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Thesis for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

The Impact of Militancy on Pakhtunwali
Ethical Code: A Case Study of FATA's Dara
Adam Khel F.R. Kohat, Pakistan



by

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The Department of International and Area Studies

The Graduate School

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August 2018

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파푼왈리 사회도덕에 대한 공격적 행동양식
의 영향: 파타지역 다라에 관한 사례연구

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The Impact of Militancy on Pakhtunwali Ethical Code:
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The Impact of Militancy on Pakhtunwali Ethical code, A case study of FATA's Dara Adam Khel F.R. Kohat, Pakistan

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Abstract

The term culture is a major display into the culture of nations. It is hard to deny a society and its social norms, custom and traditions. Culture shares a great part to conflict and conflict resolution, and cultures and conflicts are interrelated. Some cultures bring positive changes and developments while other cause drastic variations and conflicts. The main purpose of this research was to find out the impact of militancy on Pakhtunwali social code and the cultural involvement in the over a decade long militancy in the FATA area of Dara Adam Khel F.R. Kohat. *Jirga*, *Hujra* and *Panah* were the major elements of Pakhtunwali social code that were practicing in the area for a very long time but due to militancy the local people turned back to these custom and traditions which were connected to their daily life activities. How important these Pakhtunwali elements for the people of Dara and what necessary measures could be taken to implement these elements back in the area were the focus of discussion. The Taliban started their own judicial system (Shura) which was accepted to some people but due to their inhumane actions in FATA, majority of the local people were against their presence in the area.

The CIA created and funded the Al-Qaeda and Taliban Mujahedeen who got trained by the ISI of Pakistan in the FATA region and sent on a special mission to fight the Soviet forces in Afghanistan. After the 9/11 terrorist attacks, the U.S and NATO forces invaded Afghanistan to hunt these militant groups. As a result, the militants fled to the FATA areas of Pakistan who were familiar to the local culture and got asylum according to the Pakhtunwali element (*Panah*). The Bush administration asked the Pakistani government to take a serious military action against these militants. The Pakistani army started military operations against them and as a result the militants spread all over the FATA region and started mobilizing local youth on the name *Jihad* (the Holy War) which brought disaster to the region and negatively impacted the local culture (Pakhtunwali). This research work proved that there are changes in Pakhtunwali social code due to militancy and the people of FATA are not actively following these rules the way they were doing in the past before militancy.

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Abbreviation

APA	Assistant Political Agent
BHU	Basic Health Unit
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CPEC	China Pakistan Economic Corridor
CSS	Central Superior Services
DC	Deputy Commissioner
DCO	District Coordination Officer
ESAF	The International Security Force
FATA	Federally Administered Tribal Areas
FCR	Frontier Crimes Regulations
FIA	Federal Bureau for Investigation
FR	Frontier Region
FSSP	Field Support Service Project
GHQ	General Headquarters
IB	Intelligence Bureau
ID	Identity Card
IDP	Internally Displaced People
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organization
ISI	Inter-Services Intelligence Agency
KGB	Komitet Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti (Russian Intelligence)
KP	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province
MBBS	Bachelor of Medicine & Bachelor of Surgery
MMA	Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal
MNA	Member National Assembly
MOSAD	Israel's Intelligence Information
NATO	The Northern Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NWA	North Waziristan Agency
PA	Political Agent
PATA	Provincially Administered Tribal Areas
PBUH	Peace Be Upon Him
PTM	Pakhtun Tahafuz Movement
RAW	Research & Analysis Wing
TTP	Tehrik-Taliban Pakistan
USA	The United States of America
USAID	The United States Agency for International Development
USSR	Union of South Socialist Republic
SSP	Senior Superintendent of Police
SWA	South Waziristan Agency

CHAPTER ONE

1.1 Introduction

Conflicts are a part of every society but they vary from culture to culture. Varieties of socio-cultural, political, religious and economic factors are responsible for generating conflicts among people, societies, organizations and states. Some conflicts are minor while others are severe in nature that results in violence. Conflicts and culture have a greater relationship as sometimes conflict made positive changes within the socio-cultural environment while mostly it creates drastic and negative impact, which create anarchy in the society. Culture is an essential part of conflict and conflict resolution. Cultures are like underground rivers that run through our lives and relationships, giving us messages that shape our perceptions, attributions, judgments, and ideas of self and other. Though cultures are powerful, they are often unconscious, influencing conflict and attempts to resolve conflict in imperceptible ways. (Michelle, LeBaron, 2003)

Pakhtunwali code of principles got a strong hold in the Federally Administrative Tribal Areas (FATA) before militancy and they were practiced in the everyday life of tribal community. The people of the tribal areas were strictly following the traditional way of life with harmony through this code. It was hard to imagine a Pakhtun society without Pakhtunwali code of principles. The elders (Maliks) of the Tribal Areas were the leaders and representatives of each community who were working as mediators and a bridge between the assistant Political agent (APA) and the people of Tribal community. *Hujra* (the common guest) has an important role in Pakhtunwali culture. It's a school of learning and a place of socialization where Pakhtunwali transfers from one generation to another. Pakhtun people are famous for their Melmastia (hospitality) because they think a guest is a gift from God. After the 9/11 terrorist attacks on the United States the Bush administration joined by NATO forces invaded Afghanistan to hunt Al-Qaeda and Taliban militants who were accused for these attacks in 2001¹.

1. "In Pakistan, Long-Suffering Pashtuns Find Their Voice". *The New York Times*. 2018-02-06. Retrieved 2018-02-07.

As a result, the militants fled from Afghanistan to the bordering federally administrated tribal areas (FATA) of Pakistan for protection and further strategies. The Taliban got a lot of information and were well aware of the tribal areas custom and tradition because they were trained in the same area by the CIA and ISI of Pakistan against the Soviet Union. The Taliban and Al-Qaeda militants got asylum in FATA region and used the word “Jihad” (The Holy War) to get support from the local tribal people for broaden plans¹. Local people gave them respect and place to live as guests as a Pakhtunwali code of *Panah* (Asylum). Gradually they started mobilizing young people for “Jihad and started lobbying against the US and western supremacy and planned to fight while using the name “Islam’s Jihad the Holy War”. After recruiting a number of young people from the tribal area the militants started their terrorist activities. At first, they blew up girls and boy’s primary, middle and high schools and later on colleges and health care centers. They started targeting those who were opposing their ideology and blocking their way from further hate spreading and recruitment of young tribal.

Through target killing and assassinations they created a great fear on the mind of local people. Their main targets were the most educated and influential people specially if they were opposing the Taliban’s ideology or not obeying their rules and those who were working for government of Pakistan and NGOs. If there were any educated person or someone outspoken who can condemn the act of barbarism, demolition of schools, colleges and other public properties or government infrastructure than they target those people and kill them in the next few days. They would cut them into pieces or hanged them on the street from electric poles and let their dead bodies hanged for a few days so they can give a strong message to those who were against them or they have something on mind against Taliban. Because of the psychological war on local people’s mind they did whatever they wanted, there was no one to stop them. It was exactly the same barbaric actions beheading people in front of public to give a message to common people, if you oppose them then get ready for the similar results. People stopped sending their kids to school because they also put spies on schools to recruit teenagers and young kids to use them as suicide bombers.

1. <https://frc.org.pk> Retrieved on 2017-08-03.

The militants occupied the whole tribal areas of FATA within a few months and took control of all social and judicial activities especially in Dara Adam Khel. The Pakistani government took action against these militants, send the army to the tribal areas and put the troops in the remaining schools, colleges, health care units and other government properties. The army started actions against the militants, which turned into a nightmare for the local people. On one side the militants were stressing local people on the other hand the security forces started search operations and arresting people on doubt. Both the Army and Taliban were attacking each other and were firing mortar guns' bullets. Most of the time local people got suffered through these fights, their houses and shops were demolished, damaged or their domestic animals got killed and many times the mortar bullet hit houses where infant babies and women got hit by that and died instantly. It was a kind of battle between two elephants in the jungle and poor ants got crashed. As a result, those people who have enough resources started to move their families from FATA as well as Dara Adam Khel, to the nearby safe cities or other big cities while the middle class and poor people stuck in the troubled tribal areas. They didn't have enough resources to send their children to city schools or move their families to a safer place where they can live peacefully.

Before militancy tribal people were using traditional judicial system “Jirga” where elder of the community get together and find out the solution of the problem through mutual understanding which was acceptable to all the tribal but these days that system is useless because of militants started their own way of judicial system where they are free to decide whatever they think is better. Army was also interrupting the “Jirga” which is also a part of this disintegration.¹ Majority of the people in tribal areas are getting education just to get a good job and have authority in government or earn bread and butter for their family but a good education is not just earning a lot of money or having authority in government or private sectors. It can also help with wisdom and provision of knowledge. The meaning of getting education is to understand good and bad and right and wrong, make their own decisions and having the courage to speak for those who don't have a voice. A strong message for the youth of the tribal areas is that peace, success, respect and mutual understanding are through good quality education not through war and hatred.

The *Pakhtun* social structure that has attracted the attention of many scholars is mainly governed by conventions and traditions and a code of honor known as *Pakhtunwali*. This un-written code is a keystone of the arch of the *Pakhtun* social fabric. It exercises a great influence on their actions and has been held by them generation after generation. The only notable governing institution within the *Pakhtun* social fabric is that of *Jirga* (assembly or council of elders), which acts as a mechanism for conflict resolution among *Pakhtun* tribes at all levels of the society.¹ *Jirga* a traditional mechanism for conflict resolution among Pakhtun people and has a strong potential to contribute to this culture. Tribal areas generally mean, those areas, which are having tribal population with distinct culture, specific geography and internally independence. The tribesmen belong to the racial stock called the Pathans, who call themselves Pashtuns, Pakhtun, or sometimes Afghans. They are the world's largest segment lineage (or patriarchal) tribal group in existence. The Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) is the area of Pakistan outside the four provinces. There are 7 areas known as Agencies and 6 areas known as Frontier Regions (F.R). The agencies, named Khyber Agency, Bajour Agency, Mohmand Agency, Orakzai Agency, North Waziristan, South Waziristan and Kurram Agency and the 6 Frontier Regions (FR's) administered by the settled area District administrations. Adam Khel, the area along the road between Kohat and Peshawar belongs to them (Adam Khel) (S. Iftikhar Hussain 2005).

Dara Adam Khel is a small village (town like) surrounded by hills situated between Peshawar and Kohat in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province of Pakistan. People of the tribal areas of Pakistan are known as Pakhtun and they follow their own non-written ethical code and traditional lifestyle called "*Pakhtunwali*".² *Pakhtunwali* is a concept of living or a way of life for Pakhtun people and is considered as an honor code and a non-written law for the Pashtuns. Pakhtun people in Afghanistan, Pakistan and inhabitants of Pakhtun society around the world follow *Pakhtunwali*. All members of Pakhtun society are expected to follow these principles and those who do not obey these principles are considered dishonorable and dishonest and are a great shame in the Pakhtun society.

1. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/oct/17/pakistan-sends-troops-against-taliban>
Retrieved 2017-05-21.

There are many principles of the Pakhtunwali code. Some of the Pakhtunwali components are *Melmastia*, refers to the ability of showing hospitality and profound respect to all visitors, regardless of race, religion, national affiliation or economic status and doing so without any hope of remuneration or favor. *Ghayrat*, refers to self-honor or dignity. Pakhtun must maintain their human dignity. They must respect themselves and others.¹

Badal means to seek justice or take revenge against the wrongdoer. “This applies to injustices committed yesterday or 1000 years ago if the wrongdoer still exists. There is considered to be no time limit to the period in which revenge can be taken”;²

Nanawatey, refers to the repentance over past hostility and granting of asylum. People are protected at all costs; even those running from the law must be given refuge until the situation can be clarified. *Turah* means to be brave. A Pakhtun must guard his land, property, family and women from incursions.

Naamus, refers to the protection of women. A Pakhtun must protect the honor of women at all costs and must defend them from verbal and physical harm. *Nang* means the honor, protection and defense of weak people within the Pakhtun community.”³

Pakhtunwali is a code of conduct for *Pakhtun* people as it is used to maintain stability, peace and harmony in society. The relationship between conflict and this code of conduct was highly followed by the Pakhtun people all around the world. The role of Pakhtun culture in the generation of conflict at household as well as societal level has been discussed and analyzed in different studies⁴.

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1. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/oct/17/pakistan-sends-troops-against-taliban> Retrieved on 2017-8-25.
 2. Profiles of Pakistan’s Seven Tribal Agencies Publication: Terrorism Monitor Volume: 4 Issue: 20 By: Hassan Abbas, 2006 Retrieved on 2017-12-27.
 3. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1354818> 2017 Retrieved on 2017-12-10.
 4. *ibid*

On the other hand, every society adopts some strategies to resolve and overcome the intensity of conflicts and trying for peace building. Some societies follow traditional and informal mechanisms of conflict resolution while some adopt the formal methods and social justice system. The peace building mechanisms of the Pakhtun society of *Dara Adam Khel* resolve conflicts in their daily lives through traditional *Jirga* (Council of elders) system.¹

Authority and power structure are in the hands of community elders and political administration authority to resolve the conflict and maintain peace and stability in the targeted area. *Jirga* and its importance in FATA have been discussed in detail in this study. *Hujra* is considered to be the major social institution where the Pakhtunwali code of principle transfers from one generation to another.

This study highlighted the different institutions that play their role in conflict resolution and maintaining peace stability and hierarchy among these institutions for peace building has been discussed in detail. According to a survey report, the people of the Federally Administered Tribal areas are blindly supporting the Pakistani army against militancy and extremism in the area. Over 70 percent people replied positively in support of backing Pakistani army military hunting Taliban and Al-Qaeda fighters in the Tribal region.²

According to the survey, when asked how the Federally Administered Tribal Areas should be governed, 79 percent said it should be governed by the Pakistani military. The Tehrik-e-Taliban (TTP) fighters started making strategies in the bordering areas of Pakistan in 2001. The Taliban militants would cross the boundary and enter into Afghanistan into Afghanistan, targeting the US and NATO forces and law enforcement groups afterwards the United States offensive of Afghanistan in 2003. This heavily fortified military base has housed mostly American special operations since 2002 and is located six kilometers from the Pakistani border.

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1. "Ethnic Groups". Library of Congress Country Studies. 1997. Retrieved on 2017-02-29.
 2. Robert M Cassidy (2012). *War, Will, and Warlords*. Marine Corps University Press. p. 10. ISBN 978-0-16-090300-7. Retrieved on 2017-02-29.

1.2 Purpose of the Study

The main objective of this research was to assess the people of Dara Adam Khel's perception regarding militancy and its impact on the local culture Pakhtunwali ethical code. Pakhtunwali has been practicing in Dara Adam Khel for centuries and people are mostly satisfied with traditional way of life. Majority of local people preferred the daily life activities, according to the Pakhtunwali ethical code but after the span of militancy in the tribal area, which has shaped the whole system of Pakhtunwali culture has been discussed in this study. How did militancy affected their way of life (Pakhtunwali) and the changes that have been brought by this surge of militancy in this area has been discussed in this study. The research also explores the local people's perception, whether or not they follow the centuries old Pakhtunwali life code and are actively involved in their custom and tradition or did militancy has changed their life style. The militancy gave a huge loss to the local people both socially and economically.

This research also looks for the rehabilitation and developmental work done by government and also if they help those who really got suffered by militancy. This study explores the main reasons behind the militancy in the FATA region and its impact on the tribal people and its way of life (Pakhtunwali). Local people involvement and joining hands with the militant's groups in their own destruction was also discussed in this research work. The people of the tribal area used Jirga for conflict resolution.

Specifically, this study will evaluate the importance of Jirga and to see, if the people of Dara still want Jirga in their daily life for conflict resolution and how much Jirga has been affected by the militancy? Did Taliban abolish the status or reputation of Jirga in the tribal areas, the role of political agent in the conflict resolution and the development of the area? To find out the real actors behind this militancy, their mission and why specifically they chose the tribal area to play this militancy game.

The main objectives of this research are as follow,

- To find out the perception of local people about the impact of militancy on Pakhtunwali ethical code.
- To check the developmental process in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA).
- To analyze the shift of conflict resolution mechanism and the satisfaction level of people with law enforcement agencies as well as the tribal local law Jirga (Pakhtunwali).
- To find out the view of the victims of militancy regarding governmental support and the whole scenario considering terrorism in FATA and Dara Adam Khel and its impact on local people.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

The main purpose of this study was to find out the impact of militancy on Pakhtunwali ethical code and whether or not people in FATA's Dara Adam Khel still follow this Pakhtunwali after the decade long brutal era of militancy which changed almost all fields of life in FATA region. Jirga, Hujra and asylum were the basic traits of Pakhtun society and it was hard for the local people to live without their social system. The people of Dara who had a hard time during this imposed militancy not only from the militant but from the army as well which made their existence unbearable in the area is also discussed in detail. The swift shift of militancy in the tribal areas and its destruction in shape of the local people lost both economically and socially and to find out the government role in rehabilitation work was examined in this research. This study also explores the real actor behind the militancy and reason behind the attraction of the local youth towards joining the militant groups. The role of the local elders, Maliks and APA in conflict resolution was the problem of concern in this research.

The research questions are;

- Whether or not people in FATA still follow the Pakhtunwali ethical code?
- To what extent militancy has influenced or changed the Pakhtunwali ethical code?

- Why and how militancy has affected the developmental process in FATA?
- How do you define Pakhtunwali?
- What is militancy?
- Is there any rehabilitation or developmental work started by the government?
- Do people still give asylum to strangers?
- Do people accept the decision of Jirga?
- If no, what are the other sources of mediation?
- Can you deny the decision of militants? If no, why?
- Did you face any trial by militants?
- What is the role of APA (assistant political agent) in conflict resolution?
- Who do you prefer in conflict resolution, Jirga, APA, militants or Army? Why?

1.4 Literature Review

According to Amato, Pakhtun tribes in both Afghanistan and Pakistan and follow Pakhtunwali and its effect on reconciliation and rehabilitation works in Afghanistan can be seen in all aspects. “The Pakhtun are the dominant tribe and make up 42 percent of Afghanistan’s population. It is the largest sole racial group in the nation, while the additional societies such as *Hazara*, *Uzbek*, and *Tajik*, outstrip the Pakhtun tribe if joint together. Supposedly, a lot of Pakhtun people are living in the tribal society and manage their dealings according to an ethical and ethical code named Pakhtunwali (Amato 2012). Several experts have identified that the Pakhtun tribal system and ethical code Pakhtunwali is the main reason for the security issues in Afghanistan for the United States forces while dealing with Pakhtun people. The other groups in Afghanistan are comparatively calm and didn’t show any sign of threat or challenges to the security forces” (Amato 2012).

The responsibility in Afghanistan those Pakhtun tribes and their Pakhtunwali system efforts to influence militant fighters keep away from taking part in fighting. The Pakhtun tribal system and Pakhtunwali offer prospects for settlement and reintegration but might also posture hindrances to these kinds of activities.

According to some experts, Pakhtun tribes and their social system Pakhtunwali have been accused of sharing to the insurgency. These tribes have been conscripted in security insurrection struggles, but an effort to observe how these two aspects could add to settlement and rehabilitation works that needs more investigation” (Amato 2012). Pakhtun people are the largest tribal civilization residual on earth exists on the boundary among Afghanistan and Pakistan. This area is surrounding by the famous Khyber Pass. The administrative force and its population is approximately 50 million (2011) members. Majority of Pakhtun people live in Afghanistan and Pakistan. The super powers and different scenario in the world incidents have barred them from uniting (Spain 1973). J. Spain explains about the Pakhtun tribal society in which they live happily with pride, containing the code of integrity they should follow. These people love their language Pashto and say it’s not only a language but a code of life too. (ibid 1973) At one-time Afghan Pathan or Pakhtun/Pushtoon were synonymous. “It was the fear of the Pakhtun of Pakistan joining with the Pakhtun of Afghanistan that led Pakistan to deny naming the province "Pakhtunistan" (Land of the Pakhtun) for fear of lending legitimacy to their desire for independence. The general fascination with this area can be gauged by the number of National Geographic articles about it” (Caroe 1976).

