	12.5
	<b>Total</b>	24	100
<b>Musharraf's</b>	Militancy Operation	4	16.6
<b>Nation Policies in</b>	Drone Strikes in KP and Ex-FATA	7	29.2
<b>Terrorism</b>	Attacks over Islamic Institutions	7	29.2
	War on Terror	3	12.5
	U turn in Militancy Policy	3	12.5
	<b>Total</b>	24	100

The table 88 shows the Zia national policies different in nature about terrorism in KP that 7(29.2%) of the interviewees think that the promotion of religious extremism, 6(25%) the weaponization of *Islamists*, while 5(20.8%) believed that supporting of *Islamist* militancy, 3(12.5) for each that misuse of Islamic ideology and promotion of *Jihad* are the distinguish factors for terrorism in the Zia's policies.

The highest ratio of the interviewees thinks that the promotion of religious extremism and the weaponization of Islamists both are the factors which differentiate the policies of Zia from Musharraf about terrorism.

This table further demonstrates the Musharraf national policies in KP about terrorism that 7(29.2%) of the interviewees stance it different for permit to US for drone strikes,7(29.2%) attacks over Islamic institutions in KP and Ex-FATA, while 4(16.5%) thinks that because of militancy operation, the lowest ratio 3(12.5) for each that war on

terror and U turn in militancy policy are the factors that differentiate the national policies of Musharraf regarding terrorism in KP.

The highest ratio of the interviewees thinks that the permit to US for drone strikes and attacks over Islamic institutions in KP and Ex-FATA are the main factors which differentiate the national policies of Musharraf from Zia about terrorism in KPs.

Zia and Musharraf policies both were in contrast. Both were dictators and both were utilized by US that Zia in defeating USSR in Afghanistan and Musharraf for suppressing the Islamist Groups. Counter-terrorist operations in Ex-FATA, Swat, and other regions have sabotaged the social, political, and economic structure of KP, contributing to terrorism. Some people consider anti-terrorism operations in different parts of KP as a threat to Islam, helping local *Taliban* gain strength and popularity.<sup>5</sup>

**Table 4.85. The differences between government system of Zia and Musharraf**

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>Government System of Zia</b>	Dictatorship	10	41.7
	Lake of Debate	8	33.3
	Suppress of Democratic element	6	25
<b>Total</b>		24	100
<b>Government System of Musharraf</b>	Dictatorship	15	62.5
	Democratic	9	37.5
<b>Total</b>		24	100

<sup>5</sup> Wahab, Sumira, and A. Hussain. *Causes and consequences of terrorism in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan*, p. 237.

To explore the view point of the interviewees regarding the government system in Pakistan whereas 10(41.7%) of the interviewees believed that the government system of Zia was dictatorship, 8(33.3%) was lake of debates and 6(25%) thinks that in Zia’s government the democratic elements were kept suppress.

The highest ratio of the interviewees thinks that the government system of Zia was dictatorship.

On the other side, the interviewer 15(62.5%) said that the government system of Musharraf was dictatorship and 9(37.5%) thinks that it was democratic.

The highest ratio of the interviewees thinks that the government system of Musharraf was dictatorship.

***How Benazir and Nawaz governments policies influenced terrorism in KP.***

**Table 4.86. The influential compression between Benazir and Nawaz policies about terrorism.**

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>Supporting of</b>	Benazir	13	54.2
<b>Mujahidin</b>	Nawaz Sharif	11	45.8
	<b>Total</b>	24	100
<b>Failure in Counter</b>	Benazir	15	62.5
<b>Terrorism</b>	Nawaz Sharif	9	37.5
	<b>Total</b>	24	100
<b>The Influence of</b>	Benazir	17	70.8
<b>Non-State Actors</b>	Nawaz Sharif	7	29.2
	<b>Total</b>	24	100
<b>Influence of Afghan</b>	Benazir	9	37.5
<b>Refugees</b>	Nawaz Sharif	15	62.5
	<b>Total</b>	24	100.0

<b>Against Terrorism</b>	Benazir	16	66.7
	Nawaz Sharif	8	33.3
		<b>Total</b>	24 100.0
<b>Flexible</b>	Benazir	15	62.5
<b>Negotiations</b>	Nawaz Sharif	9	37.5
		<b>Total</b>	24 100.0

In the middle of both dictators' governments, there were two democratic governments (Benazir and Nawaz) policies had also influenced terrorism in KP. The 13(54.2%) Interviewers believed that Benazir's government supported Mujahidin and 11(45.8%) thinks that Nawaz's government support Mujahidin. The highest ratio of the interviewees thinks that Benazir's government supported Mujahidin.

The tables also highlight the view regarding success and failure of terrorism in KP that 15(62.5%) of the interviewees thinks that Benazir' government, while 9(37.5%) said that Nawaz's government was failed in counter terrorism. The highest ratio of the interviewees thinks that Benazir' government was failed in counter terrorisms.

Whereas, 17(70.8%) of the interviewees supposed to Non-State Actors had influence during Benazir' government than 7(29.2%) during Nawaz's government. The highest ratio of the interviewees thinks that the Non-State Actors have influence during Benazir' government.

Furthermore, the table also shows the influence of Afghan refugees that 15(62.5%) of the interviewees believed that Afghan refugees grew influence during Nawaz' government as compare 9(37.5%) to Benazir's government. The majority of the interviewees thinks Afghan refugees grew influence during Nawaz' government.

Likewise, the data also disclosed the view point of the interviewers regarding policies about against terrorism whereas, 16(66.7%) of the interviewees stance that Benazir'

government than 8(33.33%) Nawaz's government was against terrorism. Majority of the interviewees thinks that the government of Benazir was against terrorism.

Moreover, 15(62.5%) of the interviewees thinks that Benazir' government there was flexible in negotiations as compare 9(37.5%) to Nawaz's government. Majority of the interviewees thinks that the government of Benazir was flexible in negotiations.

***Why there KP more affected of terrorism as compare to other parts of the country?***

**Table 4.87. Compression among KP and other parts of the country about the factors of terrorism.**

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>Due to Religious and Jihadi Mindset</b>	Strong religious orientation	3	12.5
	<i>Jihad</i> against USSR in Afghanistan	9	37.5
	<i>Jihad</i> against USA in Afghanistan	8	33.3
	Ideological similarities	2	8.3
	<i>Madrassa</i> Influence	2	8.3
<b>Total</b>		24	100
<b>Due to Pashtuns Culture</b>	<i>Pashtunwali</i>	15	62.5
	<i>Pashtun</i> Mutual Cooperation	9	37.5
<b>Total</b>		24	100
<b>Due to Geographical location/Near to Afghan Boarder</b>	Adjacent Boarder	8	33.3
	Strategic Position	6	25
	Unprotected Boarder	6	25
	Historical Ties with Afghanistan	4	16.7
<b>Total</b>		24	100
<b>Due to Military Operation in KP</b>	Counter Terrorism Policy of Musharraf	9	37.5
	Drone Strikes in KP	9	37.5

Promoter of Liberalism	6	25.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>100</b>

The table shows the comparison about the factors of terrorism with in KP than other parts of the country that 9(37.5%) of the interviewees thinks that *Jihad* against USSR in Afghanistan, 8(33.3%) *Jihad* against USA in Afghanistan, while 3(12.5%) thinks that strong religious orientation, the lowest ratio 2(8.3) for each that ideological similarities and *Madrassa* influence are the factors that consider religious mindset which affected KP of terrorism more then as compare to other parts of the country. The highest ratio of the interviewees thinks that *Jihad* against USSR in Afghanistan was religious and *Jihadi* mindset that affected KP of terrorism more then as compare to other parts of the country.

Furthermore, 15(62.5%) of them thinks that *Pashtunwali* and the lowest 9(37.5%) thinks that *Pashtun* mutual cooperation are the components of *Pashtun* culture that affected KP of terrorism more then as compare to other parts of the country. The highest ratio of the interviewees thinks that in *Pashtun* culture the *Pashtunwali* affected KP of terrorism more then as compare to other parts of the country.

Additionally, 8(33.3%) of the interviewees thinks that adjacent to the Afghan border, 6(25%) for each strategic position, unprotected boarder while the lowest 4(16.7%) thinks that historical ties with Afghanistan are the geographical and positional factors affects KP of terrorism more as compare to other parts of the country. The highest ratio of the interviewees thinks that is adjacent to the Afghan it is more affected of terrorism as compare to other parts of the country. Pakistan became a haven for militant and terrorist groups during the *Taliban* regime in Afghanistan (1996-2001). The country's porous 2,430-kilometer-long border with Afghanistan and the poor governance of the Pakistani government in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) made it an

ideal location for these groups to operate. The region was governed under the Frontier Crime Regulation (FCR) rather than the 1973 Constitution of Pakistan, creating a legal vacuum that allowed *Taliban* and *Al-Qaeda* fighters to recruit and send reinforcements against US troops after the 2001 US invasion of Afghanistan.<sup>6</sup>

Pakistan became a haven for militant and terrorist groups during the *Taliban* regime in Afghanistan (1996-2001). The country's porous 2,430-kilometer-long border with Afghanistan and the poor governance of the Pakistani government in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) made it an ideal location for these groups to operate. The region was governed under the Frontier Crime Regulation (FCR) rather than the 1973 Constitution of Pakistan, creating a legal vacuum that allowed *Taliban* and *Al-Qaeda* fighters to recruit and send reinforcements against US troops after the 2001 US invasion of Afghanistan.<sup>7</sup>

In addition, 9(37.5%) of the interviewees thinks that both counter terrorism policy of Musharraf and drone strikes in KP, 6(25%) for each strategic position, unprotected boarder while the lowest 4(16.7%) thinks that promoter of liberalism during military operation that affects KP of terrorism more as compare to other parts of the country. The highest ratio 9(37.5%) of the interviewees thinks that both counter terrorism policy of Musharraf and drone strikes in KP, during military operation that affects KP of terrorism more then as compare to other parts of the country.

***How National Action Plan was success or failed in the country?***

**Table 4.88. The succession and failure of National Action Plan**

Theme	Category	Frequency	%
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<sup>6</sup> Amin, Musarrat, Rizwan Naseer, and Saleem Raza. "Rise of Islamic State in Af-Pak Region. p. 270.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<b>Terrorism is Still Continuous</b>	Successful	17	70.8
	Failed	7	29.2
		<b>Total</b>	24 100
<b>Terrorism is still now Affecting the Economy</b>	Successful	22	91.7
	Failed	2	8.3
		<b>Total</b>	24 100
<b>Terrorism is now Affecting Mental Peace</b>	Successful	21	87.5
	Failed	3	12.5
		<b>Total</b>	24 100.0
<b>Recent Policies can accomplish Terrorism in KP</b>	Successful	6	25
	Failed	18	75
		<b>Total</b>	24 100
<b>Use of Hegemonic Power</b>	Successful	14	58.3
	Failed	10	41.7
		<b>Total</b>	24 100
<b>Completely not reduced</b>	Successful	14	58.3
	Failed	10	41.7
		<b>Total</b>	24 100
<b>Different Military Policies</b>	Successful	18	75
	Failed	6	25
		<b>Total</b>	24 100
<b>Lack of a thematic Investigation</b>	Successful	19	79.2
	Failed	5	20.8
		<b>Total</b>	24 100

The table demonstrates that 17(70.8%) of the interviewees said that National Action Plan failed, while the lowest 7(29.2%) thinks that successfully completed. The highest ratio of the interviewees agreed that terrorism is still continuous consequently National Action Plan had not achieved its goals completely.

Moreover, 22(91.7%) of the interviewees agreed that terrorism is still now affecting the economy of the KP while the lowest 2(8.3) were disagreed. Majority of the interviewees agreed that terrorism is still now affecting the economy of the KP.

The highest ratio 21(87.5%) of the interviewees agreed that terrorism affects the mental peace while the lowest 3(12.5) were disagreed. The highest ratio of the interviewees agreed that terrorism affects the mental peace.

Additionally, 18(75%) of the interviewees agreed that recent policies cannot accomplish terrorism in KP while the lowest 6(25) were disagreed. The highest ratio of the interviewees agreed that recent policies cannot accomplish terrorism in KP.

While, 14(58.3%) of the interviewees agreed that because of hegemonic power counter terrorism successive while the lowest 10(41.7%) were disagreed. The highest ratio of the interviewees agreed that because of hegemonic power counter terrorism successive.

Furthermore, 14(58.3%) of the interviewees agreed that there is a dimensional lack in counter terrorism while the lowest 10(41.7%) were disagreed. The highest ratio of the interviewees agreed that there is a dimensional lack in counter terrorism.

Whereas, 18(75%) of the interviewees agreed that because of different military policies counter terrorism is not successive while the lowest 6(25%) were disagreed.

The highest ratio 19(79.2%) of the interviewees agreed that there is a lack of investigation in counter terrorism while the lowest 5(20.8%) were disagreed. The highest ratio of the interviewees agreed that there is a lack of investigation in counter terrorism

*What are the specific factors that link to Pashtun and influenced by national policies, leading to the increase of terrorism in KP?*

**Table 4.89. Factors that link to *Pashtun* and influenced by national policies, leading to the increase of terrorism in KP**

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>Factors that Link to <i>Pashtun</i> and Influenced by National Policies, Leading to the Increase of Terrorism in KP</b>	Braveness of <i>Pashtuns</i>	1	4.2
	Durand Line	3	12.5
	Ideological History	1	4.2
	Inequality in the Distribution of Resources	1	4.2
	Influence of Terrorism in KP	1	4.2
	Issue of <i>Pashtunistan</i> and the Support of from Afghanistan	1	4.2
	<i>Pashtun's</i> Culture	1	4.2
	Recruitment of Mujahedeen	1	4.2
	Religion Influence	1	4.2
	Religious Extremism	1	4.2
	State Using Force	1	4.2
	The Drone Strikes by US	1	4.2
	The Influence of Afghan Refugees	1	4.2
	<b>Total</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>100</b>

Though terrorism is a world-wide issue but KP is more affected area and highlighted region all over the world due to Afghan war. The table illustrates that 3(12.5%) of the interviewees believed that Durand Line while, 1(4.2%) for each that braveness of *Pashtuns*, ideological history, inequality in the distribution of resources, influence of terrorism in KP, issue of *Pakhtunistan* and the support from Afghanistan, *Pashtun's*

culture, Recruitment of mujahedeen, religion influence, religious extremism, state using force, the drone strikes by US, the influence of Afghan refugees are the specific factors that link to *Pashtun* which influenced the national policies and leading to the increase of terrorism in KP. The highest ratio of the interviewees believes that Durand Line is the specific factor that link to *Pashtun* and influenced the national policies and increase of terrorism in KP. Pakistan became a haven for militant and terrorist groups during the *Taliban* regime in Afghanistan (1996-2001). The country's porous 2,430-kilometer-long border with Afghanistan and the poor governance of the Pakistani government in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) made it an ideal location for these groups to operate. The region was governed under the Frontier Crime Regulation (FCR) rather than the 1973 Constitution of Pakistan, creating a legal vacuum that allowed *Taliban* and *Al-Qaeda* fighters to recruit and send reinforcements against US troops after the 2001 US invasion of Afghanistan.<sup>8</sup> Drone attacks have multi-dimensional effects on Pakistan's tribal areas. Families who have suffered deaths, injuries, and infrastructure destruction naturally seek revenge, which strengthens the hands of terrorism and provides manpower. For revenge, they have only one option to join hands with terrorists. US drone strikes lead to increased anger among the youth in the battered zones, attracting them to terrorists to take revenge on the US and its ally Pakistan for human and material losses. Drone attacks also provide a free zone for anti-Pakistan elements like TTP to cash in on advocating animosity towards America and its frontline ally in the war on terror, Pakistan. As a result, over 2283 Pakistanis have

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<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

been killed by these drone attacks, while only 222 operatives of *Al-Qaeda* are supposedly killed.<sup>9</sup>

***How can forceful policies effectively reduce terrorism in KP?***

**Table 4.90. Forceful Policies and Effectively Reduction of Terrorism in KP**

Theme	Category	Frequency	%
Forceful Policies can Effectively Reduction of Terrorism in KP	Authorizing Police	9	37.5
	Strictly Implementation of rules and regulations	2	8.3
	The Powerful Countries negotiate the terrorist	2	8.3
	With the Cooperation of Local representatives	11	45.8
Total		24	100

The table show the views about the reduction of terrorism in KP that 11(45.8%) of the interviewees suggested that with the cooperation of local representation, 9(37.5%) think that by authoring police and 2(8.3%) agreed with each both strictly implementation rules and regulating can reduce the terrorism effectively in KP. The highest ratio of the interviewees believes that the reduction of terrorism in KP would possible with the cooperation of local representation.

***What strategies you suggest for counter terrorism in KP?***

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<sup>9</sup> Wahab, Sumira, and A. Hussain. "Causes and consequences of terrorism in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. *Pakistan*. p. 234-36.

**Table 4.91. Suggestions for Counter Terrorism**

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>Suggestions for Counter terrorism</b>	Avoiding balms to each other for Terrorism	2	8.3
	Education and Modernization	3	12.5
	Emplacement of Public Opinions	2	8.3
	Establishment of Ideals Ties with Neighbor Countries	3	12.5
	Involvement of Public Representation	3	12.5
	Making of Skillful Policies	3	12.5
	Negotiation with Militant Groups	2	8.3
	Partnership with the Local Community	2	8.3
	Stability in Pak-Afghan Relation	2	8.3
	Giving Authority and Control to Police Over Terrorists	2	8.3
	<b>Total</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>100</b>

The table demonstrates the suggestions for counter and eradication of terrorism in KP that 3(12.5%) of the interviewees thinks for each that education and modernization, establishment of ideals ties with neighbor countries, involvement of public representation, Making of Skillful Policies while the lowest ratio 2(8.3%) for each that avoiding balms to each other for terrorism, emplacement of public opinions, negotiation with militant groups, partnership with the local community, stability in Pak-Afghan relation and giving authority and control to police over terrorists are suggestions for counter terrorism. The highest ratio of the interviewees thinks for each that education and modernization, establishment of ideals ties with neighbor countries, involvement

of public representation, making of skillful policies are the main suggestions for counter terrorism in KP.

#### **5.6.5. Summary**

Interpreted the contents of the study, it is revealed that Afghan refugees and radicalism both are the factors for terrorism in KP. The promotion of religious extremism and weaponization of Islamists both are the factors for terrorism. The reaction for drone strikes and attacks over Islamic institutions in KP and Ex-FATA are the main factors that influenced terrorism during Musharraf era. It is fact that terrorism was promoted in KP under the national policies of Zia and degraded under the national policies of Musharraf. The government system of Zia and Musharraf was dictatorship. Zia used the *Jihad* as a source in Soviet Afghan war terrorizing the public. Ideological narratives that circulated in the shape of different propaganda like *Pakhtunistan* or the domination of the Punjab are also refer to terrorism in KP. Ineffective policies of the state developed behavior of hopelessness in the people, so they are showing aggressiveness. Inequality, political instability, social marginalization poverty and weak, governances made path for the terrorist. Radicalism, religious extremism, soviet-Afghan war, state sponsored elements and partition of India are the factors of terrorism in KP. Terrorism had political, social, and economic impacts on KP and Ex-FATA. It disturbed people's lives, social activities, businesses, livelihood, and other daily routine sectors. The causes of terrorism, as discussed are the government's ignorance and lack of public rights and security, fruitless negotiations, religious and ideological reasons, political flaws, and poor administration.

It is concluded that Benazir's government supported Mujahidin and was failed in counter terrorisms. The Afghan refugees grew influenced during Nawaz's government. The government of Benazir was against terrorism but was flexible in negotiations. *Jihad*

against USSR in Afghanistan was religious and *Jihadi* mindset that affected KP of terrorism more as compared to other parts of the country.

Moreover, because of *Pashtun* culture and KP being adjacent to the Afghanistan, this area was mostly affected of terrorism more than other parts of the country. National Action Plan failed because terrorism is still affecting the economy of the KP. Terrorism also created social issues and exploited mental peace in the area. The recent policies are not sufficient in KP and there is governance system to effectively address the issue.

The education and modernization, establishment of ideals ties with neighbor countries, involvement of public representation and making of skillful policies are the main suggestions for counter terrorism in KP. Injustice is a significant factor in the spread of terrorism in KP, as unresolved grievances lead to violent activities against concerned people and authorities.

#### **4.7. Justification of Research's Questions**

This study aims to investigate the factors of terrorism, the influence and difference of national policies from Zia to Musharaf regimes regarding terrorism. It has also aim to compare KP with other parts of the country as more affected of terrorism. Terrorism is a serious social issue that appears any time everywhere. Terrorism is used by groups, individuals, and states. A discussion around the nature and roots of terrorism looks like controversial as people have commonly believed idea about what is the phenomenon. Recently terrorism in Pakistan and especially in KP has become a key and high critical phenomenon.

The trend started in the very beginning however mostly seen with Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq's<sup>10</sup> controversial policies of 1980's further which the conflicts started in

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<sup>10</sup> 6th President and four-star general of Pakistan.

contradiction of Soviet's<sup>11</sup> involvement in Afghanistan. In the tenure of Zia as president, the involvement of Pakistan in Soviet-Afghanistan-War had seen.<sup>12</sup> However the attempts for bringing militants on table talks, seemed to fail while terrorist's attacks continue.

The greatest problem at present in Pakistan and especially KP is that this area is confronting from terrorism. It is a difficult task for federation and is also a threat for the public. Although, terrorism is a global issue but Pakistan faced the most. The association of Pakistan in the War on Terror is the cause that further fueled the fire. KP is also in front of conflict. Terrorist suicide bombings have turned out to be a routine activity of the day. The policy against terrorism and maintaining a sustainable peace is the burning issues recently prevailing in Pakistan especially in KP.

The proposed study is to investigate basic factors for terrorism and to think new ways and new policies to maintain sustainable peace in the country and in KP particularly. The study has focused on the political, geographical, social and religious factors involved in terrorism and have also discussed the effects of national policies in Pakistan especially in KP. It also provided support to principle of politics, peace, security and democracy. Performance of government machinery for maintaining peace and stopping terrorism mostly in the recent era has been discussed in detail. Furthermore, presents practical recommendations for review national policies, stability and peace for the development of the country. The study will be help to bring the terrorists in the mainstream to play positive role for the welfare of human beings. The State has some good policies for reduction of terrorism but these are not implemented in all, therefore the issue is still existing and alarming of problems for Pakistan. The gap covered by

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<sup>11</sup> Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (U.S.S.R.).

<sup>12</sup> Anas Malik, *Political Survival in Pakistan*: Routledge, London and New York, 2011.

this study is the non-matching national policies with the socio-psychological life of the people living in KP.

RQ1: What are the factors of terrorism in KP?