Olaf Caroe, has enlightened Pakhtun people natural, their way of life and carry these people to existence and provides them the righteous behavior they have received and helps them comprehend the basis of Pakhtun, their way of life, custom and tradition, Pakhtun history, language and relationships within Pakhtun society (ibid 1976). Olaf Caroe (1976) observed Pakhtun Wazir and Mahsood from Waziristan when they fought together for King Ahmad Shah in Kabul together. That time Wazir people betray Mahsood people and left them alone in the battlefield after that since now there is a saying in Masood that never trust Wazir people. It shows Pakhtun people attitude that once they deceived by someone, they will never trust them again and that what Pakhtun people nature is. In friendship they can go way far and will do anything they can but once they got betrayed they will never trust them again. It helps understand the Pakhtunwali code in details and their function in Pakhtun society, also the importance of the ethical code on Pakhtun culture and Pakhtun people daily life.

1.4.1 Pakhtunwali as a Code of Life among the Pakhtun

In Pakhtun society, Pakhtunwali is an essential part of life. It's the way of life of Pakhtun people all over the world. Pakhtunwali plays an important role and controls all the areas of Pakhtun community. It is the basic code of life for Pakhtun people and a fusion of many kinds of social, cultural norms, customs, traditions, ethics and moral values that transmitted from one generation to another and eventually turned out to be the legitimate code. It is important for Pakhtun people all over the world to obey the rules of this code. Pakhtunwali comprises a variety of components that give a full understanding of the culture. Some of the components can be discussed here in order to provide some concise characteristics of the Pakhtun culture and its social system. *Hujra* (a public guest house and a place of socialization) is a significant traditional institute of Pakhtunwali ethical code. All members of the Pakhtun society use Hujra as a shared meeting place. It is a place for elders as well as youth of Pakhtun society to sit and discuss their everyday activities, share news updates and have a debate on different matters of interests concerning their society. Hujra is a female free zone where only male members are allowed to enter. It is a saying in Pakhtun culture that "Hujra is for men and home is for women". (Abdul Qadir. 2016).

Hujra is a common guest house where every male member of the society is welcome. Strangers or passerby are welcome to have a meal, a cup of tea or stay for the night if it's late for them to travel became home. It is a safe zone for all the travelers or strangers because it comes in the safety of the Pakhtun community and they know how to guard their Hujra and guest. It is considered to be a social duty of every Pakhtun member of the society to greet a guest, a stranger or anyone who enter their Hujra with a cheerful gesture and respect. *Masjid* (mosque) is an integral part of the Hujra, where all the members of Pakhtun community get together after *Azan* (the call for prayer) five times a day. They pray together after an *Imam* (a person who leads the prayer) who usually gives sermon before every Friday prayer. Imam of the mosque gets a great respect and he is one of the influential people in Pakhtun society. Though, Maliks or elite members of a main family of the area usually manage the Hujra and Masjid. Furthermore, they take the responsibility of the maintenance and over all look after, both of the institutions. *Godar* (a place for fetching water, a stream or a well) is a focal point of Pakhtun folklore.

Though, there are not many Godars in today's advance era due to technological advancement that offer all the basic machinery like water supply schemes and dig wells by government but in some remote areas people are still fetching water from wells and fresh water streams. The Aryan race resembles the traditional lifestyle of the present-day Pakhtun (Abdul Qadir, 2016).

In addition, there are a few other important conventional practices and the traditions of Pakhtunwali contain *Melmastia* (hospitality), *Badal* (revenge), *Jirga* (assembly of elders for conflict resolution or welfare of community), *Nagha* (penalty/fine if someone violates the decision made by the community elders), *Waak* (delegation of power to make a decision to bring peace), *Nanawati* (someone's act of requesting forgiveness), *Chega* (mutual gathering for protection or guarding against oppressor or attackers), *Baramta* (recovery of demanded money), *Balandra* (contribution to a voluntary or social work activities), *Swara* (marrying a girl in enemy's family in order to finish a feud), *Walwar* (asking for bride money), *Khoon-Baha* (blood money, the family of victim demand for a sum), *Matiza* (a female who escapes with her lover she is liable to be killed), *Bonga* (kidnapping someone and demand for money more like a mafia) and *Zhagh* (when a male is failed to marry a girl he fires gun shots in the air in the front of her house to warn the community that he has a claim on that her). Some of the components of Pakhtunwali are disappearing from the general Pakhtun population due to education and modernization.

For instance, *Swara*, *Bonga*, and *Zhagh* but they may still exist in some of the remote tribal areas of Waziristan and Khyber agency near Afghanistan border but can't be seen in other settled Pakhtun area. Thus, all these above-mentioned traditions and practices constitute the salient features of Pakhtunwali and the whole Pakhtun society revolves around these institutions of Pakhtunwali. Moreover, hierarchy is almost invisible while egalitarian practices are always promoted among the Pakhtun tribes. There isn't any concept in existence in Pakhtun society regarding superiority or inferiority and no tribe is considered better or worse in comparison to the others.

1.4.2 The Jirga (The Assembly of Elders for Conflict Resolution)

Meanwhile, Jirga is the main pillar of Pakhtunwali as all the disputes related to land, money or regarding women are decided and solved through Jirga. Hence Jirga plays a pivotal role in the dispensation of justice in the society. (Abdul Qadir, 2016). It's very hard to get actual data regarding Pakhtun women especially in the tribal areas. A man cannot say openly if he likes or are interested in a Pakhtun girl as it considers *Paighore* (dishonor). They do not announce the pregnancy of a woman that is based upon the same concerns. Later, people of the community will learn about the baby's birth through their female family members or relatives. That could be the reason that any census statistics concerning to women is always in doubts and imperfect. Majority of people from the FATA areas are considered out of the space of bureaucracy, and the documentation of their social events and activities including marriages, births, and deaths are not registered by the official from the statistics department of Pakistan. Still, it is possible to get an overall picture of the trend of the marriages of tribal people through interviews from the local people and from the government officials who work in the administrative division of FATA secretariat and with Khyber Pakhtunkhwa provincial government. (Khan, 2011).

Pakhtun society is the largest tribal society living on earth that inhabits alongside the border between Afghanistan and Pakistan, in the famous Khyber Pass and the surrounding areas. Pakhtunwali is the basic ethical code is the supervisory strength for it's over 50 million (2012) members around the world. The major tribes of Pakhtun people and their characteristics, their rigid and beautiful land, their turbulent history, and daily lives are presented concisely and systematically. James. W. Spain describes the Pakhtun tribal society in which they live, containing the code of honor they need to abide. W. Spain. (Oxford 1973). The Pakhtunwali is a totally nationalistic 'principle' that is covered with the requirement for *Izzat* (respect) as well as *Nang* (honor), as the entry of the outsiders is not accepted in someone's property without permission and considers as a gross abuse of Pakhtun honor and carries on the code of *Haya* or dignity. Pakhtunwali has been used for basic communication and interactions between Pakhtun communities and as a tool of social behavior and collaboration for centuries by the Pakhtun people all over the world.

Pakhtunwali has been used for basic communication and interactions between Pakhtun communities and as a tool of social behavior and collaboration for centuries by the Pakhtun people all over the world. It seems like the Taliban has used Pakhtunwali as an ideal ground on conceptual base to challenge what it understands as foreign impact, assaults and struggles to force foreign dummy governments in both the Pakhtun populated areas of Pakistan and Afghanistan.¹ (Vern Liebl, 2007). According to some researchers, Pakhtun tribes, Pakhtunwali and how they influence reconciliation and rehabilitation determinations in Afghanistan are different than the non-Pakhtun tribes of Afghanistan like Uzbek, Tajik, Hazara etc. The Pakhtun people of the tribal society always prefer to manage their matters through their own Pakhtunwali ethical code which play an important role in their daily activities. Some professionals have specified that the security issues that the United States is facing today in Afghanistan could be the reason of Pakhtun and their social and ethical code of Pakhtunwali while dealing with Pakhtun tribe.² The other tribal groups of Afghanistan are peaceful in comparison with Pakhtun tribes and they do not pose the same sort of challenges to the national security. Jonathan N. Amato: ProQuest Michigan (2012).

This study observes the role of the Pakhtun tribes and Pakhtunwali that tries to wrench militant rebels a way from making the tribal areas of Pakistan a battle field for not only Pakhtun tribes but other actors as well. The foundation of the tribal legal system stands on both the Islamic rules of law and the Pakhtunwali ethical code. It can be seen at time when Islam is in conflict with some provisions that are also supported by Pakhtunwali as Pakhtun tribe was in existence much longer than Islam started to spread on earth. The mechanism for dispute resolution is the Jirga, or council of elders that has been used through centuries in Pakhtun community and is much related to Islamic law of conflict resolution. In majority of Pakhtun tribes, Jirga decisions have the power of implementation, for example, the Durrani tribe strictly followed the decisions of Jirga but in some other communities like Waziri and Mahsudi tribes of the Karlanri branch, and Jirga decisions are optional in nature.

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1. Role of Jirga in Pakhtun Society an Analysis with Special Reference to justice dispensation JPUHS, Vol.29, No.2, July - December, 2016 Retrieved 2018-02-10.
 2. Vern Liebl (2007) Pushtuns, Tribalism, Leadership, Islam and Taliban: A Short View, Small Wars & Insurgencies, 18:3, 492-510, DOI: 10.1080/09592310701674481

They have a choice to agree or disregard with the decisions of Jirga depends on the priority of a person, family or a group. The kinds of Jirga that are conducted by the tribal elders are commonly intra-tribal and intra-Khel related Jirgas. The leaders of the Sufi sects of Islam usually conduct the Inter-tribal and Inter-Khel Jirgas because they are more religious and less bias in decision making process. That's why people wanted to solve their conflicts through these moderators and they were out of tribal allegiance structure as well. Meanwhile, in Tirah a remote area of Khyber agency where Pakhtun people are inhabitant, they still strictly follow the same tradition of Pakhtunwali as such respecting guest to the core by providing them with the best food and showing extreme humbleness and hospitality. According to some visitors, who witnessed that area have seen people in Tirah are presenting lambs and goats to honor the guests and make a big feast to feed them. It is very hard to find these kinds of examples in other Pakhtun areas these days. Especially people living in the settle areas like Islamabad, Lahore, Karachi, Peshawar, Kohat and working as government employees would not go that far to honor guests. They would simply try to avoid entertaining guests as much as they can even in some cases they would ignore their close relatives such as first cousins.

There are people in Pakhtun tribe they would also look at the status of the person and treat them accordingly for example a rich and elite class, authoritative Pakhtun guest would get more attention and respect than the common Pakhtun. In some cases, a person would avoid their first cousin if he doesn't have the same authority or power or same social status. Some Pakhtun people who live in the cities would give a lot of respect to the other Pakhtun relatives just to show his power and social status so he could be respected back home in the tribal area. Due to the Islamic fundamentalist groups like Al-Qaeda and Taliban impact the Jirga system of mediation in Pakhtun areas seems to be decreasing, though it has been frequently used in the past for conflict resolutions. The Soviets and the communist regime of Afghanistan killed and expelled majority of the influential Sufi leaders in Afghanistan. They considered them as a threat what they had experienced in 1920s and 1930s in shape of a great anticommunist resistance by Sufi leaders in Central Asia. It is easy for central governments of Islamabad and Kabul to apply a measure of mechanism or at least probability with tribal administration and create interactions through these Jirga systems.

Jirga helps creating an environment for conflict resolutions that transmit the influence of tribal regulation in implementation but eventually no representative of a tribe is strictly forced by Jirga verdicts. The Jirga can elect a person or a clan group (Khel), that can lead the process of mediation or maintain any conflict inside or outside the tribal territory. The Jirga mechanism demonstrates the democratic style of the assembly that is always arranged as a circle. All members are technically equal in that circle and disagreement or rejection to accept the result is indicated by just standing up and leave the circle by walking away from the gathering. Consequently, upon the settlement to agree or disagree to a decision made by all the remaining members the Jirga will end.¹ Pakhtu is the term specified to the valor, intellect of that time and *Lex non scripta* of the nation in Latin expression that means “the law unwritten or unwritten law” Rome-i-Sultan; 2006).

Pashto, Pakthu, Pakhtun, Pakhtunwali are usually used as identical expressions. Pakhtun people of the tribal areas in comparison with settled areas Pakhtun didn't change much. They are still practicing their old way of life and Pakhtunwali can be seen in their speeches, actions and deeds. They use the main Pakhtunwali components like *Rewaj* and Jirga and daily lives. (Khan; 2008). Pakhtun people are strong believers of Islam and majority of them are from the Sunni sect of Islam. There are a few tribes that are related to the Shia Sect including Orakzai tribe in Orakzai Agency, Bangash tribe in Meranzai valley and Turis tribe in Kurram valley. Majority of population in the above-mentioned areas are Shia Muslims tribes and they strictly follow their Shia faith while practicing all its rituals with the zeal. Hence, consociate of the belief of Islam is restricted and usually irrational and vulnerable to the authority of their clerics, or mullahs. There are events and tales of *Ghazis*, religious devotees who brawled in the definite belief and desire that they were protected to the opponent's gunshot. Saints and spiritual leaders offered governance and organizing ability in an extremely sectarian and sectioned tribal organization. They implemented religious and constitutional authority around the tribesmen and it was on interpretation of their spiritual desire and passion that they declared a religious war (Jihad); challenged the British invasion and further external interference.

1. Vern Liebl (2007) Pushtuns, Tribalism, Leadership, Islam and Taliban: A Short View, *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, 18:3, 492-510, DOI: 10.1080/09592310701674481. Retrieved 2017-12-10.

They implemented religious and constitution authority around the tribesmen and it was on interpretation of their spiritual desire and passion that they declared a religious war (Jihad); challenged the British invasion and further external interference.

1.5 Terrorism/Extremism

It seems like the incidence of terrorism that happened on September 11th in the United States by crashing the airplanes in the famous twin towers seems like a political aspect of these kinds of activities. (Nacos 2006) is at the view that this form of terrorism is an act of international and American perspective related to latest and past tendencies some famous professionals in the course, openly describes terrorism's various reasons, players, actors, and policies, forms anti- and counter-terrorist reactions, and features terrorism's connection related with common people and mass media and communication. Nacos (2006). The extremist must have a special team or organizations that help them support and plan their terrorist activities to terrorize people of a specific area. There may be specific goals behind introducing terrorism to a specific region. In case of FATA's Dara Adam Khel extremism can be seen in different ways. Presenting terrorism in a peaceful area where there is no government legislation or rule of law system but still people are having a peaceful living and using their own traditional way of life Pakhtunwali,

Jirga system to resolve their issues willingly which is acceptable to all the local people. Many actors and events are highlighting in response to presenting extremist activities and brining Talibanization into the tribal areas¹. To protect the State from outside misadventure and defeat the decade's long rival which was always against the state of Pakistan on international level is by Taliban and other extremists, it seems like this game was worth playing. In fact, there is a big loss to the economy and international degradation but according to the bureaucracy of Pakistan; it's for the protection of the State. The presence of Taliban insurgent in the tribal areas are like a wind, you won't know, who they are, how they came and how the spread all over and took all the area just in days.

1. Vern Liebl (2007) Pushtuns, Tribalism, Leadership, Islam and Taliban: A Short View, Small Wars & Insurgencies, 18:3, 492-510, DOI: 10.1080/09592310701674481. Retrieved 2017-11-17

They were so quick in their conducts that the local people were scared of their own shadows. Local people were not openly talking about the cruelty of the Taliban. The priority for Taliban was to stop the youth going from schools so that started bombing schools first to stop the kids of the tribal areas from getting education. Secondly, they ordered people to resign from NGOs and government employments because according to them government of Pakistan is following instruction from the U.S. which is totally against the teachings of Islam and wants to destroy Islamic countries. For them the United States is an evil country that are destroying nations for their personal gains and bringing their style of democracy that suits them well by empowering women and bringing vulgarism. Many local people are looking for the main reason behind the extremism in Pakhtun areas. They have lost a lot and they are thinking of how long this terrorism going to last for? People still don't know the actors behind this whole scenario and what would be impact of this brutal system on Pakhtunwali ethical code? It has posed a big threat to the organizational structure of Pakhtun society. Mostly, Pakhtun youth has been presented as terrorist to the world that Pakhtunwali is adding fuel to the heat of extremism. On one side Pakhtun itself is dying on the other side they have been train as terrorist for self-destruction on all aspects of life i.e. socially, financially, ethically and culturally. It is worth exploring to find out the financers and the main reason behind spreading terrorism in this area. (Nacos 2006). The history of modern international terrorism begins in 1958 with the Cuban hijacking of an aircraft bond for Miami. The changing political orientation of the enemy, the growing violence of their attacks, and the blundering responses by the U.S. government: inaction, impotent verbal assaults, and ill-conceived acts of retaliation. (Piszkiewicz 2003).

1.6 Organization of the Study

This study has been organized in six Chapters. Chapter one introduces the research work and its objectives, purpose, literature review and statement of the problem including background and history of FATA and Dara. It explains the Pakhtunwali code of honor, people's life style, education, businesses and culture in detail, history of FATA and discusses of Pakhtunwali before and after militancy. Jirga and its importance have been discussed in detail.

Chapter two gives detail information about FATA and Dara Adam Khel and its administrative division, Tribal agencies, its governance, the spread of militancy in FATA, recruitment of Taliban, the militancy implementation in FATA areas and Dara, formation of terrorist and FATA before and after militancy. This chapter gives detail literature about the use of religion for violence in different parts of the world. It also includes militancy's relations with Jihad, its rules and actual meaning of Jihad from the Holy Quran's point of view was explained in detail. A few events have been documented which explain the real meaning of Jihad and its importance. For some people in the West especially the main stream media portray Jihad as declaring war against the non-Muslims but interestingly it has a totally different meaning which has nothing to do with warfare.

The chapter also discusses some events of militancy around the world to have a better understanding of militancy and its emergence in specific areas and its reasons. This chapter contains Dara before and after militancy that explains people's actions and behavior in their community and the shift of change after the entrance of militancy the Pakistani military deployment to FATA region. It gives an overview of Islamic doctrine of Jihad. A brief introduction of Sharia law has been added to this chapter as well. Chapter three has been assigned for theoretical framework that includes the basic theory of Religion and Terrorism, Conflict theory and Religion and the Terrorism and Culture theory.

Chapter four includes the methodology section which explains the techniques including questioners, focus group discussions, Jirga participation and case studies used for this research. Chapter five contains the Interviews and case studies sections, where the detail information during the interviews has been documented with all the necessary detail which was related to this research. Surveys analysis is also included in this chapter.

Chapter six consist of conclusion, the summary of the key findings, survey analysis, theoretical implications, Policy implications, limitations of the study and suggestions for further research has been added to this chapter. References and Annex has been added to the end of the research work.