**Table 4.92. Factors of Terrorism in KP**

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>Factors of</b>	Access to weaponization	1	4.2
	<b>Terrorism in KP</b>		
	Afghan Refugees	3	12.5
	Federal Control over the Resources of KP	1	4.2
	Economic Deprivations	1	4.2
	External influences	1	4.2
	Foreign Funding	1	4.2
	Global Terrorist Networks	1	4.2
	Ideological Narratives	1	4.2
	Ineffective Policies of the State	1	4.2
	Inequality	1	4.2
	<i>Jihad</i>	1	4.2
	Partition of India	1	4.2
	Political Instability	1	4.2
	Poverty	1	4.2
	Radicalism	1	4.2
	Religious extremism	3	12.5
	Social Marginalization	1	4.2
	Soviet-Afghan War	1	4.2

State sponsored Elements	1	4.2
Weak Governances	1	4.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>100</b>

The thematic table 87 illustrates the factors of terrorism in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa that 3(12.5%) of the interviewees believed that the Afghan refugees, 3(12.5%) were supposed to the radicalism while rest of other interviewees believe 1(4.2%) that t access to weaponization, , federal control over the resources of KP, economic deprivations, external influences, foreign funding, global terrorist networks, ideological narratives, ineffective policies of the state, inequality, *Jihad*, partition of India, political instability, poverty, , religious extremism, social marginalization, Soviet-Afghan war, state sponsored elements, weak governances are the factors for terrorism in KP.

The highest ratio of the interviewees thinks that the Afghan refugees and the radicalism both are the factors for terrorism in KP. The empirical data that is collected during in face-to-face communication with the respondents is statistically analyzed and reported in the technical research manner. In this regard, Table 87 demonstrate the factors of terrorism in the research area. The data openly make illustrations of the factors rote to terrorism based on various reasons that include the weaponization as Kalashnikov culture in KP and Ex- FATA as well as in Afghanistan which is a base for extremism here. Similarly, Afghan refugees live in KP since 1980. They crass the Durand Line between Pakistan and Afghanistan without any strict check and balance which was always become the cause of valiance in Pakistan and contradiction between the both countries. The deprivation objection that federal government control over the resources, economics of KP also indicate terrorism. External influences like foreign funding, global terrorist networks considered the factors of terrorism.

Ideological narratives that circulated in the shape of different propaganda like *Pakhtunistan* or the domination of the Punjab are also refer to terrorism in KP. Ineffective policies of the state drawn the common people the hopelessness, so they are trying for change in any way. Inequality, political instability, social marginalization poverty and weak, governances make rote to the terrorist. Radicalism, religious extremism, soviet-Afghan war, state sponsored elements, partition of India *Jihad*

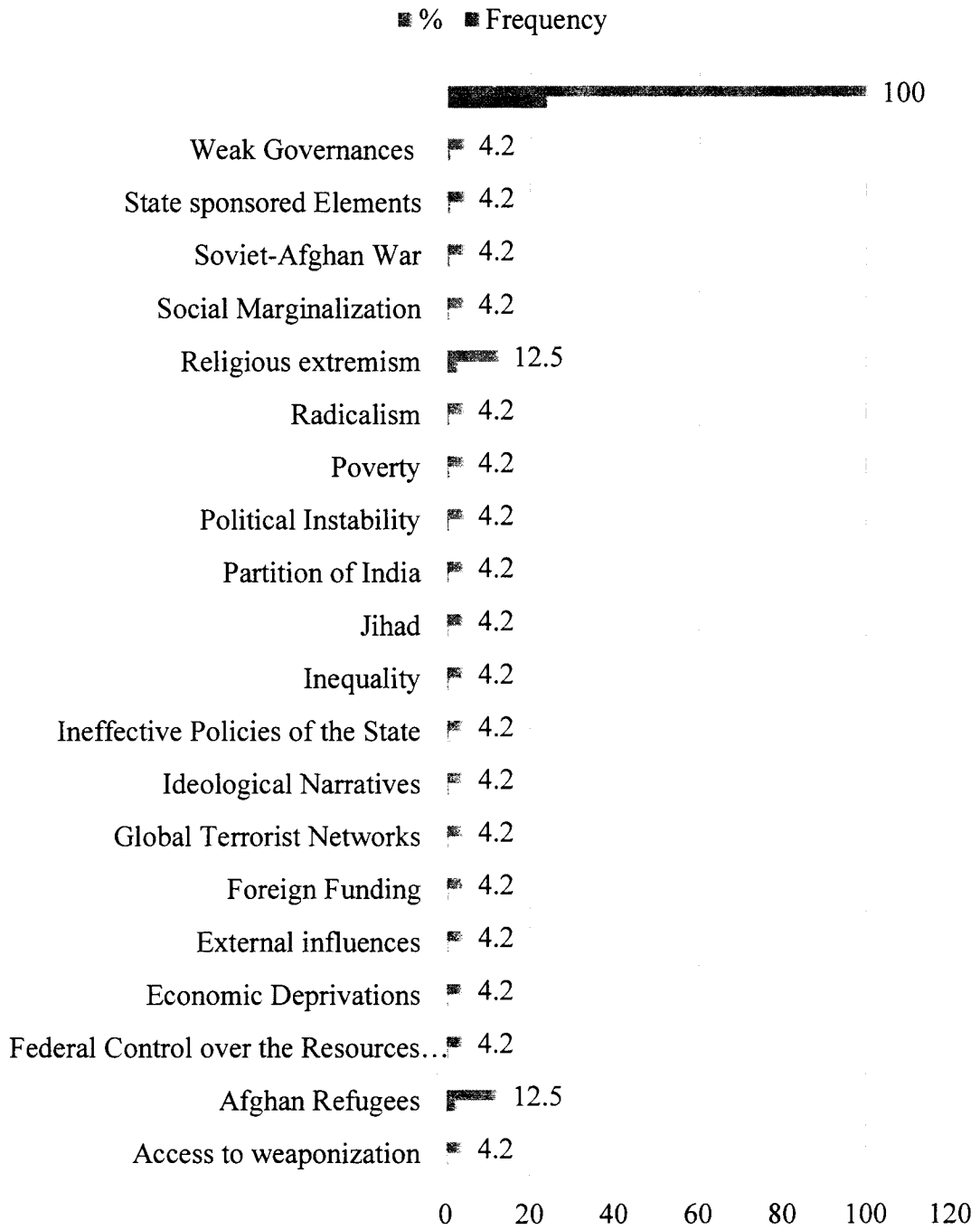
Factors of terrorism in KP.

Ideological narratives that circulated in the shape of different propaganda like *Pakhtunistan* or the domination of the Punjab are also refer to terrorism in KP. Ineffective policies of the state drawn the common people the hopelessness, so they are trying for change in any way. Inequality, political instability, social marginalization poverty and weak, governances make rote to the terrorist. Radicalism, religious extremism, soviet-Afghan war, state sponsored elements and partition of India are the factors of terrorism in KP. Terrorism had political, social, and economic impacts on KP and Ex-FATA. It disturbed people's lives, social activities, businesses, livelihood, and other daily routine sectors. The causes of terrorism, as discussed are the government's ignorance and lack of public rights and security, fruitless negotiations, religious and ideological reasons, political flaws, and poor administration.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Yousufi, Musab, Samina Saeed, and Rashid Aftab. "A THEORETICAL STUDY OF ISLAMIC AND WESTERN POLITICAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE CAUSES OF TERRORISM AFTER 911 IN FATA AND KP PAKISTAN, P. 622.

## Factors of terrorism in KP



**Figure 4.2. Represents Factor of terrorism in KP**

RQ2: How did the national policies of Zia-ul-Haq and Pervez Musharraf contribute to the evaluation of terrorism in KP?

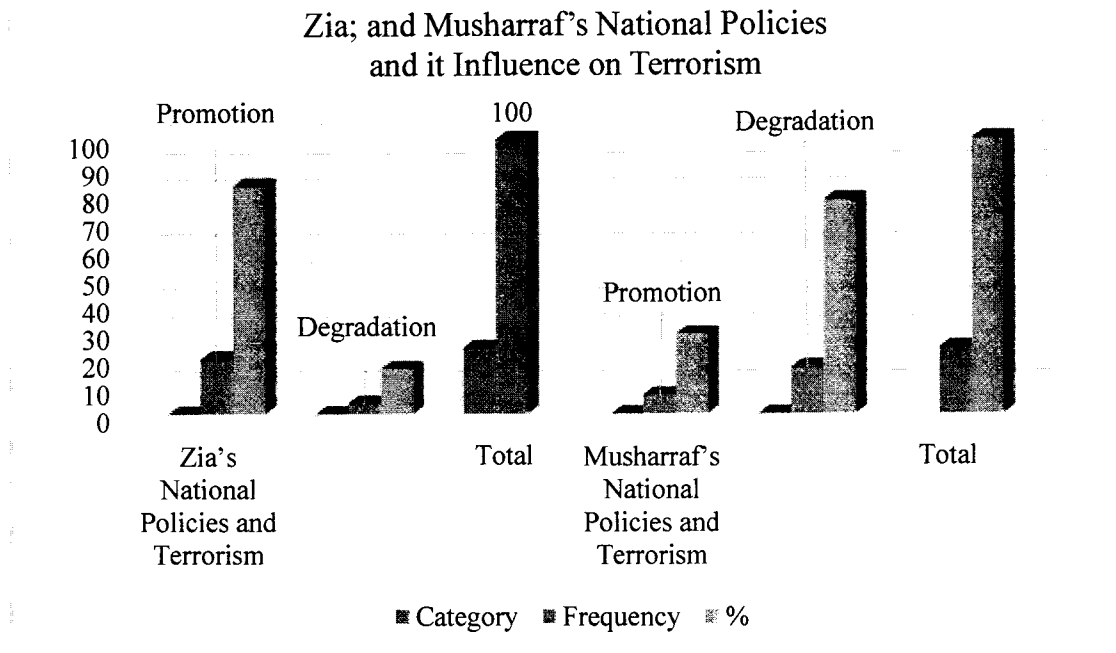
**Table 4.93. Zia; and Musharraf's National Policies and it Influence on Terrorism**

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>Zia's National Policies and Terrorism</b>	Promotion	20	83.34
	Degradation	4	16.66
	<b>Total</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Musharraf's National Policies and Terrorism</b>	Promotion	7	29.16
	Degradation	17	77.84
	<b>Total</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>100</b>

The researcher further explored the policies of Zia and Musharraf regarding KP terrorism influence in two categories i.e. promotion and degradation that 20(83.34%) of the interviewees believed that terrorism promoted in the era, while 4(16.66%) have the stance that terrorism declined under the national policies of Zia.

On the other side, about Musharraf regime 17(77.84%) of the interviewees thinks that terrorism declined and 7(29.16%) thinks that terrorism promoted under the national policies of Musharraf.

The highest ratio of the interviewees thinks that terrorism promoted under the national policies of Zia, while the highest ratio of the interviewees thinks that terrorism degraded under the national policies of Musharraf.



**Figure 4.3. Shows the Zia; and Musharraf's National Policies and it Influence on Terrorism**

RQ3: In what ways did the military regimes of Zia and Musharraf differ from the civilian government of Pakistan People's Party (PPP) and Pakistan Muslim League (N) in addressing terrorism in KP?

**Table 4.94. Differences between Zia; and Musharraf's National Policies on Terrorism**

Theme	Category	Frequency	%
<b>Zia's National Policies and Terrorism</b>	Promotion	20	83.34
	Degradation	4	16.66
<b>Total</b>		24	100
<b>Musharraf's National Policies and Terrorism</b>	Promotion	7	29.16
	Degradation	17	77.84
<b>Total</b>		24	100

The researcher further differentiates the policies of Zia and Musharraf regarding terrorism in two categories i.e. promotion and degradation that 20(83.34%) of the

interviewees believed that terrorism promoted in the era, while 4(16.66%) have the stance that terrorism declined under the national policies of Zia.

On the other side, about Musharraf regime 17(77.84%) of the interviewees thinks that terrorism declined and 7(29.16%) thinks that terrorism promoted under the national policies of Musharraf.

The highest ratio of the interviewees thinks that terrorism promoted under the national policies of Zia, while the highest ratio of the interviewees thinks that terrorism degraded under the national policies of Musharraf.