1.7 Background and History (FATA)

The region was won from the Sikh Empire in 19th century during the British colonial period. Although the British never succeeded in completely calming unrest in the region, it served as a buffer zone from unrest in Afghanistan.¹ The British Raj attempted to control the population of the captured tribal regions with the Frontier Crimes Regulations (FCR), which gave considerable power to govern the local nobles as long as these nobles were willing to meet the needs of the British lords. Owing the elites assigning free unrestricted authority into the influences of the assistant political Agent, causing in inclusive social justices' encroachments, the FCR is also called as the "black law" in the tribal areas of Pakistan.² The included frontier region bordering Afghanistan remains with the similar authority following the liberation of Pakistan in 1947. It was there throughout the State of Pakistan in 1947 and afterwards when it changed into the Islamic republic of Pakistan in 1956. Similarly, in 1970s tourists over the Khyber Pass, a kind of people who like to take the Hippie Trail, remained advised to be near the main road and don't go far because the government of Pakistani took no authority around the tribal areas. According to the United States Institute of Peace, the atmosphere of the area experienced a change started in the year 1980s. Mujahedeen arrived to go on a war alongside the Jirgas as partners of the CIA Operation Cyclone; they both remained divergent to militaries of the Soviet Union proceeding to the collapse of the Berlin Wall and fall of Soviet Union. (Christine, Howenstein, Alexander, 2006).

1.7.1 Social and Political History

Whenever people of the western world think about the "tribal culture" they routinely imagine barbaric, illiterate, ignorant, unsophisticated, backward, and uneducated people. Continuous disorder in countries like Afghanistan, Iraq and Somalia, for example, is frequently recognized to tribal society.

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1. Bjørge, Tore; John Horgan (2009). *Leaving Terrorism Behind: Individual and Collective Disengagement*. Taylor & Francis. p. 227. ISBN 0-203-88475-2.
 2. "Analysis: Pakistan's tribal frontiers". BBC. 14 December 2001. Retrieved 2009-05-19.

It is a comprehensive conclusion as in several occasions historical, geopolitical and in fact religious elements regularly played an extra important part than the influence of tribal culture in expressing the reasons underdevelopment and intensity. Pakhtun ethnic society is usually represented as the core source after their encouragement and compassion for Al-Qaeda and Taliban. This study examines these concepts by reviewing the information of the Pakhtun tribes that reside the seven tribal agencies from Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas boarding Afghanistan. The citizens of Pakistan's Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province (KP) and Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and the nearby eastern areas of Afghanistan are tremendously inhabited by Pakhtun people with an overall population of over 38-40 million.¹ A huge number of Pakhtun people live in Baluchistan province and the metropolitan city in the business hub Karachi.

In Geography, FATA is from north to south, making a 1,200-kilometer block amongst Afghanistan and the urban settled regions of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, (NWFP) in the past. In 1893, Pakhtun people had been divided between Afghanistan and the British Indian through The Durand Line. While, this demarcation has remained observed through prodigious disapproval and bitterness by Pakhtun people on both side of the region. After the creation of Pakistan in 1947, the Durand Line had been seen a main source of a tension among Afghanistan and Pakistan.² Pakhtun people are free by nature. They don't like to be controlled. They have never been dominated in their 3000 years of History, that's one of the reasons that they don't have that slavery in their genes. They were temporarily attacked by Genghis Khan and Tamerlane but not like occupied regions in the world. There are a huge number of Pakhtun tribes included the sub clans but the major and well know tribes are minimum around 60 and maximum aver 400. The "Afridi" tribe is the major tribe, a well know, dominant, famous and the largest them all. Other tribes including Achakzai, Bangash, Durrani, Khattak, Mehsud, Mohmmadzai, Mohmand, Orakzai, Shinwari, Yousafzai and Wazir are the major tribes of Pakhtun nation.

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1. Khan, Ismail (2007). "Plan ready to curb militancy in Fata, settled areas". *Newsweek international edition*. Dawn.com. Archived from [the original](#) on 2007-07-11. Retrieved on 2017-06-10.
 2. li, Shaheen Sardar; Javaid Rehman (2001). *Indigenous peoples and ethnic minorities of Pakistan: constitutional and legal perspectives*. Routledge. p. 52. ISBN 0-7007-1159-7.

Pakhtunwali is the basic law of all these tribes which is followed by Pakhtun people all over the world. It's a pre-Islamic Pakhtun tribal ethical code which stresses on hospitality, bravery, generosity, asylum, protection, revenge and honor. Chivalry and Honor are the symbol of Pakhtun tradition and Pakhtunwali. Associated to this extremely ingrained characters and tribal superiority, the "notion of Pakistan" has showed to be a lesser aspect in affecting the uniqueness and atmosphere of these communities, even though in 1947 the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province, (NWFP) at that time and the tribal agencies decided to be a part of Pakistan instead of India.

1.8 Pakhtun Social Structure and Pakhtunwali

The Pakhtun social structure that has attracted the attention of many scholars is mainly governed by conventions and traditions and a code of honor known as Pakhtunwali. This un-written code is a keystone of the arch of the Pakhtun social fabric. It exercises a great influence on their actions and has been held by them generation after generation. The only notable governing institution within the Pakhtun social fabric is Jirga (the assembly or council of elders), which acts as a mechanism for conflict resolution among Pakhtun tribes at all levels of the society. Jirga a traditional mechanism of conflict resolution among the local people and has a strong potential to contribute to this culture.¹ Pakhtunwali represents a standard course of action for a Pashtun which has been historically constructed, shared, and agreed upon to be collectively followed by the society. In this logic 'Pakhtunwali' represents a group of rules that standardize the everyday lives of all Pashtuns to diverse levels. There is an undeniable point of vitality in 'Pakhtunwali' as it advances with circumstance and capacity.² A distinctive Pakhtun can share Pakhtunwali culture through interaction with tribal Pakhtun society and through contribution in formative way, to 'exercise Pakhtunwali' in the light of the fundamental rules and mutual respect. The Pakhtun code of life overshadows the value judgments of religion, state law and other ethical codes. Any action that can be validated over 'Pakhtunwali' is generally acceptable.

1. <https://jamestown.org/program/profiles-of-pakistans-seven-tribal-agencies/>

Retrieved on 2017-03-17.

2. http://dapukhtoon.com/culture_detail.php?id=44 Retrieved on 2017-11-09.

The significance of main principles remains steady and in Pakhtun narration they were experienced at the price of huge amount of lives. Thus, it can be projected that the time experienced, main beliefs of Pakhtunwali can be characterized as a collective string between Pakhtun. Consequently, the 'Pakhtunwali' model form would be an endless exemplary portraying Pakhtun social authenticity as it lived continuous, steady and balance for over four centuries at least. (Ahmed, 1980, p.88). Pakhtunwali is the code of life as understood, interpreted and practiced by Pakhtun. It is the essential of social behavior for Pakhtun although unwritten and not expressed exclusively it is part-fiction and part-reality and can be found in the songs, proverbs, metaphors thus never away from the individual's mind (Ahmad, 1978)

Academics have recognized a superimposing set of principles as a key of Pakhtunwali. Ahmad (1978) accomplishes that Pakhtunwali functions in the social and traditional life of Pakhtun, (especially rural areas) and Pakhtun from all walks of life contribute in modeling the multidimensional and friendly description of their social and political life.

Generally, Pakhtun use the word 'Pakhtun' as an abbreviation for five basic principles of Puth, *Khegara*, *Turah*, *Wafa* and *Nang*. Additional principals of Pakhtunwali are *Badal*, *Milmastya*, *Nanawatey*, *Hujra* and *Jirga*.

- *Naamus* – Naamus refers to the protection of women. A Pakhtun must protect the honor of women at all costs and must defend them from verbal and physical harm.
- *Ghayrat* – Ghayrat refers to self-honor or dignity. Pakhtun must maintain their human dignity. They must respect themselves and others.
- *Badal*: (revenge) an important element, that can be taken today or 100 years later.
- *Wafa*: (loyalty/Faithful) Duty to family, kin, tribe & nation
- *Nanawatey*, refers to the repentance over past hostility and granting of asylum.
- *Panah*-(asylum) People are protected at all costs; even those running from the law must be given refuge until the situation can be clarified.
- *Puth*: (self-esteem) Pride & protection of self-respect
- *Milmastya* (Hospitality) respecting and honoring a guest in available resources.

- *Kheegara*: (Welfare) societal; selfless act
- *Nang*: (honor) The most significant principal. Nangyalay means the honorable Nang means the honor, protection and defense of weak people within the Pakhtun community.
- *Turah (bravery)* – Turah means to be brave. A Pakhtun must guard his land, property, family and women from incursions.
- *Hujra*- (a common guest house for male members, an institution of learning, promotion and the transformation of Pakhtunwali from one generation to another.
- *Jirga*- an assembly of elders and an institution for conflict resolution in Pakhtun society. The Jirga members bring peace and work for mutual understanding between community members and work as mediator.

Tribal areas generally mean, those areas, which are having tribal population with distinct culture, specific geography and internally independence. The tribesmen belong to the racial stock called the Pathans, who call themselves Pashtuns, Pakhtun, or sometimes Afghans.

1.9 Pakhtunwali before Militancy

Before militancy there was a strong control of Pakhtunwali (code of principle) in the FATA. The people of the tribal areas were following the traditional way of life the Pakhtunwali ethical code with peace and prosperity. After the US invasion of Afghanistan in 2001 and attacks on “Taliban” in Afghanistan, the militants entered in FATA areas of Pakistan for self-protection and further strategies.¹ The Taliban were well aware of the area and understood the tribal custom and tradition. They got asylum according to the Pakhtunwali element “*Pana*” and provoked the local people for “*Jihad*-The Holy War” to adjust themselves in the tribal society and gain supports against the invader i.e. (NATO). Local people gave them respect and place to live as guests which is Pakhtun culture.²

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1. "In Pakistan, Long-Suffering Pashtuns Find Their Voice". *The New York Times*. 2018-02-06. Retrieved on 2018-02-07.
 2. Books.google.com. Retrieved on 2017-03-08.

With the pressure from the United States, Pakistan dispatched 80,000 troops into the FATA areas in March 2004 to search for Al-Qaeda operatives. They were met with violent confrontation from Pakistani Taliban. The elders didn't negotiate; in fact, the Taliban came forward and had a ceasefire with the Pakistani security forces a warning of the extent so that Pakistani Taliban could take control of the situation. (Robert, Tarzi, 2008). Pakistani army went to North and South Waziristan, many times between 2004 to 2006 but the Taliban were showing a great confrontation. It wasn't easy for the army to hunt them down easily. A Peace accords between Pakistan army and tribal elders entered into in 2004 and 2006 set terms whereby the tribesmen in the area would stop attacking Afghanistan, and the Pakistanis would cease major military engagements against the FATA region, release all prisoners, and permit tribesmen to carry small guns.¹ Pakistan's National Security Council had a meeting on June 4th, 2007 to agree on the future planning of Waziristan. The main purpose of that meeting was to look for the measurements and have some political solutions to get rid of "Talibanization" in the tribal area. Ex-president and army Chief Pervez Musharraf hosted a summit together among all the four provinces chief ministers, governors and heads of the departments.² They discussed the deteriorating law and order situation and the threat posed to state security. To crush the armed militancy in the Tribal regions and Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa, the government decided to intensify and reinforce law enforcement and military activity and take action against certain Madrasas and block illegal radio stations. (Khan, Ismail 2007).

1.10 Pakhtunwali: The Tribal Code of Honor

Authoritative and power structure are in the hands of community elders and political administration to resolve the conflict and maintain peace and stability in the tribal areas. *Hujra* is considered the major social institution and the transformation of Pakhtunwali code of life would deliver to the future generation of Pakhtun society.³

1. John Pike. "Fire Base Shkin / Fire Base Checo". Globalsecurity.org. Retrieved on 2017-03-08.

2. Ibid

3. https://beta.images.theglobeandmail.com/archive/00231/Tribal_Law_of_Pasht_231142a.pdf
Retrieved on 2017-12-10.

The Map of Pakistan

The map of Pakistan shows its four provinces, Baluchistan, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Punjab and Sindh with the semi provincial Northern Areas, The Gilgit Baltistan, Azad Kashmir and Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA).



Source: <https://www.vectorstock.com/royalty-free-vector/pakistan-map-vector-1608065>

CHAPTER TWO: AREA PROFILE

2.1 FATA and Pakhtunwali

The FATA areas are in Pakistan's jurisdiction but still it works as a sovereign region and govern by their own tribal system where political agent is the head of each frontier region. Subsequently, during the British Raj era, these areas were considered as protected areas and were operational with its own rule of law between the British and Russians empires. Though some of the tribes were favoring and supporting the British government for financial and other supportive accomplishments. The tribal governance system of independent autonomous structure went on until the establishment of Pakistan in 1947. Jirga (the assembly of the tribal elders) works for the solution of political and regional conflicts and conflict resolution mechanism in the tribal areas.¹ These areas were totally independent without any court or rule of law by Pakistani government. However, the Jirga members of the tribal areas were given a choice to become the members of the ruling government party in Pakistan's National Assembly for the representation of the FATA area up until 1997. They were always giving a chance to vote in support of the current government because of their loyalty to the Pakistani state, in fact there was no actual obligation to the government of Pakistan by tribal leaders. (Abbas, 2006).

According to the 2017 national census report by the federal ministry of statics, the population of FATA is over 5 million), FATA areas are around 27,220 square kilometers.² The literacy rate by the official statistics is not clear and but due to militancy and the demolition of the government schools and other educational institutes, the literacy rate could hardly cross the double figures. Basic facilities are limited due to the Soviet Union invasion of Afghanistan in 1980s, the modern arms are in profuse supply.³ The Political agents are the main representatives to the center Islamabad and designate consistent compensations to local elders, leaders (called Maliks).

1. <http://www.pbs.gov.pk> Retrieved on 2017-08-25.

2. "Pak population increased by 46.9% between 1998 and 2011". *The Times of India*. Retrieved on 2017-11-15.

3. <https://www.rferl.org/a/pakistan-first-census-decades/28370342.html> Retrieved 2017-08-10.

There are electricity poles installed in all over tribal region but there is no electricity. They don't pay any bills neither any tax applies on the tribal areas and its people. FATA is mostly mountainous area and there is a little land about seven percent of the land is able to be cultivated. That's why majority of the local people's businesses are transportation, working as migrant workers, drug trafficking, arms and ammunitions smuggling from Afghanistan through some remote mountains ways into Pakistan and in Dara Adam Khel. There are car lifters and illegal smuggling of arms on the both side of Pakistan and Afghanistan. Arms are considered to be the ornament for men in Pakhtun culture that's why they carry their arms all the time but due to militancy, mass media and communication and social networking the culture is on decline.

Local people prefer to use new technology like cell phone, computers and notebook and a pen instead of a gun. Liberalism obviously footings influence and foreign extremists from some central Asian and Arab countries are grooming here in this society due to their marriages and relationships with the local people of the tribal areas. Administrative division FATA has been allocated into seven agencies Khyber, Kurram, Orakzai, Mohmand, Bajaur, North Waziristan and South Waziristan and there six small territories of FATA called Frontier Regions (FR). These are territories are transition zones among the neighboring established districts of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province and FATA.

The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa provincial government and the tribal agencies are mutually administered including (FR Peshawar and FR Tank) and together they make over 275,000 residents (Abbas, 2006). The law that applies on the tribal areas are called Frontier Crimes Regulations (FCR). The geographical location of FATA fall on the South there is the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province and Baluchistan is on the East and North West is Afghanistan's provinces of Paktiya, Kunar, Khost and Nangarhar. The tribal areas are totally occupied by Pakhtun people and they not only live in FATA but the other provinces of Pakistan like KP, Punjab and Sind as well. They are mainly Muslims and follow the religious beliefs to the core. The famous cities in the FATA areas are Razmak, Parachinar, Wana, Miramshah, Landi Kotal, Jamrud and Dara Adam Khel.

There was an announcement by the central government on March 24, 2017, with the official suggestion that FATA should be merged in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province through FATA reforms committee which also includes the cancellation of the Black Law, the Frontier Crimes Regulations the (FCR). This whole process may take around five years to implement properly in the tribal areas by 2022. (The News, 2017).

2.2 Administrative Division of FATA

The Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) are divided into two categories i.e. Agencies (Tribal Districts) and Frontier Regions (FRs). A total of seven tribal agencies with six Frontier Regions are the tribal territory.

Tribal Agencies

- Bajaur Agency
- Khyber Agency
- Kurram Agency
- Mohmand Agency
- Orakzai Agency
- North Waziristan Agency
- South Waziristan Agency

Frontier Regions

The Frontier Regions are situated just next to the bordering settled Districts. These areas are control by the District Coordination Officer/Deputy Commissioner of the settled district with same name, situated next to each frontier region. The FATA Secretariat is responsible for all the administrative work of the frontier regions. It's headquarter is in Peshawar city and the Governor of Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa is reported and informed with over all activities related to the tribal areas.



Source: http://democracy-reporting.org/dri_publications/report-electoral-conditions-in-the-federally-administered-tribal-areas-of-pakistan/

These are the six regions (from North to South)

- Frontier Region Peshawar
- Frontier Region Kohat
- Frontier Region Bannu
- Frontier Region Lakki Marwat
- Frontier Region Dera Ismail Khan

2.2.1 Governance

The FATA region is governed by the federal government of Pakistan from Islamabad and controls the FATA region. The Governor of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa uses the central power in the perspective of the Federally Administered Tribal Areas for the President of Pakistan. Frontier Crimes Regulations (FCR) law that was mounted by the British Raj in 1901 is the basic law in FATA region from the government of Pakistan as well, which is also called the “Black Law”. Article 247 and Article 248 of current 1973 Constitution of Pakistan say, that FATA and Provincially Administered PATA areas are not in the authority of the Supreme Court and High court of Pakistan, neither the Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Assembly has any authority over FATA areas. The KP provincial government can only use their power in PATA that falls inside the provincial government territories. Those Pakhtun communities who live in these areas are independent. These tribes had good friendly relations with the government of Pakistan until the collapse of Taliban government in Afghanistan. (Bajer, 2007).

The tribal areas have, their representatives in both the National Assembly and the Senate of Pakistan. The National assembly have 12 members and 8 members are selected for the Senate of Pakistan who represents the people of the tribal areas in National Assembly. The Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa’s provincial assembly doesn’t have any members or representatives to represent the people of FATA provincially. Each tribal agency is administered by a Political Agent (PA). His job is to manage law and order situation through local elders and Maliks in the tribal areas and report it to the President through the present-day Governor of Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa. The appointment of the Political Agents and Tehseeldars are depending on the size of the agency. Some of the tribal agencies have two or three Assistant Political agents and three or ten Tehseeldars with the supporting staff depending on the need of the political agent office. The administrative system of frontier regions is a bit different than the tribal agencies. For example, The Deputy Commissioner or the District Coordination Officer (DC/DCO) of the settled district i.e. Peshawar is administered by the Frontier Region Peshawar.

The Assistant Political Agent, Tehseeldars, assistant Tehseeldars and all other supportive staff work under the command of the (DC/DCO). 2-3000 Khasadars (local people as security men) irregular Levies force and Para military Frontier Corp's, three to nine division are appointed for law and order situation in the tribal agencies and its borders Pakistan's regular army officers command the Frontier Corps Force and its soldiers are recruited mostly from the Pakhtun tribes. The law and order situation has however, improved after successive military operations carried out by Pakistan Army in Bajaur, Swat, Waziristan, Orakzai and Mohmand agencies.

2.3 Profiles of FATA's Seven Tribal Agencies

1. **Khyber Agency:** The Khyber Agency originates this name from renowned Khyber Pass, which is a significant root for both business and family connections between Afghanistan and Pakistan. Afridi and Shinwari are the main inhabitants of Khyber agency and its population is over 500,000.