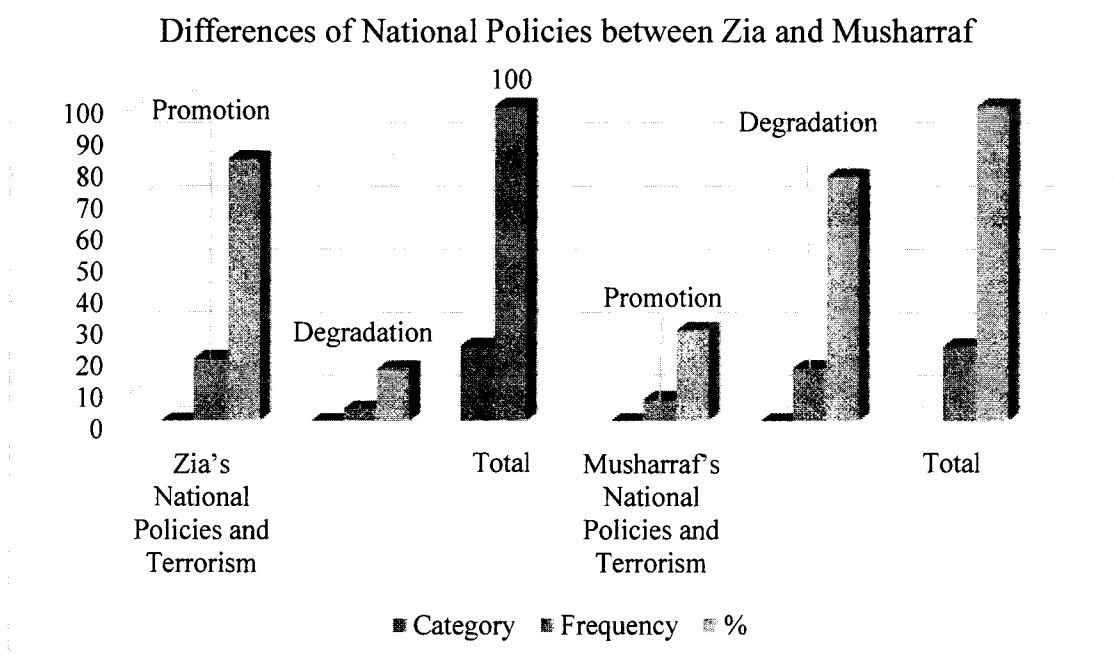


Figure 4.4. Shows the differences of National Policies between Zia and Musharraf

Table 4.95. Differences of National Policies between Zia and Musharraf

Theme	Category	Frequency	%
Zia's Nation Policies and Terrorism	Supporting of Islamist Militancy	5	20.8
	Promotion of Religious Extremism	7	29.2
	Weaponization of Islamists	6	25.0
	Misuse of Islamic ideology	3	12.5

	Promotion of <i>Jihad</i>	3	12.5
	<b>Total</b>	24	100
<b>Musharraf's</b>	Militancy Operation	4	16.6
<b>Nation Policies in</b>	Drone Strikes in KP and Ex-FATA	7	29.2
<b>Terrorism</b>	Attacks over Islamic Institutions	7	29.2
	War on Terror	3	12.5
	U turn in Militancy Policy	3	12.5
	<b>Total</b>	24	100

The table 88 shows the Zia national policies different in nature about terrorism in KP that 7(29.2%) of the interviewees think that the promotion of religious extremism, 6(25%) the weaponization of Islamists, while 5(20.8%) believed that supporting of Islamist militancy, 3(12.5) for each that misuse of Islamic ideology and promotion of *Jihad* are the distinguish factors for terrorism in the Zia's policies.

The highest ratio of the interviewees thinks that the promotion of religious extremism and the weaponization of Islamists both are the factors which differentiate the policies of Zia from Musharraf about terrorism.

This table further demonstrates the Musharraf national policies in KP about terrorism that 7(29.2%) of the interviewees stance it different for permit to US for drone strikes,7(29.2%) attacks over Islamic institutions in KP and Ex-FATA, while 4(16.5%) thinks that because of militancy operation, the lowest ratio 3(12.5) for each that war on terror and U turn in militancy policy are the factors that differentiate the national policies of Musharraf regarding terrorism in KP.

The highest ratio of the interviewees thinks that the permit to US for drone strikes and attacks over Islamic institutions in KP and Ex-FATA are the main factors which differentiate the national policies of Musharraf from Zia about terrorism in KPs.

Zia and Musharraf policies both were in contrast. Both were dictators and both were utilized by US that Zia in defeating USSR in Afghanistan and Musharraf for suppressing the Islamist Groups.



**Figure 4.5. Shows the differences of National Policies between Zia and Musharraf**

**Table 4.96. The influential compression between Benazir (PPP) and Nawaz (PMLN) policies about terrorism.**

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>Supporting of Mujahidin</b>	Benazir	13	54.2
	Nawaz Sharif	11	45.8
<b>Total</b>		24	100
<b>Failure in Counter Terrorism</b>	Benazir	15	62.5
	Nawaz Sharif	9	37.5
<b>Total</b>		24	100
<b>The Influence of Non-State Actors</b>	Benazir	17	70.8
	Nawaz Sharif	7	29.2
<b>Total</b>		24	100
<b>Influence of Afghan Refugees</b>	Benazir	9	37.5
	Nawaz Sharif	15	62.5
<b>Total</b>		24	100.0
<b>Against Terrorism</b>	Benazir	16	66.7
	Nawaz Sharif	8	33.3
<b>Total</b>		24	100.0
<b>Flexible Negotiations</b>	Benazir	15	62.5
	Nawaz Sharif	9	37.5
<b>Total</b>		24	100.0

In the middle of both dictators' governments, there were two democratic governments (Benazir and Nawaz) policies had also influenced terrorism in KP. The 13(54.2%) Interviewers believed that Benazir's government supported Mujahidin and 11(45.8%)

thinks that Nawaz's government support Mujahidin. The highest ratio of the interviewees thinks that Benazir's government supported Mujahidin.

The tables also highlight the view regarding success and failure of terrorism in KP that 15(62.5%) of the interviewees thinks that Benazir' government, while 9(37.5%) said that Nawaz's government was failed in counter terrorism. The highest ratio of the interviewees thinks that Benazir' government was failed in counter terrorisms.

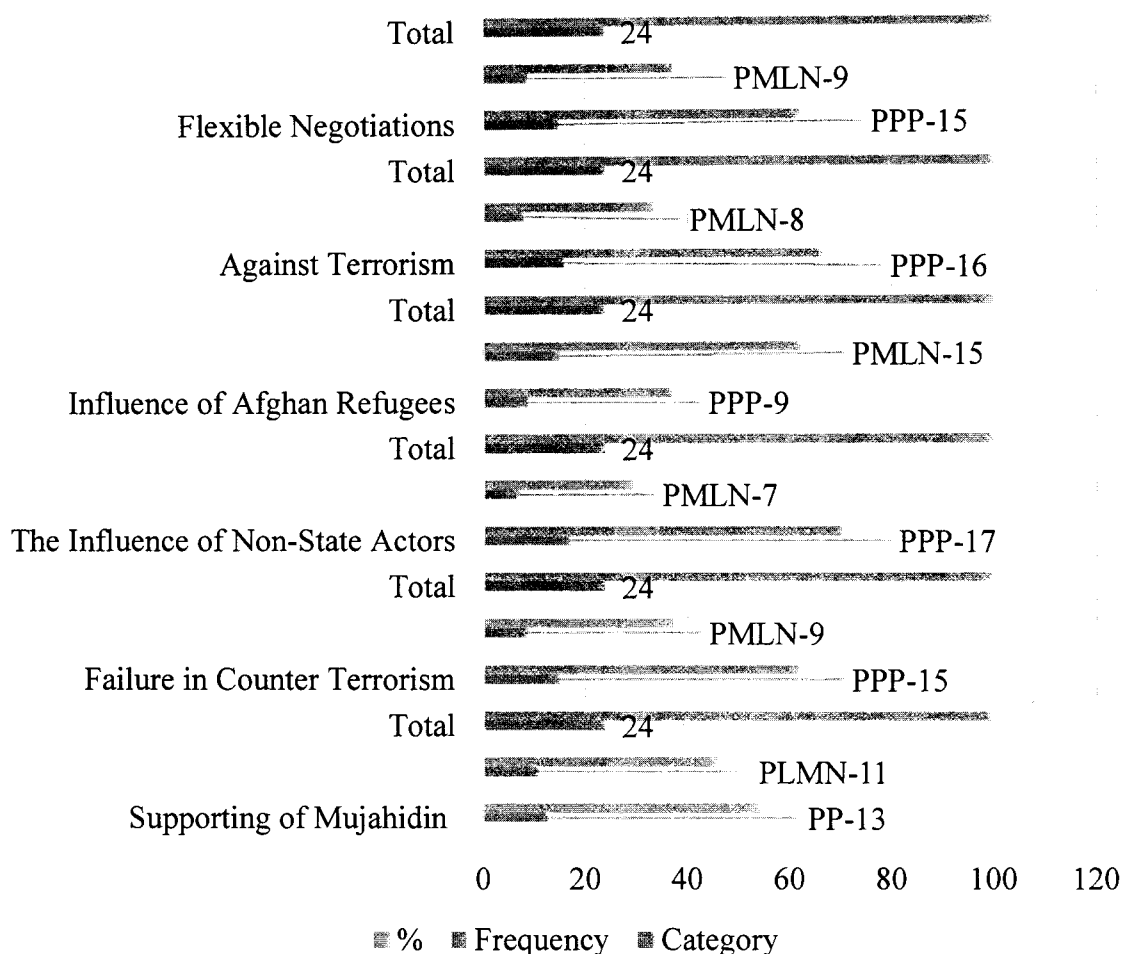
Whereas, 17(70.8%) of the interviewees supposed to Non-State Actors had influence during Benazir' government than 7(29.2%) during Nawaz's government. The highest ratio of the interviewees thinks that the Non-State Actors have influence during Benazir' government.

Furthermore, the table also show the influence of Afghan refugees that 15(62.5%) of the interviewees believed that Afghan refugees grew influence during Nawaz' government as compare 9(37.5%) to Benazir's government. The majority of the interviewees thinks Afghan refugees grew influence during Nawaz' government

Likewise, the data also disclosed the view point of the interviewers regarding policies about against terrorism whereas, 16(66.7%) of the interviewees stance that Benazir' government than 8(33.33%) Nawaz's government was against terrorism. Majority of the interviewees thinks that the government of Benazir was against terrorism.

Moreover, 15(62.5%) of the interviewees thinks that Benazir' government there was flexible in negotiations as compare 9(37.5%) to Nawaz's government. Majority of the interviewees thinks that the government of Benazir was flexible in negotiations.

**The influential compression between Benazir (PPP)  
and Nawaz (PMLN) policies about terrorism.**



**Figure 4.6. Shows The influential compression between Benazir (PPP) and Nawaz (PMLN) policies about terrorism.**

RQ4: What historical, geopolitical and socio-political factors have contributed to Khyber Pakhtunkhwa’s heightened vulnerability to terrorism compare to other regions of Pakistan?

**Table 4.97. Compression among KP and other parts of the country about the factors of terrorism.**

Theme	Category	Frequency	%
<b>Due to Religious and <i>Jihadi</i> Mindset</b>	Strong religious orientation	3	12.5
	<i>Jihad</i> against USSR in Afghanistan	9	37.5
	<i>Jihad</i> against USA in Afghanistan	8	33.3

	Ideological similarities	2	8.3
	<i>Madrassa</i> Influence	2	8.3
	<b>Total</b>	24	100
<b>Due to Pashtuns</b>	<i>Pashtunwali</i>	15	62.5
<b>Culture</b>	<i>Pashtun</i> Mutual Cooperation	9	37.5
	<b>Total</b>	24	100
<b>Due to</b>	Adjacent Boarder	8	33.3
<b>Geographical</b>	Strategic Position	6	25
<b>location/Near to</b>	Unprotected Boarder	6	25
<b>Afghan Boarder</b>	Historical Ties with Afghanistan	4	16.7
	<b>Total</b>	24	100
<b>Due to Military</b>	Counter Terrorism Policy of	9	37.5
<b>Operation in KP</b>	Musharraf		
	Drone Strikes in KP	9	37.5
	Promoter of Liberalism	6	25.0
	<b>Total</b>	24	100

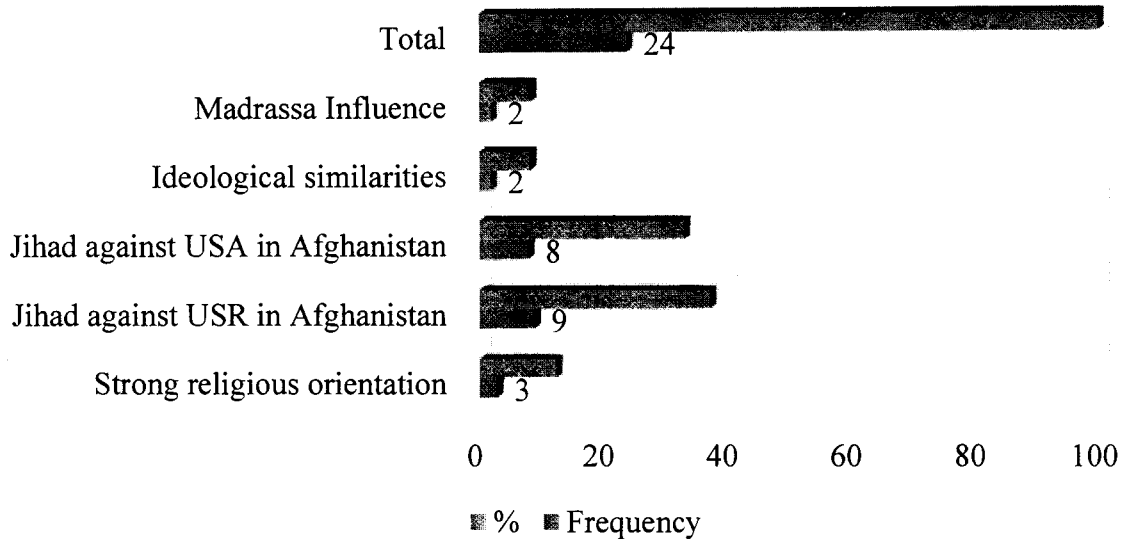
The table shows the comparison about the factors of terrorism with in KP than other parts of the country that 9(37.5%) of the interviewees thinks that *Jihad* against USR in Afghanistan, 8(33.3%) *Jihad* against USA in Afghanistan, while 3(12.5%) thinks that strong religious orientation, the lowest ratio 2(8.3) for each that ideological similarities and *Madrassa* influence are the factors that consider religious mindset which affected KP of terrorism more then as compare to other parts of the country. The highest ratio of the interviewees thinks that *Jihad* against USR in Afghanistan was religious and *Jihadī* mindset that affected KP of terrorism more then as compare to other parts of the country.

Furthermore, 15(62.5%) of them thinks that *Pashtunwali* and the lowest 9(37.5%) thinks that *Pashtun* mutual cooperation are the components of *Pashtun* culture that affected KP of terrorism more than as compare to other parts of the country. The highest ratio of the interviewees, thinks that in *Pashtun* culture the *Pashtunwali* affected KP of terrorism more than as compare to other parts of the country.

Additionally, 8(33.3%) of the interviewees thinks that adjacent to the Afghan border, 6(25%) for each strategic position, unprotected boarder while the lowest 4(16.7%) thinks that historical ties with Afghanistan are the geographical and positional factors affects KP of terrorism more as compare to other parts of the country. The highest ratio of the interviewees, thinks that is adjacent to the Afghan it is more affected of terrorism as compare to other parts of the country.

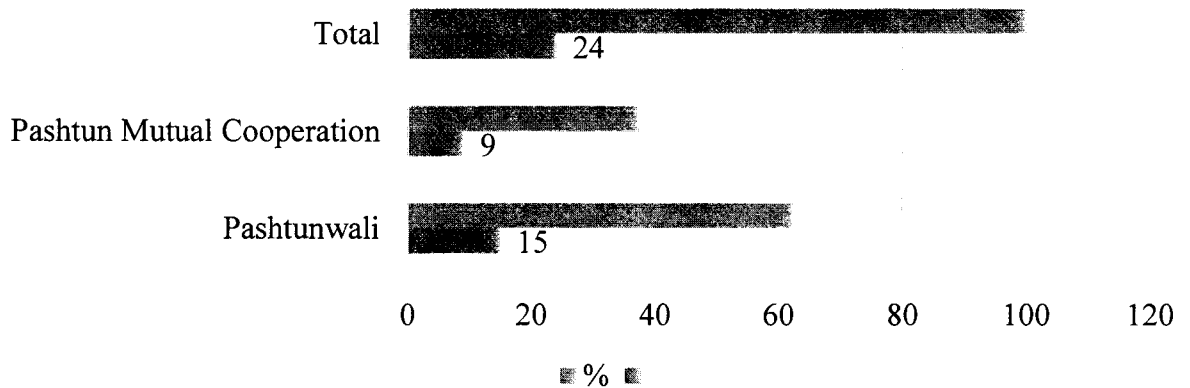
In addition, 9(37.5%) of the interviewees thinks that both counter terrorism policy of Musharraf and drone strikes in KP, 6(25%) for each strategic position, unprotected boarder while the lowest 4(16.7%) thinks that promoter of liberalism during military operation that affects KP of terrorism more as compare to other parts of the country. The highest ratio 9(37.5%) of the interviewees thinks that both counter terrorism policy of Musharraf and drone strikes in KP, during military operation that affects KP of terrorism more than as compare to other parts of the country.

**Compression among KP and other parts of the country about the factors of terrorism**  
**Theme: Due to Religious and Jihadi Mindset**



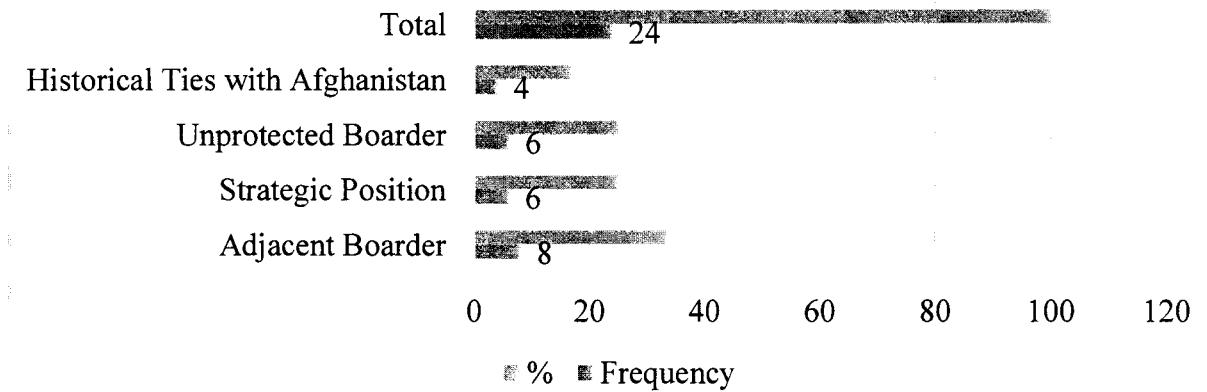
**Figure 4.7. Shows Compression among KP and other parts of the country about the factors of terrorism in theme “Due to Religious and *Jihadi* Mindset”**

**Compression among KP and other parts of the country about the factors of terrorism**  
**Theme: Due to Pashtuns Culture**



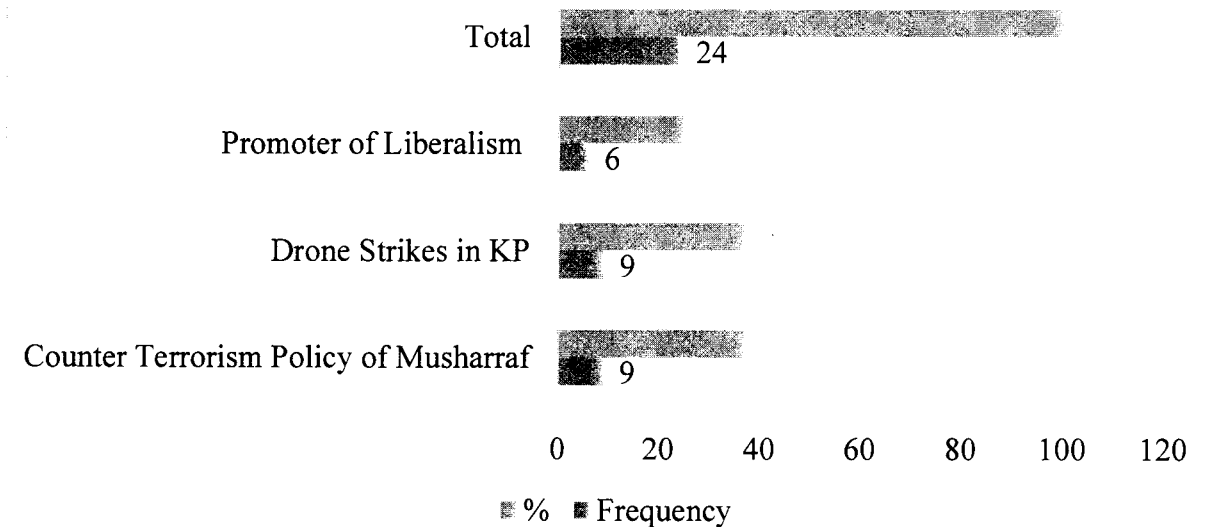
**Figure 4.8. Shows Compression among KP and other parts of the country about the factors of terrorism in theme “Due to *Pashtuns* Culture”**

**Compression among KP and other parts of the country about the factors of terrorism  
Theme Due to Geographical location/Near to Afghan Boarder**



**Figure 4.9. Shows Compression among KP and other parts of the country about the factors of terrorism in theme “Theme Due to Geographical location/Near to Afghan Boarder”**

**Compression among KP and other parts of the country about the factors of terrorism  
Theme Due to Military Operation in KP**



**Figure 4.10. Shows Compression among KP and other parts of the country about the factors of terrorism in theme “Theme Due to Military Operation in KP”**

The outcomes of the study revealed that Afghan refugees and radicalism both are the factors for terrorism in KP. The promotion of religious extremism and weaponization of Islamists both are the factors for terrorism. The reaction for drone strikes and attacks over Islamic institutions in KP and Ex-FATA are the main factors that influenced terrorism during Musharraf era. It is fact that terrorism was promoted in KP under the national policies of Zia and degraded under the national policies of Musharraf. The government system of Zia and Musharraf was dictatorship. Zia used the *Jihad* as a source in Soviet Afghan war terrorizing the public. Ideological narratives that circulated in the shape of different propaganda like *Pakhtunistan* or the domination of the Punjab are also refer to terrorism in KP. Ineffective policies of the state developed behavior of hopelessness in the people, so they are showing aggressiveness. Inequality, political instability, social marginalization poverty and weak, governances made path for the terrorist. Radicalism, religious extremism, soviet-Afghan war, state sponsored elements and partition of India are the factors of terrorism in KP. Terrorism had political, social, and economic impacts on KP and Ex-FATA. It disturbed people's lives, social activities, businesses, livelihood, and other daily routine sectors. The causes of terrorism, as discussed are the government's ignorance and lack of public rights and security, fruitless negotiations, religious and ideological reasons, political flaws, and poor administration.