Afridi's are generally recognized as brave and courageous Pakhtun tribe but according to British historians they are recalcitrant and unfaithful due to standing against the British Raj and fighting against their injustice in the Tribal areas during British Raj. However, those Afridis who are short tempered are considered as good fighters. They are very active in picking their fights and making associations. They admire Sufis (mystics) and their shrines that intellectually support the Barelvi Sunnis, who are the remedy of traditional and pro-Taliban Deobandi groups. The Afridi tribe is also famous for its great intellectuals who are not only recognized in Pakistan but all over the world.

The second largest and influential tribe in Khyber Agency is Shinwari who are mostly inhabited in the Afghanistan province of Ningarhar. They are mostly related to their business activities and great businessmen. Recently, Khyber agency was in news, due to some of its pro-Taliban religious leaders and its illegal FM radio station which was encouraging extremist ideology. (Dawn, December 2, 2004; Dawn, December 19, 2005).

2. **Kurram Agency:** Kurram Agency is relatively easily reachable than the other tribal agencies. Turi and Bangash are the main two tribes residing in Kurram Agency and it has over 45,000 populations. It has some fertile land and is famous for its beautiful gardens and orchids. People of Bangash tribe of Khurram agency, largely follows the Shiite sect of Islam that's why they were considered the pro-Northern Alliance who were anti-Taliban in Afghanistan during Afghan civil war. The Turkic origin Turi tribe is considered to be very strong and good horseback riders. They are also from the Shiite sect of Islam and they have Deobandi sections and pro-Taliban in the area. There are a few non-Shiite militants in Kurram Agency and also support Taliban but not on a big scale, they just have ideological understanding with them. (Abbas, 2006).

3. **Bajaur Agency:** Bajaur Agency is the smallest agency and it's very hard to go there due to its location that mostly mountainous location. It has over 600,000 inhabitants and this agency is neighbor to Kunar a Province of Afghanistan which is the center of Taliban extremists. Tarkani, and Utman Khel are the major tribes of Bajaur Agency. A religious as well as Political party, Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA) has a great dominance in this area. The MMA secured two seats for the National Assembly of Pakistan from Bajaur agency and a seat for the Senate of Pakistan to represent its people. The CIA had an aerial strike in Damadola area of Bajour Agency on January 13th, 2006 killing over 18 people (Dawn, 2012). The main purpose of the attack was to target the Al-Qaeda's Ayman al Zawahiri which was later confirmed that he was not among the dead. This attack was highly criticized by the local people and it evoked an extreme anger in the area. A senior member Abu Faraj al-Libbi, of Al-Qaeda was arrested by Pakistan army in May 2005. He confirmed that he had lived in the Bajour Agency for a short time and planned to assassinate the Ex Pakistan's President General Pervez Musharraf. (Dawn, 2012).

4. **Mohmand Agency:** The Mohmand people are the most dominant tribe in Mohmand Agency that's that could be one of the reasons behind its name "Mohmand Agency". It has over 350,000 inhabitants. Mohmand tribe is an influential tribe and their people are very strong and famous for their guerrilla war strategies. Mohmand people are good fighters and they usually describe the detail of their war strategies that they fought recently or in

the past by their ancestors. In fact, Mohmand tribe is well-known, to have given a very tough time to the British government than anybody else in this area. They are famous for their respect and support that they give to their religious scholars and marvelous leaders. Usually, Mullahs are commanding their wars and they have shown a great strength under the control of their religious leaders. They are also famous for keeping and following their traditional culture of the area. Leaders of the Mohmand Agency were really against the idea of having search operations in the tribal area by Pakistani army and U.S. forces in 2003. This stance of the leaders of the Mohmand agency was later, supported by that time of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa government (MMA) (Asia Times, July 15th, 2003). But still ignoring the opposition by the KP government and the leaders of Mohmand Agency, the Pakistani forces led several search operations against the extremists but the Mohmand leaders decided not to collide with them. In fact, Ayman Al-Zawahiri of Al-Qaeda is married to a lady from Mohmand agency that lives in her father's house bordering Mohmand and Bajaur agencies. (Dawn, 2012).

5. **Orakzai Agency:** Orakzai agency is the smallest agencies of all has over 240,000 inhabitants. Mainly Orkazai tribe is the dominant tribe in this agency. Daulatzai is the second famous tribe in Orakzai agency. They have both Shiite and Sunni populations who live next to each other and usually fight due to religious affiliations and different school of thought. Consistent religious conflicts have shrunk the efficiency and power of the Orakzai tribe. The Orakzai agency is the only agency that doesn't have a border with Afghanistan. This agency is famous for some of its influential sons who are playing a vital role in the Pakistani government and establishment making them inspiration in the authority stripe of Pakistan. The Orakzai agency has comparatively higher education's ratio compare to other agencies but it was the first one to blocked NGOs activities in the area, saying they are against Islamic rules and regulations. The local Taliban declared the television an evil thing and announced hard punishment for those who owns it.

6. **North Waziristan:** North Waziristan Agency has the second largest area and it has over 375,000 inhabitants. The people of the North Waziristan are mainly from Wazir and Dawar tribes. The British were having a hard time in Waziristan region during their occupation and it was annoyance for Pakistan as well.

The Wazir tribe was interested in combining the Pakhtun region and making its own state of Pakhtunistan and maintains a good relation with Afghanistan and Pakistan. However, it seems like Pakistan armed forces offered some high ranks positions in Pakistan army to the Wazir tribe. That's why they have a significant number of army officers compared to other tribes in Pakistan army since 1970s. They mainly control the transport business all over Pakistan. Wazir tribe love their traditional music and dance. Waziristan is the strong hold and the base of Taliban but still they carry on their traditional music and cultural dance *Attan* (A traditional Dance). In 2002, Pakistani military started its offensive in Waziristan agency against the Taliban militants and went on a full-scale war with Wazir tribe. Several extremist tribal heads have changed into famous characters in the course. The Pakistan army wanted, to support the government regarding bringing peace in the region but it was like deceiving their local leaders who became hostile and went way far to fight the government and its forces. In 2006, there was a peace agreement signed between the local Wazir tribe leaders of the agency and the Pakistan army. Since then, to control the law and order situation in the Waziristan Agency the Taliban militants have opened their offices in a few cities of the agency. (Daily Times, 2006).

7. South Waziristan: South Waziristan is the largest agency in terms of its land size and it has over 425,000 inhabitants mainly Wazir and Mehsud tribes. The tribesmen of both of these tribes are great fighters and frequently involved in bloody disputes. According to Sir Olaf Caroe the author of the book "The Pathan" Mehsud people are in majority in South Waziristan. They never think of surrendering to an outsider force that entered their land and fight them. They are famous for their most accurate shooting skills and are recognized as trustworthy tribe. They are focusing on education and they have the highest literacy rate for both males and females among all other agencies. People of the South Waziristan tribe are the most independent people. They are famous for their most intellectual and influential people both in government machinery like military services, senior civil officers and in religious circle. The area was highly controlled by the extremist Mullahs. They have two seats in the National Assembly of Pakistan and both were secured by the clerics associated with the MMA. Some militants from Central Asia particularly from Uzbekistan were also living in this area, when extremism was at its peak in the FATA region.

A notorious extremist leader Mullah Naik Muhammad was from South Waziristan who fired rockets towards the government official buildings and military facilities in Peshawar in 2004. He was considered a hero back home in South Waziristan. (Abbas, 2006).

2.4 The Spread of Militancy, Recruitment of Taliban and its Causes

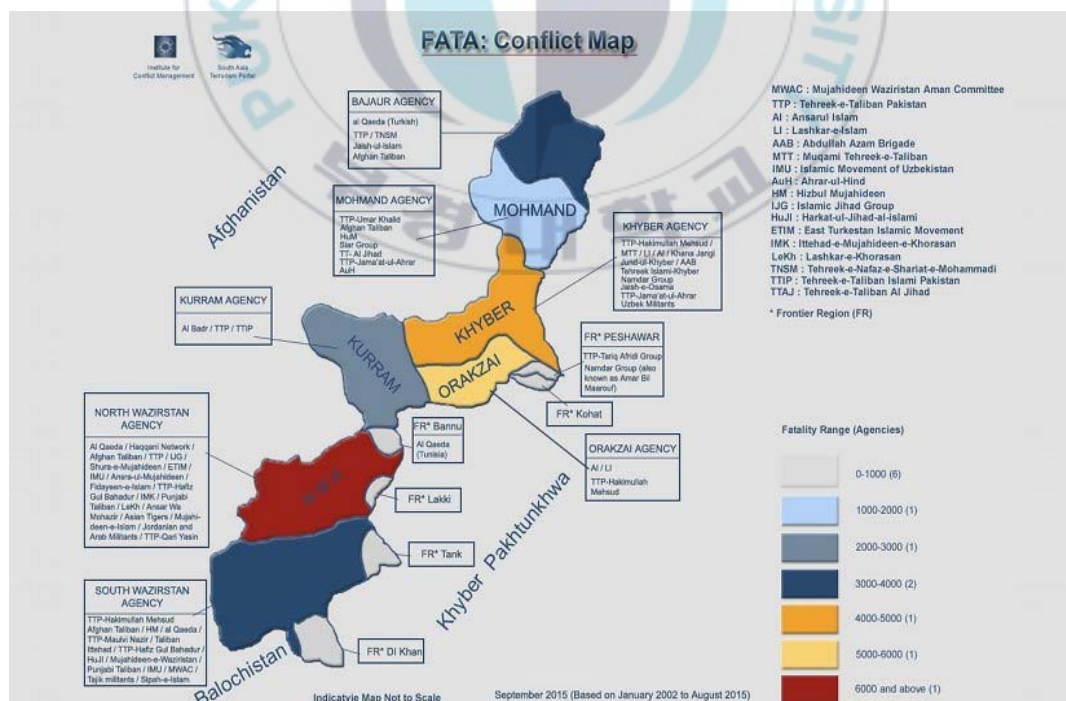
Today, militancy is at its peak in Pakistan and the core cause of this militancy directly leads to the Cold War in 1980s in the battlefield of Afghanistan where the CIA and the ISI were busy arming afghan and local Pakhtun tribal from FATA areas. If we look back in the history, we can conclude that the soviet Afghanistan war played a tremendous role introducing militancy and intolerance in Pakistani society. The communist regime in Afghanistan backed by the Soviet Union was the fundamental cause of this drastic change in this regime. This soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan turned in a war between local communities for power. The flow of weapons totally impacted the Pakistani society. That was the time when Talibanization and Kalashnikov culture got flourished in Pakistani society. Electronic and print media played a crucial role in the introduction and development of this philosophy. The government of Pakistan had never had any problem with tribal people and they were used to call them the unpaid soldier of the country and the brave people of Pakistan. The government never complained about Pakhtunwali or about Pakhtun people or their involvement in any unlawful activities.¹ The main reason of the tribal involvement in this war and joining hands with the Taliban was the NATO and US attack on Afghanistan. Before 9/11 Taliban were ruling Afghanistan and they established their government with name of Islamic Emirates of Afghanistan. When G.W Bush administration decided to attack Afghanistan, majority of Taliban left Afghanistan and fled to the nearby tribal areas of Pakistan.² People on the both side of the Durand Line (the border between Pakistan and Afghanistan) have relationships and families.

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1. <https://www.nytimes.com/1994/03/13/magazine/blowback-from-the-afghan-battlefield.html?pagewanted=all> Retrieved 2017-12-10.
 2. Lamothe, Dan (6 January 2015). "[This new graphic shows the state of the U.S. war in Afghanistan](#)". *Washington post*. Retrieved 21 February 2017.

They have business on both sides so they won't have any problem going and coming back home. Some of the shopkeepers from *Thorkham Lwargey* area which is inside Pakistan goes to Jalal Abad Afghanistan in the morning and comes back home in the evening and similarly from Afghanistan side. Some Afghani kids are studying in Peshawar who goes back home to Afghanistan on the weekend. When Taliban moved to the tribal areas their relatives helped them settled down as guests in the area and gave them places to stay until situation calms down. But soon those members of Taliban group begun mobilizing local people and started making their own groups against the foreign occupation. They started the negative narrative of the Quran and tried to get versus which were encouraging young people to fight against any outside oppressor when it comes to save the religion of Islam. People were already listening to many stories of Jihad in Afghanistan when Americans were encouraging Mujahedeen and call the War "Jihad" against the Soviet Union. In other words, the Taliban were heroes when busy fighting Jihad against the Soviet Union and they were called Mujahedeen but when they turned against the US they became terrorists.

The Pakistani establishment with the weaponry and financial help of the United States CIA and some Islamic scholars started preaching Jihad from Pakistan's biggest province Punjab where they were recruiting madrasas kids from the poor families and send them for Jihad against the Soviet Union. (Javaid, 2011). Whenever there was any trouble with the Pakhtun tribes on the other side of the border, the host community would always come for help and support. This is a kind of culture, the blood relations and the Pakhtunwali which was binding them all together in any kind of situation. Slowly and gradually they started mobilizing a group of young people and started spreading around other neighboring areas of the FATA belt. Their movement against the US and its allies started getting momentum and soon they became a big power in the tribal area. According to Alexander Cooley, professor of political science at Barnard College, Columbia University, United States, when Soviet Union intervene in Afghanistan with its forces in 1979 this was the golden opportunity for the west to apply their strategy on Muslims around the world. At that time, the United States President Jimmy Carter's campaigned against the Soviet invasion and also encouraged the Islamic countries to send

financial assistance and Islamic reformers to fight with the Soviet Union and the puritans were called mujahidin or holy warriors. Not only West came close to the Arab world but also came close to Pakistan and its Inter-Services Intelligence Agency (ISI) which provided the training and weapons to the mujahidin. When Ronald Reagan becomes the president of the United States of American 1980, the struggles against the Soviet Union got increased. Saudi Arabia's task was to develop a strategy through which the United States should finance and give logistic support to Pakistan's ISI to fund and armed the Mujahideen against the Soviet Union. Saudi Arabia and America came close to Pakistan and charities started flowing towards Pakistan from America, Saudi Arabia and all over the world. Pakistan agreed to fight the proxy war of the United States. The fanatic Muslims around the world got motivated to fight this war on the name of Islam because they were taught this war is a Holy war and you are fighting for Allah not for the United States. They got trained by the ISI and sent to Afghanistan to fight the Soviets. Here I would like to add the statement of US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton. She says that the United States created the Taliban and abandoned Pakistan.



Source: <https://www.eurasiareview.com/06102015-pakistan-fatal-flaws-in-fata-analysis/>

Hillary Clinton acknowledged that the United States had a share in creating the problem that plagues Pakistan today. She says,

“Problems we face now to some extent we have to take responsibility for, having contributed to it. We also have a history of kind of moving in and out of Pakistan. Let’s remember here the people we are fighting today we funded them twenty years ago and we did it because we were locked in a struggle with the Soviet Union. They invaded Afghanistan and we did not want to see them control Central Asia and we went to work and it was President Reagan in partnership with Congress led by Democrats who said you know what it sounds like a pretty good idea lets deal with the ISI and the Pakistan military and let’s go recruit these Mujahedeen. And great, let them come from Saudi Arabia and other countries, importing their Wahhabi brand of Islam so that we can go, beat the Soviet Union. And guess what they (Soviets) retreated they lost billions of dollars and it led to the collapse of the Soviet Union. So, there is a very strong argument which is it wasn’t a bad investment in terms of Soviet Union but let’s be careful with what we sow because we will harvest. So, we then left Pakistan, we said, ok, fine you deal with the stingers that we left all of your country. You deal with mines that are along the borders. By the way, we don’t want to have anything to do with facture sanctioning you. So, we stopped dealing with the Pakistani military and the ISI and we are making up for a lot of lost time. So, this is an incredibly difficult set of issues that are all interconnected. But we can point fingers at the Pakistanis which is I did some yesterday frankly and its mired because we are wondering why not they are just get out there and deal with these people but the problem we face now to some extent, we have to take responsibility for having contributed to.” (South Asia News Published on Apr 28, 2009).

According to, Steve Coll the managing director of Washington Post: “Well, it of course begins in 1979 when the Soviets invaded during the Carter administration, and it really swelled between 1981 and 1985. Essentially, under Bill Casey, the CIA created a three-part intelligence alliance to fund and arm the Mujahedeen, initially to harass Soviet occupation forces and eventually they embraced the goal of driving them out. The three-way alliance in each of the parties had a distinct role to play.

The Saudi, their intelligence service primarily provided cash. Each year the congress would secretly allocate a certain amount of money to support the CIA's program. After that allocation was complete, the US Intelligence liaison would fly to Riyadh and the Saudis would write a matching check. The US role was to provide logistics and technological support as well as money. The Saudis collaborated with Pakistan's intelligence service, ISI, to really run the war on the front lines. It was the Pakistani army, in particular the ISI, that picked the political winners and losers in the jihad, and who favored radical Islamist factions because it suited the Pakistan's army goal of pacifying Afghanistan, a long-time unruly neighbor to the west, whose ethnic Pashtun nationalism the army feared. The army saw Islam not only as a motivating force in the anti-Soviet jihad, but as an instrument of Pakistan's regional policy to control Afghanistan. The US acquiesced with all of this in part because they thought that the only purpose that brought them to the region was to drive the Soviets out, and they didn't really care about local politics. Because of the CIA officers involved in Vietnam War were scared by their experience in South East Asia. They essentially operated under a mantra of no more hearts and minds for us. We're not good at picking winners and losers in a developing world. Let's let the Pakistanis decide who carries this jihad forward. That's how the favoritism of the radical Islamic factions was born and nurtured". Steve Coll, 2004).

TABLE 1 NUMBER OF SUICIDE ATTACKS BY ORGANISATION FROM 2000 TO 2013

The Taliban, al-Qa'ida and ISIL have claimed the most suicide attacks in the period. However Hamas has proportionally used suicide attacks the most since 2000.

ORGANISATION	SUICIDE ATTACKS SINCE 2000			LAST ATTACK
	Total number of attacks	Number of suicide attacks	Percentage	
HAMAS (ISLAMIC RESISTANCE MOVEMENT)	195	46	24%	2008
AL-AQSA MARTYRS BRIGADE	152	35	23%	2008
AL-QA'IDA IN IRAQ	579	105	18%	2013
ISLAMIC STATE OF IRAQ AND THE LEVANT	492	84	17%	2013
AL-QA'IDA IN THE ARABIAN PENINSULA (AQAP)	298	42	14%	2013
TEHRIK-I-TALIBAN PAKISTAN (TTP)	778	97	12%	2013
LIBERATION TIGERS OF TAMIL EELAM (LTTE)	499	35	7%	2009
AL-SHABAAB	630	43	7%	2013
BOKO HARAM	750	37	5%	2013

Source: <http://www.dawn.com/news/1145300>

The table above shows the number of Suicide attacks by organization from 2000 to 2013. The Taliban and Al-Qaida carried out the most suicide attacks in Pakistan.