It is concluded that Benazir's government supported Mujahidin and was failed in counter terrorisms. The Afghan refugees grew influenced during Nawaz's government. The government of Benazir was against terrorism but was flexible in negotiations. *Jihad* against USSR in Afghanistan was religious and *Jihadi* mindset that affected KP of terrorism more as compared to other parts of the country.

Moreover, because of *Pashtun* culture and KP being adjacent to the Afghanistan, this area was mostly affected of terrorism more than other parts of the country. National Action Plan failed because terrorism is still affecting the economy of the KP. Terrorism also created social issues and exploited mental peace in the area. The recent policies are not sufficient in KP and there is governance system to effectively address the issue.

The education and modernization, establishment of ideals ties with neighbor countries, involvement of public representation and Making of Skillful Policies are the main suggestions for counter terrorism in KP. Injustice is a significant factor in the spread of terrorism in KP, as unresolved grievances lead to violent activities against concerned people and authorities.

#### **4.8. Justification of variables:**

##### **4.8.1. Dependent Variable: Factors of Terrorism in KP**

Terrorism in KP is the consequence variable being scrutinized, and its factors are being studied. This study purposes to contribute to the present body of knowledge by recognizing the composite group of factors that bestow to terrorism in KP, a province especially affected by terrorism. By examining the factors of terrorism, this research seeks to deliver appreciated visions for policymakers and researchers to develop real counter-terrorism policies.

##### **4.8.2. Independent Variables: National Policies of Zia to Musharraf Regimes**

National policies throughout the Zia to Musharraf regimes are measured independent variables as they are expected to influence and affect terrorism in KP. It is studied why these policies impacted terrorism here, building on current research that highpoints the consequence of political and policy factors in determining terrorism. Ideological narratives that circulated in the shape of different propaganda like *Pakhtunistan* or the

domination of the Punjab are also refer to terrorism in KP. Ineffective policies of the state drawn the common people the hopelessness, so they are trying for change in any way. Inequality, political instability, social marginalization poverty and weak, governances make rote to the terrorist. Radicalism, religious extremism, soviet-Afghan war, state sponsored elements and partition of India are the factors of terrorism in KP. Terrorism had political, social, and economic impacts on KP and Ex-FATA. It disturbed people's lives, social activities, businesses, livelihood, and other daily routine sectors. The causes of terrorism, as discussed are the government's ignorance and lack of public rights and security, fruitless negotiations, religious and ideological reasons, political flaws, and poor administration.<sup>14</sup>

By analyzing the policies of two regimes, this research aims to provide a nuanced understanding of how different policy approaches can either mitigate or exacerbate terrorism.

#### **4.8.3. Relationship between Variables:**

- The study found that national policies during the era of Zia to Musharraf regimes significantly influenced terrorism in KP, with the former regime's policies contributing to the rise of terrorism and the latter's policies initially reducing but later exacerbating terrorism.
- The promotion of religious extremism, weaponization of Islamists, and reaction to drone strikes and attacks on Islamic institutions during the Musharraf era contributed to terrorism, highlighting the complex interaction between political, social, and economic factors.

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<sup>14</sup> Yousufi, Musab, Samina Saeed, and Rashid Aftab. *A THEORETICAL STUDY OF ISLAMIC AND WESTERN POLITICAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE CAUSES OF TERRORISM AFTER 911 IN FATA AND KP PAKISTAN*, p. 622.

- The dictatorship and use of *Jihad* as a tool during the Zia regime fueled terrorism, indicating how authoritarian governance and weaponization of religion can create an environment encouraging to terrorism.
- Ineffective policies, inequality, political instability, social marginalization, poverty, and weak governance created an environment in which terrorism could flourish, stressing the need for comprehensive and inclusive approaches to counter-terrorism.

#### **4.8.4. Other Variables Identified:**

- Afghan refugees and radicalism
- Religious extremism and weaponization of Islamists
- Reaction to drone strikes and attacks on Islamic institutions
- Ideological narratives e.g., *Pakhtunistan*, domination of Punjab
- Inequality, political instability, social marginalization, poverty, and weak governance
- *Pashtun* culture and *Pashtunwali*
- Durand Line and *Pashtun* influences in national policies

These variables are interconnected and influenced terrorism in KP, highlighting the complex and multifaceted nature of terrorism. By examining these factors, this research contributes to a deeper understanding of terrorism and informs the development of effective counter-terrorism strategies that address the main factors of terrorism.

## **4.9. CONCLUSION**

*Pashtun* are hard, straight forward and do not change their decisions easily. They are psychologically emotional and due to this; they are often misused by others. They also possess qualities of hospitality, keeping secrets of other and provide protection to all those who seek their help. Due to these habits/traditions this place always remained suitable and attractive for the people who are involved in the terrorism. In Pakistan, the promotion of positive values is progressing slowly, with a concerning tendency towards extremism rather than peaceful social and cultural progress. Rapid transformation is a significant contributing factor to this extremism. The disappointment of terrorists

within society and weaknesses in social procedures indicate the prevalence of extremism and violence in KP. The family, as the basic unit of society, and the home environment play pivotal roles in social development; otherwise, domestic disputes can divert social development in detrimental directions. *Pakhtunwali*, *Jirga*, and Islam are fundamental aspects of *Pashtun* life and society. While *Pakhtunwali* is often viewed as integrated with Islamic laws, it's important to recognize that Islam itself has the potential for evolution through *Ijtihad*.

Social publicity is also become a regular part of the extremist literature, newspapers, news. People in KP are still using the weapon as ornament for their protection and it is traditional that they use weapons for taking revenge of their enemies. Ethnicity, regionalism and racism as well as religious hostility are also the main causes of terrorism. The people of KP are more interested in religious war (*Jihad*) and also are being watching terrorist's videos clips. The media do not present the positive aspect of the cultural values therefore the military operations against terrorist in KP affected the social norms of *Pashtun* society and culture. The *Pashtuns* practices *Tarborwali* in their brotherhood which produces enmity and lead them to terrorism. They follow Islam in all field of life but they follow the laws like governmental and *Pakhtunwali* by their choice where they see benefits. They have plenty of children and they are careless in socializing and educating them. Generally, the people of KP are peaceful.

There was no incident of terrorism in KP before the creation of Pakistan. The people were peaceful but terrorism affected peace in KP due to the factors like instability in Afghanistan, unstable governance, lack of education, and poverty. Some people are involved in terrorism directly and in indirectly. The people can differentiate between Islamic *Jihad* and terrorism so they consider as terrorism the past and present situation

of terrorism in KP. The people know the causes of terrorism in KP which have factor of drawbacks in national policies. Likely all the people of KP opposed terrorism in the nearby. Some people were considering that terrorism was emerged from KP and Afghan refugees affected the peace in KP by introducing the tradition of weapons, involving in terrorism and differences in the religious beliefs. The terrorism affected traditional *Jirga* system. The invasion of Soviet Union in Afghanistan is a cause of terrorism in KP. The poverty is the main cause and terrorism is still prevailing in KP due to draw back in governmental policies, non-implementation of law and order, rush of the media resources, feudalism, lack of education and disunity, fast communication specially roads and transportation and Unemployment. The “major class” being involved in terrorism are criminal people who are still involved in terrorist activities and the poor, “fundamental religious mind and unemployed youth is the main source of terrorism”.

In ancient times, states used to be controlled to the interests of the rulers but where are rights then there is need to do some duties. Pakistan also imposes some basic duties on its citizens and other people living in the state whose restrictions are necessary. But life is uncomfortable due to terrorism in Pakistan and low ratio of education is one of its causes. In this regard low ratio of male and female education is responsible. All the terrorist activities are not according to the law and human rights and ant-terrorism operations are according to the law and human rights in KP. Modern communication system and mass media are not responsible in promoting terrorism. People in KP were not satisfied about the basic needs being provided by the state to their citizens in Pakistan. As citizens of Pakistan some people accepting their responsibilities. The state is responsible for reducing ethnicity among different races of the country by various policies. Policies from Zia to Musharraf did not reduce the terrorism but accelerated. G. Zia cooperation with America in Russia-Afghan War, is a root cause of terrorism.

Due to international policies Pakistan is not in a position to control terrorism and non-state valiance actors. Pakistan is implementing their public policies with full control. National policies have the norms that customize fair distribution of income and wealth in the society. The distribution of income and assets among different types of regions and allocation of land rights use and rights between producers. Distributions of power and employment between different groups and regions with in a state. Pakistani leaders have always confronted a fundamental difficulty of nation and state-building. In Baluchistan and Sindh, in particular, these divergent histories and identities have been harnessed by nationalist and secessionist movements directly challenging the federal government. From the beginning the leadership in Pakistan face with different type of problems which created due to partition, did not handle to achieve the desires of the public to enforce Islamic Laws here. The public response toward the existing system of government is not satisfied in the religion directions. Different movement rises on the religion base and often mislead which creating tensions. The democratic government has a lot of hurdles in Pakistan. Accordingly Islamic and democratic electoral system is not leveled. In country like Pakistan where the Muslim in majority the basic goal has not achieved till now.

Today the *Pashtun* areas have turned into a blood theatre and these areas are used by terrorists as their training camps and serve for them as safe havens, their young children are used for suicide operations to kill innocent people and fulfil the designs of others. Terrorism affected national policies of Pakistan so there should be a strict policy against terrorists. Terrorism is caused by the international conspiracy which uses for political conspiracy reason. The people in KP are not in favor of army operation against terrorist and they are in favor of revision of the national policies. In KP the effects of counter-terrorism policy on terrorism are existing but being decreased. Many people were

known about the financial sources of terrorist but they were not agreed to give more comments for identifying terrorist financial source. There is difference in psyche of *Pashtuns* from other races of Pakistan and it is need to revise the policies according to their psychological needs. There should be different policies to reduce terrorism. The people were not satisfied of anti-terrorism courts because there are some deficiencies in polices of counter-terrorism. The people views that these policies were against of the psyche of the people. These governmental policies are not enough and psychologically do not suitable for *Pashtun's* society. There are some authorities that may reduce terrorism in KP i.e. government. The national policies of Pakistan are not representing social value and norms of the people live in it but considered it the influence of representing specific class. The public were in favor of solving the Kashmir issue while it was considering that UNO did not in favor to solve Kashmir Issue. The people wishing to that India and Pakistan would be friends. The politician in Pakistan is serious to solve the terrorism issue by peaceful way.

Foundational factors, with influence of geography on the government to the Pakistan in KP are the territorial integrity, the political impact and geo-strategic significance. They have similarly contributed to the militarization in Pakistani politics. Regarding Pakistan's fragile and problematic connection with India, their geographic neighborhood has been considered by some unresolved issues. Houses based in hierarchical societies created lasting controls, but required higher *Pashtun* social structure. The religious do not scholars conveying the real message to follower of Islam. Terrorism affects the meaning and concept of *Jihad* in the mind of common people and the people of KP seeking peace by *Jirga* and by government. Non-Muslims are also supporting terrorist so the politician in Pakistan is on one page on this sensitive issues. That people in Pakistan have not sufficient knowledge about this sensitive issue but that

the people of KP are able to keep an eye on their selected representatives however, political parties in Pakistan do not adopt the intraparty democracy. The people selected their leader on the bases of economic stability and majority of the people in KP are not able to select their suitable representatives therefore they select their representatives on party base through pressure of influential people. The social classification in different societies of the country is responsible for imbalance in Pakistan. The government taking more interest in developing of those people being affected by terrorism and the lose control over non-state violence actors (VNSAs) is the main cause of terrorism. The depressed people of the society commonly join terrorist groups and the innocent people being affected by operations are also joining the terrorists. The politician illegally blamed their opponents of having their links with terrorist.

If we interpreted the contents of the study, it is revealed that Afghan refugees and radicalism both are the factors for terrorism in KP. The promotion of religious extremism and weaponization of Islamist both are the factors for terrorism. The reaction for drone strikes and attacks over Islamic institutions in KP and Ex-FATA are the main factors that influenced terrorism during Musharraf era. It is fact that terrorism was promoted in KP under the national policies of Zia and degraded under the national policies of Musharraf. The government system of Zia and Musharraf was dictatorship. Zia used the *Jihad* as a source in Soviet Afghan war terrorizing the public. Ideological narratives that circulated in the shape of different propaganda like *Pakhtunistan* or the domination of the Punjab are also refer to terrorism in KP. Ineffective policies of the state developed behavior of hopelessness in the people, so they are showing aggressiveness. Inequality, political instability, social marginalization poverty and weak, governances made path for the terrorist. Radicalism, religious extremism, soviet-Afghan war, state sponsored elements and partition of India are the factors of terrorism

in KP. Terrorism had political, social, and economic impacts on KP and Ex-FATA. It disturbed people's lives, social activities, businesses, livelihood, and other daily routine sectors. The causes of terrorism, as discussed are the government's ignorance and lack of public rights and security, fruitless negotiations, religious and ideological reasons, political flaws, and poor administration.

It is concluded that Benazir's government supported Mujahidin and was failed in counter terrorisms. The Afghan refugees grew influenced during Nawaz's government. The government of Benazir was against terrorism but was flexible in negotiations. *Jihad* against USSR in Afghanistan was religious and *Jihadi* mindset that affected KP of terrorism more as compared to other parts of the country.

Moreover, because of *Pashtun* culture and KP being adjacent to the Afghanistan, this area was mostly affected of terrorism more than other parts of the country. National Action Plan failed because terrorism is still affecting the economy of the KP. Terrorism also created social issues and exploited mental peace in the area. The recent policies are not sufficient in KP and there is governance system to effectively address the issue.

#### **4.10. Recommendations**

From the above discussion and study, the following are some recommendations:

1. Create new ways for strong and friendly relations with Afghanistan
2. Afghan Refugees should accommodate with the condition that they will obey the laws strictly.
3. Avoid discriminations and all the effected to be compensated.
4. Nationally a regulatory system needs to develop for the religious institutions under properly monitoring.
5. Overmuch subscriptions/donations in the name of religion, politics or any other purposes should be ban and channelize.
6. The publishing literature promoting extremism to be ban.
7. Sense of responsibility and patriotism should be promoted.
8. Social justice system should be implemented

9. Quality education and uniformity in curriculum needed to be introduced in the country.
10. Law and order implementation should be granted.
11. Needed lawmaking for harmony among different ethnic, religious and regional groups and other classes of the society
12. Steps should be taken for the elimination of poverty
13. Improvement in employment to provide jobs opportunities to the unemployed.
14. Local social institutions like NGOs should be appreciated
15. Accountability should be maintained without discrimination.
16. Suitable steps are needed to stop money laundering.
17. Political education and awareness is necessary in the country.
18. Special Initiatives for the depressed and affected people.
19. Arrangement shall be made for the peaceful withdrawal of Afghan refugees.
20. Co-curricular activities and sports in the region to be promoted.
21. The national and international laws to be implemented and followed.
22. The transparent system of property ownership should be introduced.
23. Needed certain steps for a stable economy.
24. The institutions should follow and respect the country constitution.
25. Awareness to be raised regarding the country's laws and regulations.
26. Media should play their role for the awareness to socialize the people.

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## ANNEXURES

### *Annexure 1: Correspondence Letter for survey*

#### FOR RESEARCH TOPIC IN ENTITLE

#### *Factors of Terrorism in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa: A CRITICAL Analysis of National Policies from Zia to Musharraf*

Dear colleagues!

Reference to the attached theme-wise questionnaires it is stated that *Nasib Amin* “PhD Student in International Islamic University Islamabad, Department of History and Pakistan Studies” is preparing his research work entitle “*Factors of Terrorism in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa: A CRITICAL Analysis of National Policies from Zia to Musharraf*”. Your kind cooperation and support will lead the entire process into success. The purpose of this questionnaire is to give an opportunity to share your views about the “*Factors of Terrorism in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa: A CRITICAL Analysis of National Policies from Zia to Musharraf*”.

Please freely answer each question or statement as you feel about it. The information supplied will be kept secret and will be used for research purposes only.

Thanking you for participation

Yours sincerely,  
*Nasib Amin*

*Annexure 2: Correspondence letter to politicians for the appointment of  
interview*

**FOR RESEARCH TOPIC IN ENTITLED**

***Factors of Terrorism in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa:  
A CRITICAL Analysis of National Policies from Zia to Musharraf***

Dear Sir,

I hope this letter finds you well.

I am writing to you as a PhD student affiliated with the Department of History and Pakistan Studies at the International Islamic University Islamabad. I am currently undertaking research on the topic titled "Factors of Terrorism in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa: A Critical Analysis of National Policies from Zia to Musharraf."

As part of my research process, I am reaching out to experts in the field to gather valuable insights and perspectives. After careful consideration, your name has been identified as someone whose knowledge and experiences would greatly contribute to my study.

I would be immensely grateful if you could spare some time for a face-to-face interview to discuss your views and insights on the aforementioned topic. Your cooperation and support in this regard would be instrumental in ensuring the success and validity of my research.

Please rest assured that any information shared during the interview will be treated with utmost confidentiality and will be used solely for research purposes.

Thank you very much for considering my request. Your participation in this endeavor is highly valued and appreciated.

Yours sincerely,  
Nasib Amin  
PhD Student  
Department of History and  
Pakistan Studies,  
International Islamic University  
Islamabad.

***Annexure 3: Questionnaire for Demographic information***

1. Name of the respondent (Optional): \_\_\_\_\_
  2. Sex a) Male b) Female
  3. Age of respondent: a) 18 to 25 \_\_\_ b) 26 to 35 \_\_\_ c) 36 to 50 \_\_\_ d) 51 and above \_\_\_
  4. Academic qualification of respondent: a) PhD \_\_\_\_\_ b) M Phil \_\_\_\_\_  
c) Master \_\_\_\_\_ d) Graduate \_\_\_\_\_ e) Intermediate \_\_\_\_\_  
f) Matriculate \_\_\_\_\_ g) Primary \_\_\_\_\_ h) Illiterate \_\_\_\_\_  
i) Vocational \_\_\_\_\_ j) religious (specify) \_\_\_\_\_
  5. Professional field: a) Security \_\_\_\_\_ b) Social working \_\_\_\_\_  
c) Politics \_\_\_\_\_ d) Teaching \_\_\_\_\_ e) Religion \_\_\_\_\_  
f) Forming \_\_\_\_\_ g) Laboring \_\_\_\_\_ h) Technician \_\_\_\_\_  
i) Artist \_\_\_\_\_ j) Business \_\_\_\_\_ k) Transportation \_\_\_\_\_  
l) Health \_\_\_\_\_ m) Student \_\_\_\_\_
- Other \_\_\_\_\_

**Annexure 4: Questionnaire “Emergence of Terrorism in KP”**

S. No	Questions	Remarks	
		Yes	No
1	<p>Do you think that terrorism affected peace in <i>Khyber Pakhtunkhwa</i>?</p> <p>If yes then why? mark one of the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Instability in <i>Afghanistan</i></li> <li>b. Unstable governance</li> <li>c. Lack of education</li> <li>d. Poverty</li> <li>e. All of the above</li> </ul>		
2	<p>Do you agree with the statement that people of <i>Khyber Pakhtunkhwa</i> are involved in terrorism?</p> <p>If yes then mark one of the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>c. Directly</li> <li>d. Indirectly</li> <li>e. Both of the above</li> </ul>		
3	<p>Can you differentiate in <i>Islamic Jihad</i> and terrorism?</p> <p>If yes then how can you consider the past and present situation of terrorism in <i>Khyber Pakhtunkhwa</i>:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. <i>Jihad</i></li> <li>b. Terrorism</li> </ul>		
4	<p>Do you know the causes of terrorism in <i>Khyber Pakhtunkhwa</i>?</p> <p>If yes then mark one of the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Economic factors</li> <li>b. Drawbacks in National Polices</li> <li>c. Cultural behavior</li> <li>d. Lack of education</li> </ul>		
5	<p>Do you agree that the people of <i>Khyber Pakhtunkhwa</i> opposed terrorism in the near past?</p> <p>If yes please mention anyone:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>d. Some people</li> </ul>		

	e. More people f. All people		
6	Do you agree with the opinion that terrorism was emerged from <i>Khyber Pakhtunkhwa</i> ?	Yes	No
7	Do you agree that <i>Afghan</i> refugees affected peace in <i>Khyber Pakhtunkhwa</i> ? If yes select one of the following: d. Introducing weapons e. Involvement in terrorism f. Differences in religious beliefs g. All of the above	Yes	No
8	Do you agree that terrorism affected traditional <i>Jirga</i> system?	Yes	No
9	Do you agree that invasion of <i>Soviet Union</i> in <i>Afghanistan</i> is a cause of terrorism in <i>Khyber Pakhtunkhwa</i> ?	Yes	No
10	Do you agree that terrorism affected national policies of <i>Pakistan</i> ?	Yes	No
11	Do you agree that <i>terrorism</i> is still prevailing in <i>Khyber Pakhtunkhwa</i> ? If yes then mark one of the following: a. Draw back in governmental policies b. Non implementation of Law and Order c. Rush of the media resources d. Fast communication specially roads and transportation. e. Unemployment f. Feudalism g. Lack of Education h. Disunity i. All the above	Yes	No
12	Do you know about the “major class” being involved in terrorism? If yes then select one of the following: a. Students Religious Institutes	Yes	No

	b. Students of Government Institutes c. Common people d. Criminal people e. All of the above		
13	Do you agree that some people of <i>Khyber Pakhtunkhwa</i> are still involved in terrorist activities?	Yes	No
14	Do you agree with the statement that generally poor people are engaged in terrorism?	Yes	No
15	“Fundamental religious mind and unemployed youth is the main source of terrorism in <i>Khyber Pakhtunkhwa</i> ” do you agree with the statement.	Yes	No
Please write below any other related information that you want to discuss: _____ _____ _____ _____			

**Annexure 5: Questionnaire “Responsibilities of a State”**

S. No	Questions	Remarks	
		Yes	No
1	Is the government taking part in development of the <i>KP</i> province?	Yes	No
2	Do you agree that the government gives safety to those who help the government in counter-terrorism? If no, then mention any reason from below: e. Fear of the concern official from terrorists. f. The officials their selves have links with terrorists g. Direct threat to the person h. All the above	Yes	No
3	Do you agree that life is uncomfortable due to terrorism in <i>Pakistan</i> ?	Yes	No
4	Do you agree that low ratio of education is one cause of terrorism? If yes mention one of the following: d. Male education e. Female education f. Both of the Above	Yes	No
5	Do you agree that terrorist activities are according to the law and human rights?	Yes	No
6	Do you agree that ant-terrorism operations are according to the law and human rights?	Yes	No
7	Do you agree that modern communication system and mass media are promoting terrorism in <i>Khyber Pakhtunkhwa</i> ?	Yes	No
8	Do you satisfied about the basic needs being provided by the state to their citizens in <i>Pakistan</i> ?	Yes	No
9	Do you agree that as citizens of <i>Pakistan</i> the people of <i>KP</i> accepting their responsibilities? If yes then mark one below: c. Some people	Yes	No

	d. All people		
10	Is the state being responsible for reducing ethnicity among different races of the country by various policies?	Yes	No
11	Are the policies from <i>Zia</i> to <i>Musharraf</i> reduced the terrorism in KP? If no then mark one below: a. Maintain it b. Accelerated it	Yes	No
12	<i>G. Zia</i> cooperation with <i>America</i> in <i>Russia-Afghan</i> War, is a root cause of terrorism in <i>KP</i> . Do you agree?	Yes	No
13	Do you agree that <i>9/11 incident</i> is the accelerating point for terrorist to use <i>KP</i> and for their activities?	Yes	No
14	Do you agree that due to international policies <i>Pakistan</i> is not in a position to control terrorism and non-state valiance actors?	Yes	No
15	Are you agree that the state of <i>Pakistan</i> is implementing their public policies with full control?	Yes	No
Please write below any other related information that you want to discuss: _____			
_____			
_____			
_____			