2.4.1 The Recruitment of the Taliban

The fighters recruited with the provocation of jihad by the Pakistani intelligence agency the ISI and CIA from Madrassas (the religious schools). They also made some minor groups in that newly appointed Mujahedeen group; later on, they joined the Tehrik-Taliban Pakistan and Al-Qaeda. The Taliban movement initiated in 1994, by the Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam a political party and an organization that also ran Madrassas for Afghan refugees in Pakistan. They were also recognized in Afghanistan as a political party and were usually opposing the local government strategies regarding rules and regulations in Afghanistan. The Taliban got stronger in 1994 and captured some provinces in central and Southern Afghanistan. At the same time, the government of Islamic State of Afghanistan was having regular clashes with the militia for the control of the center Kabul. But they were defeated by Ahmad Shah Masood who was the Defense Secretary of the Islamic State. (Civil War in Afghanistan, n.d). Pakistani army and government legally recognized the Taliban government and started assisting in the provision of logistic, administrative, financial and military support to the Taliban government in Afghanistan. A Pro Pakistani government in Afghanistan was a dire need for Pakistan that's why they were trying hard to establish to support Taliban and their policies. Pakistani establishment, religious parties and people from the tribal areas played an important role in forming a Taliban government in Afghanistan. There were many reasons that Pakistan wanted to form the government of Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan by Taliban.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union and defeating those in Afghanistan with the help of ISI the United States rolled back and left these Mujahedeen fully loaded with all kind of weapons and war technique to Pakistan to handle them. Sadly, the warriors who were fighting for the religion and Islam divided into many small groups and got involved in different kinds of unlawful activities like kidnapping, looting, ransom and target killing. Some of them went to Kashmir to carry on their Jihad duty against the Indian forces and joined the hands with the Kashmir freedom fighter's movements. After the defeat of the Soviet Union and the establishment of the Taliban government in Afghanistan, Pakistan had to recognize the presence and body of the Taliban government in Afghanistan.

The United States changed its foreign policies towards Afghanistan after the 9/11 incident happened. Pakistan the big supporter of Taliban government in Afghanistan suddenly changes his side due to the pressure from the US and its allies and started supporting the United States in its war against terror against Taliban. Pakistani people showed mixed reactions towards this war against terror by the US and withdrawal of support from the Taliban regime and other Mujahedeen groups who were heroes after the Soviet Union defeat. The United States pushed Pakistan to cut off ties with the Taliban government and Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan or face military sanction and isolation in the international community. Pakistan provided the routes to the United States military and the NATO supply to the ESAF forces in Afghanistan. Soon the US and NATO forces started using Pakistani air bases for their drone attacks against the Taliban and Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan. (S. Haider, N. Akram & I. Ul Haq, 2015).

2.5 Military Deployment in FATA

Majority of the time Afghanistan and Pakistan were in hostile relationship since the birth of Pakistan but it was more like a disagreement at home for the two Islamic states. Pakistan has never felt any kind of war like threats from Afghanistan and the tribes on Pakistani side were usually responsible for defending their own territory. Ex-presidents General Musharraf, were meeting the tribal elders and he strongly praised and appreciate the effort and sacrifices made by the tribe people in the independence of Pakistan and later own the offensive of Kashmir, just before the 9/11 terrorist attack on the United States (Rana; Sial, Basit, 2010: 69). Right after the 9/11 attacks the U.S pressured General Musharraf to send his army to South Waziristan to fight Taliban in 2002. Pakistani forces established 185 check posts near Pakistan, Afghanistan border and it had continued effects for the security of Pakistan and several experts believe the base of present extremism in that specific phase (Ghauri, 2009: 7). In fact, since then these areas became unstable and remain one of the buffer zone and started fighting Pakistan military forces beside the local people, occasionally foreign, fighters or their own local Taliban.¹The U. S army started shelling the famous mountains of Tora Bora where Al-Qaeda and majority of the Taliban fighters hiding started to move to the Tribal areas and they were well respected and adjusted in the area by local supports Orakzai, et.al, 2009).

Mainly, Ahmadzai Wazir tribes of Waziristan were the main tribe who facilitate the foreign fighters of Al-Qaeda and Taliban because they were in good relationship since the Soviet Afghan war in 1980s (Qazi, 2011: 3). This was the actual place where insurgents started attacking the U.S forces in Afghanistan and against the Afghan forces directed by that time President Hamid Karzai. (Irfan, 2009). The shocking occurrences of September 11, 2001 demonstrate the significant policies that terrorists use and the extensive variation of aims that encourages them. In addition, there are a number of important crucial documents, extending from authorized administration indications of the terrorist risk and universal contracts connected to terrorism, to high-level statements on the topic and testimonials delivered by terrorists themselves, in which they try to explain their specific incentives and objectives.” The United States comparatively decided for a serious action against Pakistan establishment if they deny the safe heavens of terrorist inside Pakistan and even give a sharp signal to exercise independent force if they didn’t show any progress regarding tackling terrorist. The Pakistani government called for a meeting with the elders of the tribal elders and informed them about the threats given by the U.S and clearly explained the situation. They requested the tribesmen not to help, support or house Taliban and foreign militants from Afghanistan because they were facing serious threats from the United States¹ (Javaid 2011).

People of the tribal area took this appeal by the Pakistan government as an order from the U.S administration and not from Pakistan. The people of the tribal areas though that Pakistan is behind the fall of recent Islamic government by Taliban in Afghanistan. Tribesmen especially in Waziristan were very close to the foreign militants due to their past relationship with them during Afghan Jihad in 1980. This situation made things worse and local people became more sympathizers to Taliban militants than the Pakistan army and started attacking the security forces (Ghauri, 2009). The security forces tried its best to avoid any kind of actions that create any misshapen in the area but the foreign militants and Taliban started their activities on a big scale and were succeeding in getting influence in the area.

1. Journal of Political Studies, Vol. 18, Issue – 2, 2011: 173-186 FATA a Breeding Ground of Extremism in Pakistan Umbreen Javaid. Retrieved 2017-10-12.

During this flexible policy towards the tribesman and insurgents the local people successfully came to a few agreements with the local people. This policy was functional until 2004 but wasn't useful. The security services sensed that it's not helpful regarding bringing peace in the area instead it has encouraged the extremists to use to increase their terrorist activities and influence through these agreements (Umbreen, Javaid 2011). At the meantime, the Pakistani government began negotiations headed by a Mehsud militant Baitullah Mehsud in South Waziristan Agency in direction to pressure him to part his backing for the foreign extremists and also his ambition to attack inside Pakistan and across the border in Afghanistan. On Feb 22, 2005 the Pakistan government signed a peace agreement with Baitullah Mehsud and with Wazir tribes in South Waziristan Agency. The United States was not happy of all these agreements between the Pakistan government and the tribal militants and was extremely critical (As if Hell, 2010: 36). The Tehrik Taliban Pakistan (TTP) core objectives were, to show hostility and resistance towards the Pakistan army. They wanted to implement Sharia law not only in the tribal areas but all over Pakistan. They also wanted to form a combined block that can confront the US and NATO forces in Afghanistan and Pakistan's tribal areas. (Alan, 2010).

TTP, though formed by militants from South Waziristan, have expanded to all other agencies in a short span of time. Besides, it has its presence in all six Frontier regions as well as some of the settled districts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (NWFP at that time). Therefore, the activities of TTP have also extended towards all over the country and they were mostly attacking the army and military personals and foreigners as well. Diverse experts observed different causes for this fast growth of Talibanization in the country. Especially in South Waziristan agency the main reason behind this extreme militancy was the result of the military operations. The army personals didn't know the ground realities and went on starting offensive against the local tribesmen which speed up the militancy twice faster. The tribal people have never seen the army uniform on its land since the foundation of nation Pakistan. These tribesmen were the core defender of the western border for long time for Pakistan. Thus, the loyalty of the Tribal people for Pakistan was outside any suspicion. That was one of the reasons the CIA of the United States and the ISI of Pakistan chose the people of the tribal areas to fight the Soviets in Afghanistan.

People all over the tribal areas are simple and straight forward. They aren't really diplomatic in terms of understanding the geopolitical shift in this area by the United States government and Pakistan army. When they ask tribal people to change their style and way of life mainly Pakhtunwali they felt a threat and started to fight against the state forces (Ambreen, 2011). Foreign militants rushed to Pakistan for training and then deployed into Afghanistan and ultimately Pakhtun tribal society became increasingly radicalized. The social fabric of the Pakhtun was further shredded by returning commanders and militants who set themselves up in many cases as war lords outside the authority of the tribal elders. The immediate outcome was anarchy; as militant groups, warlords and social criminals fought over the carcass of Afghanistan (Thomas H. Johnson & Mason, M. Chris 2008).

Moreover, the religious feature of condition transported to the attention as the rebels appear to be a major reason in the ongoing war on terror and the tribal influence is no more effective to form provision and benefit from local citizens. Many of the foreign Jihadists enter the FATA areas as guests who were protected by the local people as a custom of Pakhtunwali element *Pana* (asylum). According to them it's a shame for Pakhtun people if a guest comes to your house and request *Pana* and you hand over them to the authorities, they provide them asylum and it made situation worst for the authorities. It is the idea of Pakhtunwali that a Pakhtun can die but would never think of handing over their guests to the rival. To safeguard the Pakhtun customs and tradition, the people of FATA battled with the government forces but didn't compromise on their custom and tradition in North Waziristan Agency (NWA) (Yusufzai, 2006). In fact, Pakhtun perceived that once hospitality is granted, to give it up under any pressure would present a wrong picture about Pakhtun people that they have no respect of their own values and have lost their freedom of action. Meanwhile, for Taliban fighting with Pakistani army was supposed to high light them as good Muslim devotes because the army had joined hand with the United States in their proxy war by killing their Muslim brothers and colleagues and it's a good time to justify the term "Jihad". In this regard, small numbers of common people seem to be sympathizer with the militants just because of US military actions in FATA. However, for majority of the people, Pakistan's role in the war against terror was purely for economic gains and military assistance from the United States but not to fight the Taliban and Al-

Qaida militants. As a result, Pakistan used its sources and encouraged unaccountable Sunni mujahedeen and Iran supported Shi'a mujahidin to fight against the Soviet Union in Afghanistan. Similarly, Pakistan's struggles were encouraged by both Saudi Arabia and the United States by giving a huge amount of money worth \$8 billion together for the Mullahs fighting holy war jihad (Bhatia & Sedara, 2008). The sectarian conflicts have primarily reported in Khyber agency between Deobandi and Barelvi and between Shia-Sunni in Kurram Agency. The fight between Lashkar e Islam Deobandi and Ansar ul Islam Barelvi sect has been started since 2003 in Khyber Agency (As if Hell, 2010: 20).

In Pakhtun Society the religious groups have no political influence and only Maliks are supposed to be leading figures in policy or decision making. Even Mullahs have no influence in tribal meetings or Jirgas. Usually, Maliks of each village were responsible for taking care of Mullahs family, security and taking care of the mosques. The Mullahs came into power during the Afghan war (1979–1988), people started to listen to them due to the campaign by the CIA and the ISI which were lobbying against the Soviets and encouraging Muslim youth towards Jihad in Afghanistan. The main role of the mullah was to give sermons and speeches in prayers highlighting the Muslims duty and role of Jihad and the target was shown towards Soviets in Afghanistan. The public effect of the mullahs dominated over the Maliks, Khans, or tribal elders. In that regard, the Iranian uprising (1979) powered their strength in the rural areas and eventually with a bit political power Mullahs received magnificent status (Khan, 2011). The power of the religious clergy has been increased after the rise of the militancy. They supposed to be no longer an isolated character in tribal society. Their influence has been changed in the socio-cultural fabric of the tribal areas. The officially sponsored Maliks and Jirga both have lost their power and confidence. Before 9/11 the Maliks of the tribal areas were dominant and Mullahs were limited to the mosques and other religious activities. Mosques were purely used for religious purposes but these days it has been used for both political and religious affairs. The political activities were excluded from the mosques. The Mullahs surfaced in prominent positions and they started leading both political and religious activities. In the current situations, Pakhtun society has been hugely influenced by Mullahs and religious clergy. Maliks lost their positions and Mullahs replaced them as leading figures.

The tribal chiefs were using Hujras for political consultations as an offset to the mosque can no longer be seen in the tribal areas. Jirga had been usually used as need of financial source before Afghan war but these days its rich and has sources of financial support. Furthermore, the state policy is responsible for legitimizing religious clergy in society because ruling elites are using religion as a tool for 'survival of the fittest' and ultimately Mullahs emerged as judges among the local Pakhtun tribes and the State became as substitute leadership. Pakhtun society socially has been reshaped around the culture of religion and they replaced all the traditional values and have been able to change the power structure of society (Shuja, 2009).

The Taliban authorities effectively made influence within the in Pakhtun people, especially between the young tribal and also founded connection with criminals and rebellious sections of society. According to Hassan Abbas (2004), the nation's frontline utilized religious radicalism as a tool to counter risk insight from India and unsuccessfully created collective distinctiveness out of the boundary of religious believes. In that context, Pakhtun nation turned to be the victims of severe religious interpretation specially the Taliban version of extreme Wahhabi brand of Islamism. In the Past, Pakhtun people in their whole history have never show that kind of religious extremism. Normally, Pakhtun are secular or nationalist with deep affiliation with their language and culture but the Afghan war has changed the socio-cultural fabric of Pakhtun society. This situation also influences the political culture of the province where leaders of the main parties have been Pakhtun and ultimately their center of gravity has shifted to the Pakhtun areas. All major religious parties with the exception of Jamat-i Islami are dominated by Pakhtun people and have some form of Sunni (Wahhabis) orientation. Furthermore, the confrontation established its legality on several forms of campaigned Islam and society and ethnicity is squat on the general political and administrative agenda. In fact, the Taliban extremist leadership is entirely Pakhtun, religiously strict and inflexible from the perspective of the common people. Moreover, the leadership of Pakhtun nationalists is unable to understand the altering nature of governments and politics; they also failed to disregard this entire situation. After 9/11, these fundamental extremists began to play in the hands of extremist group like Al- Qaeda and started working for them anti Pakistan as a 'mercenary army'.

They have created chaos across the FATA region and in the settled areas of Pakistan as well. They have killed more than 600 Maliks (Dawn, 2009), since 2007 and regularly organize raids against military, police stations, and educational institutions. The main motive for conflict in all this area remains as usual for a long time now. Though, it seems like the Taliban have joined the party with the period of time and have been greatly profited from power and administrative vacuum in the tribal areas. The whole state of Pakistan is affected by this conflict and this hostile behavior by the religious sect and Taliban have spread all over the country. Pakistan had witnessed the Shia-Sunni conflict since 1980s. The new Deobandi-Brelewi sect hostility started to emerge in the late 1990s. The conflict in both these agencies Kurram and Bajaur have been aggravated, to some extent, by the support each group gets from its patron from the entire country and sometimes outside the country. (Ambreen, 2011). In 2011 a US drone attack targeted a local religious madrasa killing at least 80 people in Bajaur Agency, majority of them were little children aged 8 to 21 years old. That was the turning point of the tribal people towards the Pakistan army and US forces. (Tribune, August, 12, 2011). Majority of the local people assumed that it was just a regular seminary like in other parts of the country that provides religious education to the poor kids from all over the tribal region from the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province. According to the United States security services, the people who were killed in the drone attack were all militants and preparing for attacks in Afghanistan. This incident enraged the local tribesmen to the extent that just few days afterwards, local militant commander from TTP, Moulvi Faqir Muhammad, convened a gathering of tribesmen over 2000 in force, where he announced and threatened the government of Pakistan and its security agencies that these 2000 individuals are suicide bombers and ready for the revenge.

(Covert Drone War, 2011, August 10). A few days after his harsh statement, a suicide bomber attacked a Pakistan army training facility in Dargai area, near Bajaur agency massacring lots of soldiers. Militancy increased swiftly afterward this attack on the military training center and Moulvi Faqeer Mohammad, became the leader of TTP in Bajaur agency arose as the most dominant militant leader and after sometime appointed as the spokesperson of TTP head, Baitullah Mehsud. In 2008, the Pakistan army took action against the TTP group in Bajaur agency that remains even today. (Irfan, 2009).

The increasing violence and intensity on the bordering areas of the tribal region is under the control of Sunni militants from the Southern and central Punjab that benefits Al-Qaeda from these insurgent activities (Shuja & Borchgrave, 2009). The US administration perceives that FATA is the heart of the crisis and it is critical to the strategic victory of the NATO operation in Afghanistan and the political integrity of Pakistan and the success of US in Afghanistan is prerequisite or dependable on Pakistan. Ironically, the FATA's current misery is the product of the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan (1979) and the tragic incident of the 9/11 subsequently left the region in severe maul and in a disastrous position. So, in the contemporary time, the region is one of the flashpoints in the world and is also one of the most war-torn, frayed and dangerous areas. After serving as a chessboard for superpower politics, the area remains a battlefield because of the conflicting interests of different interests of regional and global powers. Since the 19th century, the region of FATA is under the grip of new "Great Game" (Kipling 1901) because the imperial empire of the time has made it more contentious area than ever and presently, the region reflects chronic instability because of unleashed activities of non-state actors who penetrate state and society of the country.

The war on terror has converted FATA into a never ended war area as part of the worldwide anti-terrorism struggle and Islamabad seems to be more active to contain India's growing activities in Afghanistan and is helpless in safeguarding the country's sovereignty and territorial integrity. It is a pity that neither Washington nor most American political observers have really tried to fathom the depth of Pakistani feelings about drones' attacks and violation of its territorial integrity. In fact, protecting each and every part of Pakistan's land and securing borders has been the major preoccupation of the country's foreign policy but Islamabad's economic dependence and military vulnerability often compels to compromise on its national objectives. It is significant in this regard that the security of the entire country significantly depends on the protection of FATA which is the gateway of country's territorial integrity and governance. It is also clear that stability of Pakistan depends on peace in the tribal areas and continued disturbance will corrupt the rest of country. All this has happened because of the inappropriate policies of the security vanguard and never assessed ground realities.

In reality, the strategic policy of Pakistan is an extension of the centuries old fortress mentality or fighting from fixed positions, which resulted in unprecedented outcomes in the Western borders. Thus, the defense policy with regards to Afghanistan had neither been consistent nor part of any comprehensive strategic plan. The planners did not refresh the colonial policies to secure the country and rarely used diplomatic and economic means to settle the matters. As a result, the country suffered more as compare to gains. In this regard, the country's history has witnessed that "offensive-defense policy" erroneously has not given any advantage to the country rather enemies have taken more benefits from the weak corridors of the policy (Hilal, 2010). There is no doubt that the 'War on Terror' has created deep-seated political dissent against Islamabad and insurgencies over time have shaken and continue to threaten the political stability of the country. It was stated that FATA and some parts of Baluchistan are base of Afghan Taliban who came as refugees and settled with other related tribesmen in Pakistani areas and in the FATA region. They also operate from this area to target the US and NATO forces in South Western Afghanistan (New York Times, 2008).

The Federally Administered Tribal Areas are the only place that confronts the unity of Pakistan. The elite class of the State are stressed to protect its central arrangement and to grant authorities to the joining elements. The army operations in the FATA region has evidenced costly in both human and political costs. Reportedly, over 5,000 security forces were killed in the clashes with militants in between 2004–2011. Majority of them were targeted of traps and mines and the lack of experience in combating the counter-insurgency (The Dawn, 2009, The Nation, 2010, The Frontier Post, 2012). According to some mainstream western media reports, 'the refuge in the tribal areas offer an almost unassailable power for the authority and governance, hiring, fundraising, training and valor for initiation armed operations against foreign forces (The New York Times, 2010). The Taliban culture groomed during 2007 and spread from FATA region to Northern parts that are generally Pakhtun controlled areas to all over Pakistan. Initially they attacked the audio, video music stores, next the barber shops who were offering shaving facilities to customers, then girl's schools/colleges, police stations, and people from civil society.

They also destroyed the government and public sector, government infrastructure because they were perceived as immoral (The Frontier Post, 2009, The News, 2009). All of the FATA region remained under siege of Taliban during that all that time. An average of more than one girl's school a day was either burnt or bombed throughout the tribal belt. Only in Afghanistan the Taliban destroyed over 1,089 schools since 2005 until 2007. The American aid Agency for International Development (USAID) has constructed a huge number of schools and renovated them but there is not even a single school has been rebuilt or newly constructed by the government in any affected area of FATA and Swat regions (The Nation, The News, Seattle Times, 2008). In fact, the radicalization has spread like a cancer far beyond the tribal areas into some areas of Baluchistan, Sindh, the Punjab and of course the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province. The Taliban expansion and access to the urban and rural areas of Pakistan was the tragic indication of their growing reach and ability to penetrate the country's internal security.

Thus, the Taliban have created disturbance in the popular public areas and also damaged attractive tourist places in northern areas including Swat (Malakand) district which was under the influence of Maulana Fazlullah (nicknamed Maulana Radio) who was preaching Islamic revolution against the state. The Al-Qaeda and the Taliban are connected through working connection. They are operational all over the world including Pakistan that offers operative centers where they find and employ young people who are not happy and disappointed with their lifestyle and tribal customs and tradition. The selection of the Suicide bombers is often those who are jobless, many are mentally unbalanced, and a number of physical incapacities (UNAMA, 2009). It's been eighteen years since the war on terror was first started in (2001–2018) and the FATA areas are burning in fire as an effect of the NATO forces and drone attacks. Pakistan's security is at risk and there is the growing uncertainty in local public who are at the view that this war on terror hasn't benefited anyone since it initiated. The state is always at war like situation and people are living under fear due to the security threats from the militant groups like Al-Qaeda and Taliban. The current security organization is unsuccessful regarding expressing any kind of explanation and 'the use of power on a big measure above a prolonged phase of time did not decrease the level of danger by extremist groups (Bacevich (2010).

The tribal areas achieved a dominant geo-strategic significance and the United States announced Pakistan a 'frontline state' while fighting the US war against the Soviet assault. The United States has made the FATA areas as a terror training center and station to deliver armed support to the Afghan mujahedeen to stop the extension of communism.¹⁵⁵ The US promoted and supported Talibanization at the time for their own benefits in the tribal areas to defeat the Soviets Union. Eventually, that war carried the guns and drugs culture to the tribal areas economy which was already been backward, underdeveloped, and lost hugely (Hilali, 2003).

2.6 The US Drone Attacks in FATA

The Taliban fled from Afghanistan to the mountainous areas between Afghanistan and Pakistan, because their government was toppled by the American and NATO forces joined by the Northern alliance in Afghanistan. The remaining Taliban were a mix of Afghani, Uzbek, Pakistani, Central Asian states and some Arab countries nationals welcomed by the people of the tribal area due to the religion and cultural circumstances. They got refuge there and were supported by that Tribal people. Due to the past relations during the Soviet war they were aware of the local conditions and made relations in tribal families. Their main mission was to kick out the foreign forces from Afghanistan and bring back the government of the Emirate of Islamic Afghanistan which was fully supported by the local people. The Taliban were mainly Pakhtun people who hailed from the same tribes situated on Pakistan Afghan border. They mixed up with the local population in FATA region and started residing in the same area near the border. After uniting and regrouping themselves, they would sometimes enter into Afghanistan and target the US and NATO armies. In response the United States CIA utilize pilotless drones to target the refuge centers of Taliban and their followers within Pakistan area. Many Taliban as well as local civilians got killed by these drone attacks and also destroyed resident's houses and common people who were not involved the cause in the locality. This was a slap on the face of Pakistani sovereignty and it was against the international law of independent states. The whole Pakistani nation including mainstream media, academics, scholars and civil society activists have raised their voices and have protested and marches, rallies in all big cities of the country to condemn these attacks.

According to the American government, Pakistan has granted permission to them to pursue the Taliban fighters and eliminate them through drone attacks but officially there was not such an agreement found (Ambreen, 2011). The tribal areas are still one of the misinterpreted areas of the state, despite its strategic and important locality. It plays an important role in the recent conflicts inside Afghanistan and now in Pakistan as well. It has been eighteen years now that the United States has invaded Afghanistan and the ejection of the Taliban government and displacement of the Al Qaeda management into the border areas of Pakistan and Afghanistan, the war on terror and extremism in this area seem more like an un organized diplomatic and armed movement in the region and a condition evident by coats of complication. The noninvolvement of the local FATA people and their ignorance is the main reason for their future planning, political involvement and for the areas development. The plans that are made by FATA are by someone who would never been to FATA region in years, therefore these plans would usually fail.

The budget of FATA has been debated and arranged so as to additional the welfares of two groups of conflicting leaders: the certified Maliks (whose influence has lately weakened considerably, as extremist Islamists have weakened their power and killed those whose influence was unquestionable), and the fundamental Mullahs (whose supremacy has lately risen with the fresh guerrillas and arms they regulate as an effect of the warfare in Afghanistan). Consequently, a latest technique of delivering financial openings will require to be discovered. If common individuals are not given the chance to ignore this set of situations, there won't be any change in FATA region. A minor quantity of elites and their exact controlled political concentrations will continue to regulate the economy, depends on who get profited from this new plan of economic inputs in the area (Shuja, 2009). It is hard to find out the accurate figure of the tribe people who migrated to the settle and other safe areas of the country as well as went abroad due to the worst situation in the FATA region because majority of them went illegally. The Maliks and other elite of the region sent their own family members through legal way by arranging all the original documents and applying for a visa they were distributed and offered specially to the students and youth of FATA for education and work purposes, were controlled by these Maliks.

According to a survey at least one member a family from FATA went to the at least one of the Gulf countries for job and education purpose. In Peshawar city, the capital of the KP province and the nearest city to the tribal areas was short of labor during the militancy era because majority of the people went abroad and many people were not feeling safe while visiting the city due to the Taliban assaults and suicide blasts. Specialists consider that the Gulf migrants on average may have multiplied their household wages. It seems like the families utilized the money mainly to construct new houses and to improve their living standards, purchasing fresh services such as electronics, cellophanes, refrigerators, toiletries, and expensive clothes for wearing. Several of those men who were returning back to their home countries used their contemporary virtual capital to open their own businesses (Nicholas 2006).

2.7 Current Situation of Pakistan and Talibanization in FATA and Dara

The Jihadist groups who were fighting for CIA and ISI in Afghanistan against the Soviets became the nightmare for the United States after the 9/11. The US put pressure on the Pakistani government to declare all these Jihadi groups terrorists and join the war against terror. Pakistan has no other choice left and declared these groups terrorists and joined the war on terror with international community and became the major front line none NATO ally of the United States by providing them air bases and other ground support.¹ When Pakistan government declared Taliban and other Jihadist groups' terrorists and started war against them, in response those groups also declared war against the Pakistani government and its people specially those who were assisting the western agenda. Pakistan situation got worst due to the Taliban and other terrorist's attacks on different cities especially on government and public places. This wave of terrorism broke the backbone of already crippled economy and started to survive in its limited resources based on agriculture. Pakistan faced a great human and infrastructure loss and the biggest loss to the economy. This war gave Pakistani economy a loss of \$68 billion since 2001-2012 and \$ 90 billion until 2014.² The terrorists not only targeted politician, security forces, lawmaker, Intellectuals but women and children as well.

1. <http://www.hamariweb.com/articles/article.aspx?id=75178> Retrieved 2017-09-15

2. *ibid*

Pakistan situation got worst when the government forces seized the famous Lal Masjid in the capital Islamabad. The anti-government sentiment in started to grown in the tribal areas due to attack on the Lal masjid and the death of the innocent students. Pakistan did many operations against Taliban and other terrorists groups in the tribal areas to encounter terrorism but didn't get any renowned success.

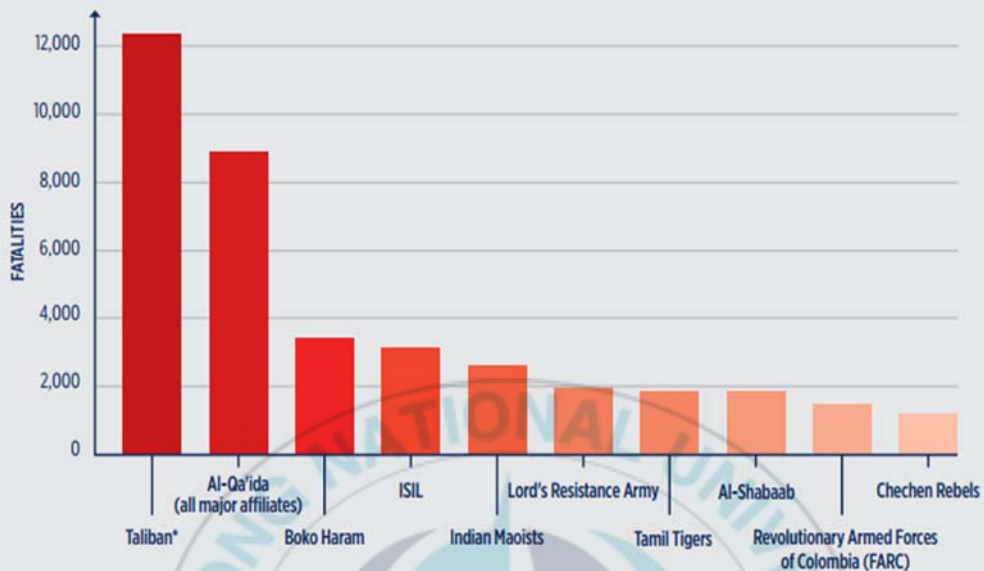
Finally, they decided to have a negotiation with the Taliban to bring Peace in Pakistan and the tribal Areas. On the negotiation table the demand from the Taliban came out to be unacceptable. A few of the demands were that Pakistan should break diplomatic relations with the US, India and the West and on top of that they asked to release the Taliban fighters who were captured during different operations. It was impossible for the Pakistani government to accept the condition of Taliban and the peace talk broke up. (Shermila, Chiniot, 2016).

Today terrorism and intolerance spread like cancer in Pakistani society and it is affecting the basic idea of nationhood. Sectarianism is at its peak. Poverty, unemployment, illiteracy and devastating economy is making it hard for the new upcoming governments to deal with this layer of militancy. The monitoring of the religious schools (Madrassas) activities should be checked properly because these were the center which were used for uniting people against the unwanted situation and the breeding center for hatred and intolerance against others.

Furthermore, army operation won't work in terms of eliminating terrorism and extremism from Pakistani society, instead they should work on changing people's mind towards peace and development by giving them good education and providing them the opportunities where they can show their skills for self and national development. (Christy, Fair, 2007)

FIGURE 10 10 MOST DEADLY TERRORIST ORGANISATIONS BY NUMBERS KILLED (2000-2013)

The four biggest terrorist groups in 2013 are also the deadliest groups of the last fifteen years.



Source: GTD Note: Taliban includes Afghanistan and Pakistan Taliban.

Source: http://pakistan545.rssing.com/chan-15444699/all_p371.html

The graph above shows the 10 deadliest terrorist organizations by numbers killed between 2000-2013 and Taliban and Al-Qaeda are on the top of the list.

2.7.1 Talibanization in FATA and Dara

Before 9/11, the FATA area was completely autonomous and was enjoying its own rule of law. There was no military or government control in that area. In 2003 the United States attacked Afghanistan and the Northern Alliance defeated Taliban in Kabul, many of the Taliban, including terrorists fled to the tribal areas of Pakistan bordering Afghanistan took over the control of the FATA region.

The Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) became in news highlights of the main stream media when the US started war against terror on Taliban and Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan by George. W Bush, administration.

After September 11, 2001 terror incident, the Bush administration declared war on the terrorists around the world:

“Our war on terror begins with Al-Qaeda, but it does not end there. It will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped and defeated.” (Bush 2001)

In the aftermath of the US invasion of Afghanistan 27,000km area of FATA Pakistan fell in the Taliban control. This was the time when Pakistan felt the heat of terrorism for the first time in its history. There were some ex-army generals who were supporting Taliban or they were having relations with them during Soviet time when these officers were training them with the help of CIA against Soviet Union.

Americans did not care about the past relations with Taliban but Pakistan was still enjoying good relations with them for strategic purposes and personal gain. The religious scholars who played a vital role during Soviet era came again at the front and call for Jihad against the United States and NATO forces in Afghanistan.

There were some mullahs who also blamed the Pakistani army government military support of the US war on terror and spoke against the Pakistani government policies regarding Taliban and Al-Qaeda. In return, the Pakistani army launched an offensive in the tribal areas against the Taliban. In response, the Taliban started attacking Pakistani cities.

With the U.S. “do more” policy, Pakistani government moved more army troops to the tribal areas and in return Taliban started attacking more areas and innocent people got suffered. That was the first time in Pakistan history that people heard about a suicide blast on Pakistani soil. The US was worried because of the tribal people support for the Taliban and Al-Qaeda.

Fatalities in Terrorist Violence in Pakistan 2000-2018

Fatalities in Terrorist Violence in Pakistan 2000-2018				
	Civilians	Security Force Personnel	Terrorists/Insurgents	Total
2000	45	0	0	45
2001	29	9	0	38
2002	88	7	44	139
2003	140	24	25	189
2004	435	184	244	863
2005	430	81	137	648
2006	608	325	538	1471
2007	1522	597	1479	3598
2008	2155	654	3906	6715
2009	2324	991	8389	11704
2010	1796	469	5170	7435
2011	2738	765	2800	6303
2012	3007	732	2472	6211
2013	3001	676	1702	5379
2014	1781	533	3182	5496
2015	940	339	2403	3682
2016	612	293	898	1803
2017	540	208	512	1260
2018	48	53	54	155
Total*	22239	6940	33955	63134

***Data till April 15, 2018**

Source: <http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/pakistan/database/casualties.htm>

The table above shows the terrorist incidents since 2000 until 2018, the number of civilians, security forces and the terrorist/insurgents died during this long period of violence that happened after 9/11 and joining the United States war on terror.

The people of the tribal areas fought against the Northern Alliance in Afghanistan and now after the US invasion of the Afghanistan the militant fled to the Tribal region and they have good relations with the local people and they might have started living with them in the FATA area. "Initially, the Taliban forces appeared to be fatally damaged. Slowly, they started recovering; militancy spread and intensified in the bordering FATA regions". (Khan, 2011: 211). Having a close relation with Taliban during the Soviet era, made it easy for Afghan Taliban to live and stay with tribal in FATA bordering Pakistan and Afghanistan. The US and NATO forces were suspicious of Afghan Taliban and Al-Qaeda fighters may fled to the Tribal Areas of Pakistan. So, the US started pressurizing Pakistan to send their troops to the bordering area with Afghanistan against Al-Qaeda and Taliban fighters. Pakistan had never had any problem with the tribal population before and they had never sent their army to that area since the creation of Pakistan in 1947.

2.8 Formation of Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan and Spread of Talibanization and Military Implementation in FATA

Usually the tribesmen were defending the area by themselves and Pakistan had never experienced security concerns from its western border but there were some hostile relations among the two bordering countries. This point was emphasized by General Pervez Musharraf just three weeks before the September 11 terrorist attacks in USA. While addressing the tribal elders, he praised them by recalling their efforts and struggle for independence and later on the security of Pakistan (Rana; Sial, Basit, 2010: 69). The situation got a quick U-turn and the same President General Musharraf who praised the people of FATA a few days ago came under pressure by the US government and send Pakistan army in South Waziristan in 2002 and the established 185 check posts along the Pak-Afghan border. It brought a long-term implication for the Pakistan's security and many analysts consider the roots of current insurgency in that particular step (Ghauri, 2009: 7). There is nonetheless fact that since then these areas remain turbulent pitting Pakistan Army against the local, sometimes foreign, militants or Taliban. Tora Bora battle, the al-Qaeda and Taliban militants fled to tribal areas given refuge by their local sympathizers. Orakzai, et.al, 2009).

Most of the foreigners based themselves in South Waziristan given by local Ahmadzai Wazirs who had developed good relationship with them since the Afghan Jihad in 1980s (Qazi, 2011: 3). From this place, the militants waged war against the US forces and the new afghan government headed by President Hamid Karzai. (Irfan, 2009).

US relatively chose for resilient stresses Pakistan to deny safe heavens to these terrorists and even threatened to use unilateral force if things were not altered. The Pakistani government tried to convince the tribesmen of the gravity of the situation and requested them to deny shelter to the Afghanistan based Taliban and foreign militants. The tribesmen considered this request to be the charter of demand not from Pakistan government but from US government, which according to the tribesmen was the government which had recently toppled the Islamic government in Afghanistan. Second reason for the reluctance was the close relationship which had developed between the local tribesmen and the foreign militants since the days of Afghan Jihad of 1980s. Therefore, they were reluctant to accept it and this created further tension in the area and there were several incidents of cross fire between the local militants and the security forces. (Ghauri, 2009).

When these small measures of the security forces failed and the militant's activities increased day by day, the government started again the policy rapprochement towards the militants. This policy resulted in some agreements in the coming months between the security forces and the local tribesmen. This policy continued until 2004 but it was felt in the security establishment that this policy instead of bringing peace has emboldened the militants who have spread their activities and influence using these agreements. (Umbreen Javaid, 2011).

The second most important tribe-Mehsud, particularly its youth, were being affected by this scenario and the feeling of hatred was being developed in them against the Army mainly because of the operations by the later in the area, although the Mehsud generally remained indifferent to Army action against the Wazirs (Nawaz, 2009: 18). Meanwhile, the government started negotiating with the Mehsud militants led by Baitullah Mehsud in South Waziristan Agency in order to force him to disband his support for the foreign militants and his activities inside and across the border.

An agreement was signed in this regard with Baitullah Mehsud on Feb 22, 2005 in line with its agreement with Wazir tribes in South Waziristan Agency. The United States government was highly critical of this and other agreements by the government of Pakistan and the militants. (As if Hell, 2010: 36).

The agreement was signed in Sararogha, native town of Baitullah and the stronghold of Mehsud militants. This agreement had significant impact on the later development as it has given Baitullah much prominence and he became a virtual ruler of the area. He started running parallel administration and tried to enforce Sharia law in the region and mostly got successful. He declared himself to be Ameer ul Momineen. With agreements in both the centers of militancy i.e., South Waziristan agency and North Waziristan Agency, the militants were at large re- grouping themselves and consolidating their position in the tribal society and started using Sharia as the main reason for their continued activities that were militant in nature on different platforms. Therefore, it was felt that the militants should form a common front against the existing challenges. It is in this context that he established Tehrik e Taliban Pakistan, commonly known as TTP on December 14, 2007 in Ladha, South Waziristan and he himself became the Ameer of TTP. (Zaidi, 2008:76).

The main objectives of TTP were: resistance against the Pakistan Army, implementation of Sharia in the region, and forming a united front against the US and NATO forces in Afghanistan in Pakistan's tribal areas. (Alan, 2010).

Thought, TTP formed by militants from South Waziristan, have expanded to all other agencies in a short span of time. Besides, it has its presence in all six Frontier regions as well as some of the settled districts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (NWFP at that time). Consequently, the operations of TTP have also expanded in almost in all parts of the country mainly targeting the security forces and some foreign targets. Different analysts present different reasons for this rapid growth of Talibanization. The main reason for this growth of militancy particularly in South Waziristan Agency, however, is the military operations conducted by the Army. These operations were conducted without considering the ground realities.

The tribes have never witnessed the boots of Army on its soil since the creation of Pakistan and they have been the first line of defense on western border of Pakistan for decades. Therefore, their loyalty for Pakistan is beyond any doubt. It is in this context that Pakistani and US security and intelligence establishment have chosen these people to fight against Soviet threat. These people were too simple and too naive in the art of diplomacy to understand the geo-strategic shift in the region and when Pakistan Army, with pressure from US, tried to force these people to change their behavior, they turned their guns against them. (Umbreen Javaid, 2011).

The religious conflict started first in Khyber Agency between Deobandi and Barelvi brand and in Kurram agencies between Shia and Sunni Muslims. In Khyber Agency two opponent factions Lashkar e Islam and Ansar ul Islam, representative of Deobandi and Barelvi sects of Islam have been fighting each other since 2003. (As if Hell, 2010: 20).