**Annexure 6: Questionnaire “National Policies and Public Response”**

S. No	Questions	Remarks	
1	Do you agree that terrorism affected national policies of <i>Pakistan</i> ?	Yes	No
2	Do you agree that there should be a strict policy against terrorists?	Yes	No
3	<p>Do you agree that terrorism is caused by the international conspiracy?</p> <p>If yes then select one of the following?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>e. Geographical conspiracy</li> <li>f. Economical conspiracy</li> <li>g. Political conspiracy</li> <li>h. Religious conspiracy</li> </ul>	Yes	No
4	<p>Are you in favor of army operation against terrorist?</p> <p>If no then select one of the following?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>d. Leave them</li> <li>e. Solve the problem by negotiation</li> <li>f. Revise the national policies</li> </ul>	Yes	No
5	<p>What are the effects of counter-terrorism policy on terrorism?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>c. Being increased</li> <li>d. Being decreased</li> </ul>	Yes	No
6	<p>Do you know about the financial sources of terrorist?</p> <p>If yes then select any one in below:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>g. No comments</li> <li>h. The have their own economic sources</li> <li>i. Foreign agencies are supporting them</li> <li>j. Using unfear means</li> <li>k. Religious donation</li> <li>l. The above b, c, d and e</li> </ul>	Yes	No

7	<p>Is there any difference in psyche of <i>Pashtuns</i> from other races of <i>Pakistan</i>?</p> <p>If yes than what is your choice?</p> <p>c. The existing policies are enough</p> <p>d. The policies should be revised according to their psychological needs</p>	Yes	No
8	<p>Do you wish that there should be different policies to reduce terrorism?</p>	Yes	No
9	<p>Are you satisfied from anti-terrorism courts?</p>	Yes	No
10	<p>Do you agree that there are some deficiencies in polices of counter-terrorism?</p> <p>If yes select one of the following:</p> <p>e. There is no statement on terrorism</p> <p>f. It is not suitable</p> <p>g. Slowness in implementation</p> <p>h. Against the psyche of the people</p>	Yes	No
11	<p>Give your answer, in yes or no that the governmental policies are enough and psychologically suitable for <i>Pashtun</i>'s society.</p>	Yes	No
12	<p>Are you agree to that some authorities may reduce terrorism in <i>Khyber Pakhtunkhwa</i>?</p> <p>If yes then select one of the following:</p> <p>e. Government</p> <p>f. Public</p> <p>g. <i>Jirga</i></p> <p>h. Religion</p>	Yes	No
13	<p>Are you agree that national policies of <i>Pakistan</i> are representing social value and norms of the people live in it?</p> <p>If no then select one below:</p> <p>d. Represent influence of other nations</p> <p>e. Represent influence of specific class</p>	Yes	No

14	Are you in favor of solving the <i>Kashmir</i> issue? If yes then select one below: d. The government of <i>Pakistan</i> did not in favor of to solving e. The government of <i>India</i> did not in favor of to solving f. <i>UNO</i> did not in favor of to solving	Yes	No
15	Are wish that India and Pakistan would be friends?	Yes	No
16	Are the politicians in <i>Pakistan</i> are serious to solve the terrorism issue by peaceful way?	Yes	No
Please write below any other related information that you want to discuss: _____ _____ _____ _____			

**Annexure 7: Questionnaire “Political and Social Behaviors”**

S. No	Questions	Remarks	
1	Are the religious scholars conveying the real message of <i>Islam</i> ?	Yes	No
2	Are terrorism affects the meaning and concept of <i>Jihad</i> in the mind of common people?	Yes	No
3	Do you agree that the people of <i>Khyber Pakhtunkhwa</i> seeking peace? s. If yes then select of the following:  d. By <i>Jirga</i> e. Through government f. Leave the matter on the behalf of government	Yes	No
4	Do you agree that <i>non-Muslims</i> are supporting terrorist?	Yes	No
5	Do you think that politician in <i>Pakistan</i> is on one page on this sensitive issues?	Yes	No
6	Do you agree that the people of <i>Pakistan</i> have sufficient knowledge about this sensitive issues?	Yes	No
7	Do you think that the people of <i>KP</i> are able to keep an eye on their selected representatives?	Yes	No
8	Do you agree that political parties in <i>Pakistan</i> are adopting the intraparty democracy? If no then select one of the following criteria for selection of a leader: g. Economic stability h. Education i. Family background j. Social interaction k. Political experience l. Honesty and truthfulness	Yes	No

9	In your opinion, are the people of <i>KP</i> able to select their suitable representatives?  If no then select one of the following ways for selecting their leaders:  d. Racism and nepotism e. Party base f. By influential people	Yes	No
10	Do you agree that social classification in different societies of the country produce imbalance in <i>Pakistan</i> ?	Yes	No
11	Is the government taking more interest in developing of those people being affected by terrorism?	Yes	No
12	Do you know that lose control over non-state violence actors (VNSAs) is the main cause of terrorism?	Yes	No
13	Do you agree that the depressed people of the society commonly joining terrorist groups?	Yes	No
14	Do you agree that the innocent people being affected by operations are going part of terrorism?	Yes	No
15	Do you agree that politician illegally blamed their opponents of having their links with terrorist?	Yes	No
Please write below any other related information that you want to discuss: _____ _____ _____ _____			

**Annexure 8: Questionnaire “Pashtun Society and Culture”**

S. No	Questions	Remarks	
1	<p>Do you agree that people are still using the weapon as a traditional armament in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa?</p> <p>If yes then why?</p> <p>a. For Protection</p> <p>b. For terrorism</p>	Yes	No
2	Are the people taking self-initiatives to revenge their enemies?	Yes	No
3	Do you agree that religious ethnicity is a cause of terrorism?	Yes	No
4	Do you agree that regionalism and racism are the main cause of terrorism?	Yes	No
5	Do you agree that religious hostility is also a main cause of terrorism?	Yes	No
6	Do you agree that the people of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa are more interested in religious war ( <i>Jihad</i> )?	Yes	No
7	<p>Do you agree that the terrorist’s videos clips are being watched by the People of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa?</p> <p>If yes then mark one of the following:</p> <p>a. It laid negative effects on our society</p> <p>b. It laid positive effects on our society</p> <p>c. Both of the above</p>	Yes	No
8	Does media present the positive aspect of our cultural Values?	Yes	No
9	Do you agree that the military operations against terrorist in KP affected social norms of <i>Pashtuns</i> ?	Yes	No
10	Do you agree that the people of <i>Khyber Pakhtunkhwa</i> are more interested in religious education?	Yes	No
11	<p>Are you agree that the <i>Pashtuns</i> practices <i>tarboorwali</i> (antagonism in Brotherhood) in their brotherhood?</p> <p>If yes then mark any one below:</p>	Yes	No

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. It produces enmity and lead them to terrorism</li> <li>b. It keeps them in brotherhood and unity</li> <li>c. It has no effect on their brotherhood</li> </ul>		
12	<p>Are the <i>Pashtun</i> follow Islam in all field of life?</p> <p>If No, then mark any one below:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. <i>Pakhtunwali</i></li> <li>b. Exiting rules and laws of the country</li> <li>c. Where they see their benefits</li> </ul>	Yes	No
13	<p>You agree that the <i>Pashtuns</i> keep care of their social values as they are famous for?</p>	Yes	No
14	<p>Are you agree with the statement that generally the <i>Pashtuns</i> have plenty of children and they are careless in socializing and educating them?</p>	Yes	No
15	<p>Do you agree that the people of KP are peaceful?</p>	Yes	No
<p>Please write below any other related information that you want to discuss: _____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p>			

***Annexure 9: Questionnaire “Interview in-depth”***

1. What are the factors of terrorism in KP?
2. How Zia's and Musharraf's National Policies influences terrorism in KP?
3. How Zia's and Musharraf's national policies were different?
4. How Benazir and Nawaz governments policies influenced terrorism in KP.
5. Why there KP more effect as compare to other parts of the country?
6. How National Action Plan was success or failed in the country?
7. What are the specific factors that link to *Pashtun* and influenced by national policies, leading to the increase of terrorism in KP?
8. How forceful policies can effectively reduce terrorism in KP?
9. What strategies you suggest for encounter terrorism in KP?

## ***Annexure 10: Interview guide for the pre-study***

### **1. Introduction (5 minutes)**

- Introduce the interviewers and what the aim of the study is.
- Ask if the interviewee allows the privacy.
- Ask if the interviewee have any questions before the interview starts

### **2. Discussion topic (5 minutes)**

***The following questions 1-9 will be asked from each of interviewees. (5 minutes for each question)***

1. What are the factors of terrorism in KP?
2. How Zia's and Musharraf's National Policies influences terrorism in KP?
3. How Zia's and Musharraf's national policies were different?
4. How Benazir and Nawaz governments policies influenced terrorism in KP.
5. Why there KP more affected of terrorism as compare to other parts of the country?
6. How National Action Plan was success or failed in the country?
7. What are the specific factors that link to *Pashtun* and influenced by national policies, leading to the increase of terrorism in KP?
8. How can forceful policies effectively reduce terrorism in KP?
9. What strategies you suggest for Counter terrorism in KP?

### **3. Summing up**

Ask if interviewee want to add something or have general thoughts.

- Inform interviewee that he can be contacted

## ***Annexure 11: Interview guide***

### **1. Introduction (5 minutes)**

- Introduce the interviewers and what the aim of the study is
- Ask if the interviewee allows the privacy.
- Ask if the interviewee have any questions before the interview starts
- Show and go over an example

### **2. Discussion topic (5 minutes) preceding -response:**

- ***Introduction question*** -Are you aware of terrorism?
- ***Questions (5 minutes for each question)***
- ***Cognition*** - What are the factors of terrorism in KP - *Can you elaborate on those?*
- ***Affect*** - How Zia's and Musharraf's National Policies influences terrorism in KP? - *Can you elaborate on those/ why?*
- ***Differentiation*** - How Zia's and Musharraf's national policies were different? - *Can you compare those/ how*
- ***Affect*** - How Benazir and Nawaz governments policies influenced terrorism in KP. - *Can you elaborate on those/ why*
- ***Comparison*** - ● ***Affect*** - Why there KP more affected of terrorism as compare to other parts of the country? - *Can you compare on those/ why*
- Differentiation*** - How National Action Plan was success or failed in the country? - *Can you compare those/ how*
- ***Affect*** – What are the specific factors that link to *Pashtun* and influenced by national policies, leading to the increase of terrorism in KP? - *Can you elaborate on those/ why*
- ***Suggestive*** - How can forceful policies effectively reduce terrorism in KP? - *Can you elaborate those/ how*

- **Suggestive** - How can forceful policies effectively reduce terrorism in KP? - *Can you suggest those/ why*

### **3. Summing up**

Ask if interviewee want to add something or have general thoughts.

Inform interviewee that she/he can be contacted again.

Thank interviewee for their time and answers.