On the other hand, Shia Turi and Sunni Bangash tribes are fighting a bloody sectarian war against each other since 2007, although they have history of conflict but this conflict is unprecedented in its scope, duration and destruction. (As if Hell, 2010). The turning point in the agency came when US drone destroyed a local seminary, headed by TNSM senior leader, killing along with him, 80 other persons mostly children from age 8 to 21 years. (Tribune, August 12, 2011).

Most of the local people believed that this was just like any other seminary providing religious education to the poor children from different parts of the FATA and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The security forces and U.S officials are of the opinion that all those killed were militants getting training in the seminary.

This incident enraged the local tribesmen to the extent that just few days after wards, local militant commander belonging to TTP, Moulvi Faqir Muhammad, convened a gathering of tribesmen of more than 2000 in strength, there he declared that all these 2000 persons are suicide bombers will take revenge of this attack from the government of Pakistan and the security forces. (Covert Drone War, 2011, August 10).

Just few days later his remarks could be seen translated into action when a suicide bomber blew his self-up targeting a military training center in Dargai, near Bajaur agency killing dozens of soldiers. Militancy expanded rapidly after this incident and Moulvi Faeer Mohammad, TTP leader in Bajaur emerged as the powerful militant commander and later would become the spokesperson of TTP chief, Baitullah Mehsud. Resultantly military operation was launched against TTP in Bajaur in 2008 which continues even today. (Irfan, 2009).

Some of Taliban commanders fighting in Afghanistan against Soviet Union got a big fame in during Taliban era. When Afghanistan was attacked by the US and NATO the Taliban moved to the Tribal areas and got asylum. Some of them were held by NATO forces and sent Guantanamo Bay detention camp in Cuba for interrogation. Many of them were held there for years and released after sometimes upon the completion of their verdict or clearance. The person who started the Tehrik Taliban Pakistan (TTP) movement in the Tribal Area Baitullah Mehsud, was an ex Guantanamo-Bay prisoner and the US forces let him go just because he was disable and they thought he maybe not a big threat while watching his physical condition. Some people believe that he was trained by the CIA while in the captivity and guided that he would start this movement in the Tribal area against the Pakistan Army and the people of Pakistan. He started the first terrorist group in the South Waziristan area with the name of Tehrik-Taliban-Pakistan called (TTP). He was managing the entire rebels group in the FATA area and got killed in a drone attack in 2009.

Hakimullah Mehsud was declared the new leader of the Tehrik-Taliban Pakistan after Baithullah Mehsud. Hakimullah was a resident of the Orakzai Agency in FATA and was the major player of TTP organization. Pakistan was already divided in so many sectarian groups due to General Zia-ul Haq polices and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The decision of Pakistani army and government to join the American war on terror against the Taliban and Al-Qaeda, all the other sectarian groups in other parts of FATA and southern Punjab came out in support of Taliban and started attacking government and public places. It wasn't only TTP that were deploying terrorist attacks in Pakistan but the other groups too. (Daraaj, 2010).

All these militants group became united against the Pakistan establishment and government due to their support for the US led war and terror and its allied forces operation in Afghanistan. People of the FATA got upset due to the government decision to attack the famous Lal Masjid in Islamabad. Many male and female tribal students were getting religious education in that school and many of the innocent students got killed during that operation by Pakistan army.

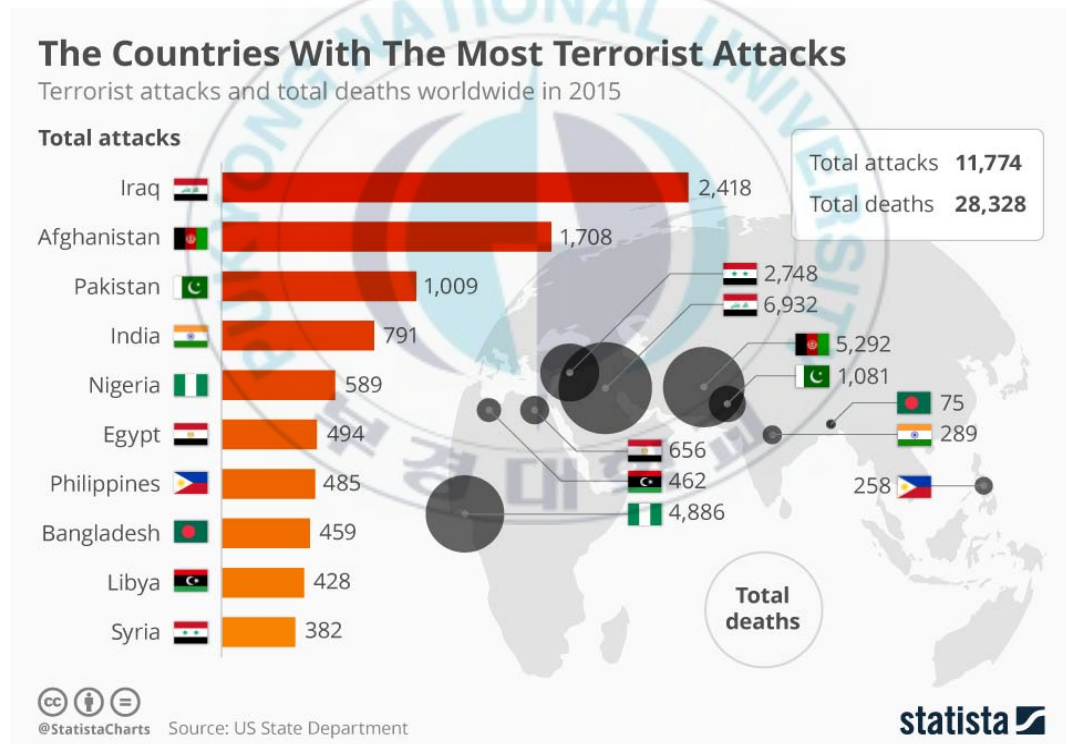
Since joining the American war on terror Pakistan army had conducted many operations which led to the death of many civilian and less terrorists in the tribal area. To kill one terrorist, the army jets attacked the whole village and many innocent women and children got killed. Many patriots tribal who were dying for Pakistan got really against the rule of law and started joining the Tehrik Taliban to revenge their relatives.

These operations by Pakistan army in the tribal area against Taliban created more Taliban due the behavior and unfamiliarity of the soldiers with the local culture. For example, long hair, big beard and a Pakol (warm hat) is a culture in Waziristan agency and that was the dress and style of Taliban as well. For army, it was hard to distinguish between the locals and the Taliban. Mostly they were relying on the intelligence but at the same time when people have problem with their community members or relatives or they were involved in a conflict. One party could go to the army and say the other one is sympathetic or a member of the Taliban.

The army could come up with their artillery or helicopter and attacks that family and innocent people got killed just because of the family rivalry. On the other side majority of the soldier were Punjabis or Shia sect who were not really nice or friendly with the Sunni tribal people and were usually saying harsh words or something nasty to the locals who turned the local community against the army and its rule of law? The army didn't understand the local condition and were acting in their military way which was considered rude and bad in the local culture.

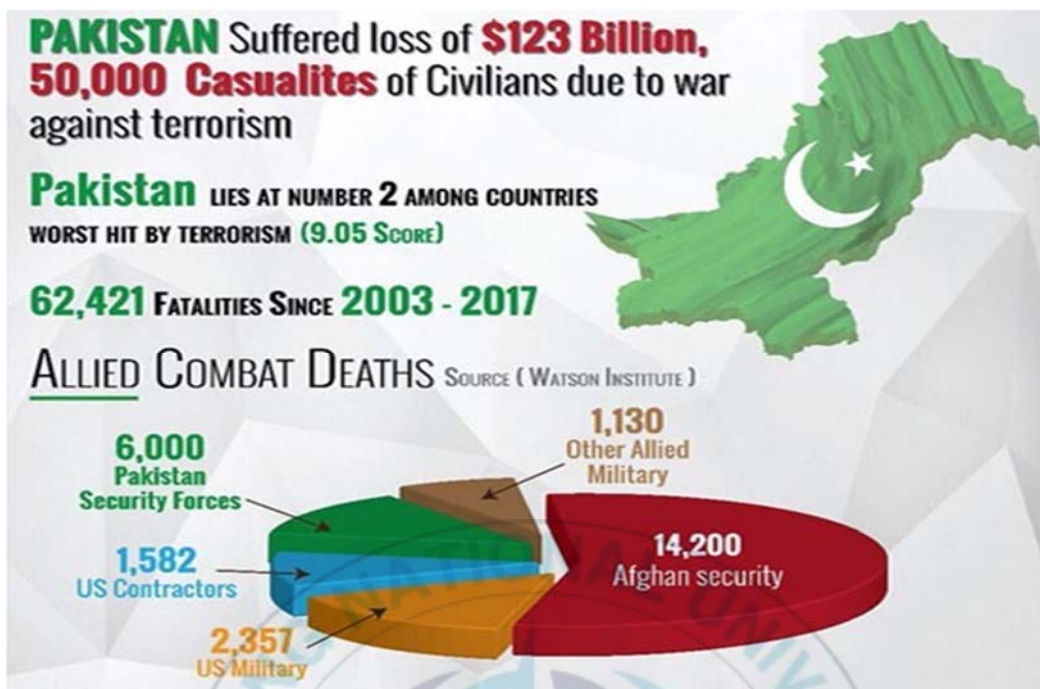
For example, in Pakhtun culture you can't go to someone's house without a prior permission or to inform the house that army is here for a security check so the women can sit somewhere away from the scene as part of *Pardah* (Gender Boundaries) culture, but the army soldier didn't bother to care for this culture and just kick the door and get in check whatever they could and take whatever they found interesting.

Many times, during the army operations when army were checking someone's house for security purpose, the owners could come up with a complaint that after the house search they can't find their gold and other valuables. That was really strange for the local people. It was exactly like the security and the watchman becomes burglar.



source: <https://www.statista.com/chart/4969/the-countries-with-the-most-terrorist-attacks/>

The figure above shows the countries with the most terrorist attacks in 2015 and Pakistan was number three with a total of 1,009 and 1,081 terrorist attacks and deaths.



Source: <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1599831/1-pakistan-lost-50000-civilians-war-terror/>

The Figure above shows lost to the Pakistani economy by joining this war on terror and casualties of civilians and security forces between 2003-2017.

2.8.1 Militancy in Dara Adam Khel

Dara Adam Khel is one of the 6th Frontier region situated in FATA. The population of Dara is approximately one million inhabitants. 80% of the population of Dara is involved in handmade arms business. It is also under the control of the assistant political agent and the government writ was not applicable on this area. Dara is situated between the provincial capital Peshawar and Kohat.

The total area of Dara Adam Khel is around 40 miles square meters. When Talibanization developed strong hold in South and North Waziristan area, it felt in Dara as well. Initially there were 500 militants sent from Waziristan but in the thrust of Jihad the local people joined the group as much as they could. There were Taliban in almost all the villages preaching jihad and asking people to join their cause.

Handmade arms and ammunitions, fake documents of any kind like certificates, degrees, fake currency, hashish, narcotics and heroin were common in the market. There were some car lifters, kidnappers and other mafia group active in Dara Adam Khel. The 500 militants who moved from different parts of FATA mainly from Waziristan started mobilizing young people against all these unlawful activities. First, they banned making fake documents and degrees and order harsh consequences against the violators. Next, they prohibited the business of drugs like hashish, heroin and other narcotics. Later on, the banned movies, CDs and music centers. Local people though they are good they are making the area clean of mess and all the wrong doers because local people were not happy with these kinds of activities. But later they issued a warning to the barbers and hairstylers not to shave people's beard because it's against the religion. Those people who already have beards and wanted to others to have a beard too. They were happy with this decision but mostly educated ones were really against the idea of telling people how to look and style their self.

Some of the barbers didn't agree and the next day they plot a bomb in the base of the barber shop and demolished it. There was a market in Dara which was famous for movies and musical CD stores. The Taliban placed dynamites at the base of the plaza and blew up the whole building to the ground. Local people were happy that the real Islamic local just came in Dara and they will create an environment like at the time of prophets and companions and will be peace and prosperity everywhere but they didn't know that this Taliban area on a mission here. Business activities and the economy of Dara were suddenly collapsed and people started fleeing to other areas for safety. The costumers from other parts of Pakistan stopped coming to Dara market due to these militants and security reasons so Dara market went down and the business got collapsed. On the other hand, local young people promptly started joining the Taliban group specially the young ones, with poor middle-class family, with no proper skills or resources. Those people who were free jobless or nothing to do in life were the first badge of Taliban group and started doing their activities all over Dara Adam Khel. Soon Taliban issued a new statement to the local people not to come out of homes after 6pm otherwise if someone was found outside on the road or on streets would be shot and killed.

That was the time when people felt that now the situation is getting worst and people should get ready for further consequences. The young people were brainwashed, particularly the teenagers under the age of 18 were the favorite target to prepare for suicide attacks against the government officials and security forces. They started pamphlets stating people not to do government job or assist security personals. They captured full villages in a few places and made their Hujras Taliban offices where they were inviting Taliban from other parts of FATA and meeting, making strategies and planning for future attacks. They have a group of militants around 10 to 15 people in each village which was making a group of 300 from each sub section of the community. When they stopped people from going out of homes after 6pm in the evening they would come out on the streets with around 200-300 armed militants and march on the main road of Dara Adam Khel. The Taliban militants started stopping vehicles at mid night and ask for ransom just because they were claiming that the trucks and containers are supplying material to the NATO forces in Afghanistan. They started looting cars truck and people at night on the roads. They kidnapped many people for ransom. They were demanding a huge amount of money from people according to their wealth. They burned down several oil tankers carrying fuel to the NATO forces in Afghanistan and looted many containers full of imported goods that were on the way NATO base in Afghanistan.

Majority of the transport association stopped carrying NATO goods even though; they were getting a good amount a payment from the NATO contract suppliers. Shortly, the Taliban issued a noticed to all girls and boys not to go to schools because they were going to demolish the girls' schools. First the destroyed girl's schools, then later on the boy's schools too and finally the only government college in Dara Adam Khel was grounded. There was nothing left for the people of Dara in terms of education for their kids and that was the time when the people started thinking and got furious about the role of Taliban in the area. They knew that Taliban area not here to bring Islamic rule of law but they are on especially agenda to destroy the image of this area and stop the new generation from getting higher educated. The educated community left Dara and moved to the nearby cities and sacrifices there everything including homes, businesses and relation in hope of a better future for their children.

The poor and middle class remain in Dara and became a part of the Taliban groups. The Taliban were usually giving young boys as young as the age of 15 - 16 a pair of sports shoes, a scarf, a red jewel embroidered hat, a pistol, a knife a Kalashnikov in some cases and some cash, to the commanders a bike or 4X4 wheel pickup truck and so on. They really knew the mentality of the young people, how to attract them to join their groups. Power and money, that's all what they wanted, Ones you give a gun, money and authority to a poor kid or someone in need, that person would do for you whatever you want and that was the case in Dara Adam Khel. Majority of the remaining militants who joined Taliban were just for that reason. "Money and Power" In fact, the local people knew the reality of the militants who were recruited from Dara. Majority of them were from poor families who were daily wage workers and were look for a two times meal a day. When Taliban gave them power and authority, they became "*Amir Sab*" (The Commander). Soon Dara Adam Khel became the center for training of suicide bombers and no matter what happens whenever there was a suicide blast in Pakistan, the news headlines would be like, "the bomber got trained and came from Dara Adam Khel".

Dara became the strong hold of the suicide bombers. They were wandering all night on the roads and were involved in different kind terrifying activities, mainly slaughtering and beheading people who were on their target list. The people of the whole area became terrorized and traumatized. People were in shock, the situation they saw in Dara was what exactly they saw on smart phone videos in Iraq and Afghanistan. They were never thinking of seeing this situation in their own area which was prospers and peaceful in past. People of Dara were very friendly and hospitable, always welcoming and warm hearted. Soon people became fearful and thing started to change in terms of local culture and custom and tradition. People stopped trusting each other's and those who were on Taliban's hit list were hiding in different parts of the country but whenever they come back to the area, Taliban knows through their spies and storm into their houses and pull that person out in front of their family members. They would ask the wanted person to go with them and meet their commander, he wants to see you. Those who went with them willingly got shot killed or slaughtered the same night and their bodies were found on the main square of Dara Bazar with a note "do not take this body before 11am".

They wanted local people to see this dead body and learn a lesson and a kind of warning for others who don't cooperate. Almost all the people of Dara came under the control of Taliban and people were obeying whatever Taliban said because there was no other way left. A local Khasadaar (a security person) Iran Gul got warning from Taliban to stop his job as a political Khasadaar but he ignored the warning and got shot 11 times in the head and body and got killed brutally. Taliban hunting style was when they wanted to warn someone, they would send a letter first explaining the situation.

For example, when they were killing this security guy and others, first they told them to stop doing this job of government. Find another better job or join us but don't work for the government. They would give a deadline and if the person was still doing the same thing then they would send the person 500 rupees (\$5) in an envelope to buy coffin (the white piece of cloth in which Muslims cover a dead body and buried it) That envelop was a kind of death letter which was signed by the commander and final order to kill that person wherever you see him.

Between Taliban, there was a group called "*Fedaien*" (Suicidal) group, they were the ones who can kill anyone and could kill themselves. When they were sending a teenager on a suicide mission, there would have competition. Everyone wanted to go first to blow themselves. The commander told the guys that when you press this button you won't feel anything, you will just fly directly to heaven and there will be the stream of milk and honey and the 70 virgins will be waiting for you. At some places of Waziristan, the Taliban made an artificial heaven for them so they can have the idea of heaven and that would be easy for them get ready for a suicide attack.

It was true once a person stayed with Taliban for a month then no one could bring that person back because he was so brainwashed in that one month and so attached to the idea and school of thoughts of Taliban that the only thing he wanted to do was to just kill himself as soon as he could so he can relax in Heaven. But he doesn't know that killing innocent men and children won't take him to Heaven but hell.

Majority of the young people who joined Taliban and became suicide bomber were those who didn't have elders in their family. His father maybe working in Dubai, UAE, Saudi Arabia or in a difference city never knows about their sons' involvement and other activities. A lot of young people of Dara died in this militancy. Majority of the young people were interested in to gain power and have authority over people and command the locals the way he wants. They were feeling like in a commanding position but they didn't know that this fake kingdom is going to finish soon. A lot of them died while fighting with army and many of them were captured by the security forces and they were killed brutally in detention centers and torture cells. They would torture them, kill them and threw their dead bodies by the river banks, graveyards or near the mountains.

2.8.2 Dara Before and After Militancy

Before militancy people of FATA were enjoying their life and were busy in businesses and jobs. They were strictly following the Pakhtunwali ethical code. People were respecting guests and could go to meet their neighbors or friends at any time of the day or night but after militancy that all changes. People were restricted to their house and were only allowing doing their social activities only at the specific times. Before marriage ceremonies were a very big thing a community. People were inviting their relatives and friends to the marriage ceremonies but after militancy enter in Dara that all thing changes.

People were not feeling comfortable while inviting their friends or someone from outside. They were only inviting their very close relatives who were also in a fear situation. Before there was live music concert but during Taliban rule they banned all musical or singing song related activities in the FATA area. "In the past we could not imagine playing music inside our houses at weddings, a resident of Akhurwaal village in Dara Adam Khel.

According to M. Yousuf "Taliban would normally storm into the house if music played, beat residents and take away musical instruments. "He added, "Now much has changed in the area as people bring DJs from Peshawar without any fear now. "Yousef added that "Taliban had banned women from going with wedding precessions and had also forbidden playing music and inviting people who were transgender to dance at the occasion".

Arranging live music concert at a wedding ceremony was one of the common practices in Pakhtun culture. People can't even think of planning a marriage without a live music concert but due to Taliban strict rules people could practice this culture. Taliban strongly forbidden this tradition of playing music, if someone does that then the Taliban could come and take the bridegroom with them and let him stay with Taliban for next few days as a penalty for not obeying the rules.

The traditional Jirga system which was replaced by Taliban groups in Dara Adam Khel has also been restored. "The militants were very strict with rich people and extorted money from them on one pretext or the other, however, for poor residents of Dara Adam Khel, their justice was very quick and effective," an elder Suliman an elder told *The Express Tribune*. Jirga was a major component of Pakhtun especially tribal culture. In the past people were really respecting their elders and Maliks of the area. Their decisions were strongly obeyed and people were happy with the mediation system by Jirga in FATA area but when militant enter in FATA area they changed the whole Jirga system.

According to the respondents the Taliban commanders were feeling fear of the local elders because they thought they the elders have the potential that they could change the public against them and it can ruin their plan of getting control of the tribal area. That was one of the reason that they were not letting any well know Maliks in the FATA area. There were only two options for famous, faithful local Maliks, to leave the area or ready to die.

The Maliks were still thinking that the Taliban will at least respect them a little bit due to Pakhtunwali code. Local residents were not getting together for a Jirga hearing because they were scared that a suicide bomber will enter the Jirga and blew his self. Majority of Maliks or elders were avoiding Jirga and crowded places. The main targets for militants were the gatherings, rallies, social groups and markets. If they see somewhere more than 15 people, they would send their bomber and that stupid guy would blow himself in the crowd and would killed almost all the people nearby at that time. That's why many people started to pray at home instead of going to mosques and they would ignore the public places as much as they could.

Small mosques were still fine but the bigger mosques like *Darul Alloom-e-Islamia Akhurwaal* was an easy target for militants. It's a grand mosque in Dara where hundreds of thousands of people gathers for Juma and Eid prayers. At that time Taliban targeted almost every place including mosques, markets, parks, buses, army check posts, police stations, convoys, hospitals, funerals, rallies, school, colleges, universities, police stations and play grounds.

There was no place in the FATA region that could be considered safe from these monsters. In Pakhtun culture people really respect elders, mainly Maliks and if you have grey hair in your beard, they are considered to be the most respected people but in Taliban case it was different. There was no love or respect for anyone. They were working on a specific agenda which was to achieve the targets at any cost doesn't matter if some is happy or sad, or dying or alive. When the Taliban killed a few well know Maliks in Dara, it was a signal for others to just leave the area or they will be the next target. Majority of those Maliks preferred to stay home and keep quiet, don't say anything against Taliban and some of them left the area and moved to other cities. The militancy really affected the dependent variable Jirga of Pakhtunwali. The other one was giving asylum to people who come to Dara after omitting some crime in their own area. The guests and travelers cultural were also subjected to be the biggest victims of this militancy. Local people didn't want anyone to stay at their place for the night.

The Hujras (common guest houses) which were used for a school of socialization and people attending death and marriage ceremonies became ghost houses. No one wanted to stay in Hujra after the evening prayer. People were feeling horror and traumatized. Many of them were fearful at home and where scared that Taliban will storm into their house. As mentioned earlier, Taliban didn't care about anyone even they didn't care about their own mother or father. They were just doing whatever order they were getting from their commander. Their commander was more like their God. Militancy in the area killed dozens of people and caused losses of billions of rupees," Suliman said. He highlighted the military operation in the area destroyed the arms manufacturing sector. As a result, thousands of people were left without a job.

Suliman added, “Nonetheless, people now are overjoyed and relaxed as they are free to practice centuries-old tradition Pakhtunwali with musical evenings and Jirga system.”
Published in The Express Tribune, September 2nd, 2016.

According to a local elder Sajid Khan, FATA areas were highly progressing in the educational sector before militancy. Due to the destruction of educational institute like government primary, middle, high schools and colleges by the extremists the education process was stopped. It seems like the extremists didn't want the people of FATA to get education and development. They started giving sermons on Friday prayers advising people not to send their kids to school instead send them to Madrassas (the religious schools). The schools and other educational and health facilities were closed for almost five years and have been recently restored. These five years break in the process of education give a huge loss to the local youth in terms of educational gain. Nothing can pay back all these years of life while not going to school and not learning specially for the middle and lower-class families. Neither the government was interested in the reconstruction of these demolished school and collages. Many of them are re-opened and the educational activities have been started. The government also inaugurated the only university for the people FATA in Dara Adam Khel.

People of FATA especially Dara are very happy with this university and it's like a dream come true for tribal people. There were many banks functional for local people of Dara but due to militancy all these banks were closed but recently they resumed their activities after a five years break. People are started enjoying their lives at the fullest and the life is coming back to normal. The sports activities were the most attractive part of the late afternoon and evening in Dara. Local residents of Dara usually finish their work around 4:30pm every day so they could go back home and play some sports game like Soccer (football) volleyball or cricket. There were regular football tournaments in Dara, where there were usually six to seven local football teams competing each other. People of Dara play both cricket and football but they love football the most. Due to militancy, all the sports activities had been stopped and people were just playing in door games or any other recreational activities.

2.9 Militancy and Jihad

According to Merriam-Webster dictionary the “Militant” is an English word. It can be used an adjective and noun that usually means aggressive, combative, vigorously active, and especially to support a cause as in ‘militant reforms’. It derives from the Latin word “Militare” in the 15th century, means to serve as a soldier” Latin”. These days’ *militant* people usually don’t refer it an active soldier. Anyone is militant who it contributes to the notion of exercising strong, occasionally extreme, actions to accomplish an objective, mostly political.¹ A "militant political activist" would be expected to be more argumentative and insistent than an activist not labeled as militant.

The New York Times (19 June 1990) ran an article titled *Militant Environmentalists Planning Summer Protests to Save Redwoods* defining a group of people that trusts in "confrontational demonstrations" and "nonviolent tactics" want to hear their voice and get the message of protective the atmosphere. One more example contains 'a militant political activist',² catching attentiveness to actions distinctive to the people, busy in serious political involvement. The political rallies directed by the Reverend Al Sharpton are considered as militant type, in *The Washington Post* (30 March 1990). The expression "militant" is sometimes used for those people or groups who don’t call themselves militants or aggressive that includes violence in their action. Al-Qaeda has been libeled as militant group in Islamic Terrorism in the early 21st Century.³ *Militant* can indicate to the kind of people or groups showing violent actions or attitudes. *Militant* is occasionally expended as to understatement for *terrorist* or *armed insurgent*. (Sander, Clinton, 1990. P98. It is frequently used in several religious groups to signify the endless fight of Christians (as church members) or the Christian Church for the battle against sin.⁴

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1. American Heritage Dictionary". Ask.com. Retrieved 2017-06-18.
 2. The New York Times". *The New York Times*. 19 June 1990. Retrieved 2017-04-10.
 3. BBC: Nigeria blast blamed on Islamic militant group Boko Haram. Example of use of "militant" to describe a group suspected of carrying out a suicide bombing(Boko Haram) Retrieved 2017-06-19
 4. Sanders, Clinton. Marginal Conventions: Popular Culture, Mass Media, and Social Deviance. Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1990. Decoding the Mass Media and Terrorism Connection. Page 98.

Particularly, the Roman Catholic Church distinguishes among Church militant and church victorious.¹ The founders of the Seventh-day Adventist church, Ellen G. White, says "Now the church is militant. Now we are confronted with a world in darkness, almost wholly given over to idolatry".²

This kind of religious implication should not be muddled with the term "belligerent" expressed to define the extremists' faith manners originated in those, built on their severe religious attitudes or beliefs, take a gun and start a war, or those who are involved extremists and terrorist activates to promote and to spread their radical religious ideas. These kinds of extremist groups can be found in any religion including Christian, Muslims, Jewish.^{3,4,5}

The Newspapers, magazines, internet and other information foundations may believe *militant* a neutral term, (Mark, 2003, p.9) whereas *terrorist*, (Taylor & Francis, 2009, p.162) or *guerrilla* traditionally specifies condemnation of the conduct of the people or a society so branded, irrespective of the reasons for this kind of behavior. *Militant*, also can be used as to someone who's not a fellow of the regular armed militaries busy war or serving as a combatant. (Peloso, Vincent C. Work, 2003, p.238).

The mass media sometimes uses the term "*militant*" in the context of terrorism. (Sanders, Clinton, Marginal Conventions, 190, p.98). Journalists sometimes apply the term *militant* to movements using terrorism as a tactic. The mass media also has used the term *militant groups* or *radical militants* for terrorist organizations. (Taylor & Francis, 2007, p.55, Savitch, H. V, 2008, p.45).

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1. ["Catholic View of Church Militant – Theology". Ewtn.com. 12 January 1935. Retrieved 2017-12-04.](#)
 2. [The Ministry of Healing, page 504". Whiteestate.org. Retrieved 2017-12-25](#)
 3. [Third Article on Terrorism by Christians". Antiwar.com Retrieved 2017-08-24.](#)
 4. [Terrorism by Muslim". Muhammadanism.org Retrieved 2017-12-05](#)
 5. [Judith Apter Klinghoffer. "Third Article on Terrorism by Jews". Hnn.us. Retrieved 2017-10-10.](#)

2.9.1 Legal Inferences of Militancy

Those fighters who are fighting a military force that invaded another and their actions could be described as *terrorist*, because their acts of political violence against military targets of a foreign occupier do not violate international law. Protocol 1 of the Geneva Conventions gives lawful combatant status to those engaging in armed conflicts against alien (or foreign) occupation, colonial domination and racist régimes. Non-uniformed guerrillas also gain combatant status if they carry arms openly during military operations.

In the UN General Assembly Resolution on terrorism (42/159, 7 December 1987) which condemns international terrorism and outlines measures to combat the crime, with one proviso: "that nothing in the present resolution could in any way prejudice the right to self-determination, freedom and independence, as derived from the Charter of the United Nations, of peoples forcibly deprived of that right [...], particularly peoples under colonial and racist regimes and foreign occupation or other forms of colonial domination, nor...the right of these peoples to struggle to this end and to seek and receive support [in accordance with the Charter and other principles of international law]." "In FATA militants are those who take guns, challenge the government writ and try to impose their own rule of law.

They are not only the ones who want to terrorize people of a specific area but those who were discriminated in different ways by state, society and their social status itself share a lot to this cause. There can be a chance of specific power that used these militants towards a specific goal to achieve desire result. If we look at the militants in Dara we can clearly see that their motive was not only to terrorize people but to impose their own rule of law as well as destroy the local culture. It seems like they thoroughly studied Pakhtunwali culture before planning this militancy game in this region. It is important to say that the way the militants started this mission by executing the most influential and intellectual elders of Dara who knew the history and culture of their ancestors. Those elders were the ones who were the source of cultural transformation (Pakhtunwali) into next generation. They were brutally killed by these militants. Hence, extremism was labeled on this area that lost their own future through their own hands.

There were some young extremists who left their houses to join Taliban because they thought whatever the Taliban commander says is accurate and people should follow their way of life. That was one of the reasons to start recruiting young people of FATA so they can use them the way they want. These young boys were as young as 15 years old were prepared for a suicide mission. The commander of suicide squad would hand over a guarantee letter to the heaven and the young boy would blow his self in a target directed by his group commander. Militancy in Dara brought drastic changes to the culture which changes all aspects of life there. Their behavior, the way of life, the attitude even it brought changes to the blood relations. People don't trust each other anymore and usually try to avoid such thing that involves any kind of moral and emotional support to people around them. According to Dr. Liza, City University the U.K "Word culture is a very important window into the culture of a people we cannot deny a society and its social norms."

2.9.2 Span of Militancy

Politics pave way to create militants, including tribal or religious bigots, ethnic activists, protesters, abortion challengers and campaigners, and environmentalists. For example, provision of militant comprises extremist's organizers like right and left wing. Militant feminists, animal rights militant and militant rebels.

The term *militant Islam* can suggest a brutal and antagonistic fundamental faction by Muslims by faith, groups, supporters, movements, activities or authorities, numerous covert nations used to title militarists are known as militant. Through the ruler's power to kill people all over the world that cover as "imminent threat" if "arrest is not possible",¹ (Williams, 2012) the Obama management regularly calls each victim of extrajudicial killing a militant.² (Boyle, 2012).

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1. Brian Williams (18 June 2012). "Obama: less rights, more drones—don't worry, it's legit". *The Militant*. Retrieved 2017-09-16
 2. Michael Boyle (11 June 2012). "Obama's drone wars and the normalisation of extrajudicial murder". *The Guardian*. Retrieved 2017-10-24

2.10 Religion as Key Legitimizing Force for Violence

Because of the formation of “we vs. they” (infidels, dogs, mud people, etc.), religious necessities have the potential to lead more violent movements. Religion offers its supporters a distinctive value structure with the influence to legitimizing and validating the permitted actions. Same was happening with the extremists’ groups in FATA when they were executing someone, they would come up with a justification and religious point of view which allow them or convince their followers to act violently, because their actions were justified by their fanatics. Killing government officers or foreign contractor were justified as supporters of the infidels and the Western support government. The government joined hands with the US led war on terror which toppled the Taliban government in Afghanistan.

The Taliban turned against the US and its allied forces and consider Pakistani government as enemy of Taliban and friend with the West. These were the people who were trained in religious Madrassas to fight Soviets in Afghanistan. The extremists used the same agenda that they used against the Soviets which was taught to them by the CIA and the ISI. They got people sympathy and support through the religious affiliation in the Tribal areas. Mullahs were preaching Jihad against the West and its allies in each mosque which influenced a huge number of people and helped the society radical.

As mentioned earlier for extremist the similar minded people were “us” and “them” who go against their doctrine. That was once of the reason that they were killing whoever doesn’t agree with their school of thoughts. Bombing worship places, other public and private sector where they could kill many people were called “martyrs” will go to heaven directly. In some cases, they called it that “God willing, they died because God doesn’t want them to do something bad that’s why they got killed before they do something bad”. Bombing a mosque full of worshippers just because there were one or two security personals who were praying at the time they send their suicide bomber killing scores were justified religious events.

Terrorist groups' explanation of these value organisms radically vary from the typical. Usually, even at the possibility of being banished as recluses, they prefer to diverge from the fundamental educations of their religions. This is particularly the situation of the groups justifying Islamic religious views while executing their terrorist activities. One of Islam's uniqueness comes from its association with almost every characteristic of human life. Islam as a monotheistic religion has a programmed understanding on human life.

According to Islam, the life (human or animal) is sacred, and killing one innocent human being is equal to murdering of the entire humanity. That's why these terrorist groups who use the name of Islam while conducting their violent activities need to be changed than the mainstream. Moreover, the kind of the acts of terrorism needs strong-minded and devoted people who are eager to oblige the kinds of deeds that the terrorist group desires. Those characters will require a very strong support in order to carry on operating concerning the groups objectives. Religion arises convenient as an outsider, independent, dominant, cherished, and indisputable cause for energy. The terrorist groups use the influence of Islam over their contradictory explanations in a system to support violence as the only way to accomplish religious culminations which, under usual conditions, are to be accomplished through authentic ways. This is one of the reason that new comers go through very hard training periods where they learn about the interpretation of religious values, norms, goals, means that the terrorist groups want them to learn.

According to Cinoğlu, H. (2010), this is very evident in Turkish Hizbullah, as was mentioned in their propaganda book (Bagasi, 2004), new recruits are indoctrinated and rescued from the insufficient/mislead and passive interpretations of Islam during those training sessions. The group does not limit education only to new recruits. Turkish Hizbullah is known for its emphasis on continuing education through the pamphlets, books, and other training materials that the group prepared. During this course of interpretation, the terrorist groups achieve their goals, because, they have a heavenly foundation where no human inspiration, originates straightly from God) that supports their influences (Seligman & Katz, 1996). In fact, the religions in the world never call the violence a violence when it is used by their own faith, they first recourse in their pursuit to deal with others, even intruders.

The use of arms in Islamic doctrine is very strict even in war situation. For example, children of any race and religion, unarmed people, citizens, animals and plants cannot be targeted under any circumstances (Aktan, 2004).

One of the unexpected consequences of religious involvement in terrorism is that it saves the organizations from spending energy and time to distinguish groups or people among larger crowds as their legitimate targets. Therefore, every group regardless of their religion (they might be fellow Muslims as well) becomes a legitimate target due to the justifying reasons mentioned above. One of the major differences between secular terrorist groups and religious terrorist groups comes from their classification of the society (Pape, 2003).

1.11 The Relationship between Terrorism and Religion

While the literature on terrorism offers widely divergent opinions on almost every topic, one matter is clear; not all terrorists are religious fanatics, or even religious. Nonetheless, it is also apparent that religiously motivated terrorism is on the rise and it is alarmingly more lethal than other forms of terrorism. One possible explanation for the lethality of religious terrorism is that it is more closely linked to suicide terrorism, which accounts for only 3% of all terrorist activity from 1980 through 2003, but 48% of the fatalities (Pape 2005:6). Some researchers have indeed argued that religious motivations are more commonly associated with suicide terrorism (Berman and Laitin 2005; Hoffman 2003), although others have rejected this connection (Bloom 2005; Pape 2005). Furthermore, Pape's (2005:210) analysis of data on suicide terrorism from 1980 to 2003 found that less than half of the suicide bombings documented during this period were religiously motivated. However, even if religiously motivated suicide bombers are not more common than their secular counterparts, they may be more successful in causing fatalities, as Berman and Laitin's (2005) data suggest. Religion can institutionally and individually facilitate suicide attacks and other forms of terrorism, and that specific evolved elements of religion differentially contribute to these effects. The media may be responsible for the popular belief that religion and terror are strongly associated. Terrorists, especially suicide terrorists, are often depicted in the media as delusional religious fundamentalists, hopelessly brainwashed and out of touch with reality.

The picture that is emerging from recent research, however, is far different. Berrebi (2003). Krueger and Maleckova (2002) also demonstrate that poverty is not a predictor of participation in political violence or support for terrorism. Moreover, Sageman (2004) found no evidence of psychopathology in an international sample of Muslim terrorists. If overall terrorists, and suicide bombers in specific, are not irrational religious fanatics, what then is the connection among religion and terrorism? Numerous academics have claimed that terrorists have political, not religious goals (Bloom 2005; Juergensmeyer 2003; Pape 2005). Religion is not the basic cause of disagreements but is somewhat an instrument used by terrorists to gain their objectives. Reorganize in evolutionary relations, religious views, practices, and institutes are adjacent tools that assist otherwise unlikely interactive results. Here we review four main reasons why religion serves as an effective mechanism for terrorists.

2.11.1 The Wider Trend of Religious Terrorism

Religious terrorist groups often become cheap and effective tools for specific states in the advancement of their foreign policy political agendas. They may also contain a nationalist-separatist agenda, in which the religious component is often entangled with complex mixture of cultural, political and linguistic factors. The growth of religious terrorism is also indicative of the transformation of contemporary terrorism into a method of warfare and the evolution of the tactics and the techniques used by various groups, as a reaction to vast changes within the local, regional and global environment over the last three decades.

The evolution of today's religious terrorism neither has occurred in a vacuum nor represents a particularly new phenomenon. It has, however, been propelled to the forefront in the post-Cold War world, as it has been exacerbated by the explosion of ethnic religious conflicts and the rapidly approaching new millennium. The accelerated dissolution of traditional links of social and cultural cohesion within and between societies with the current globalization process, combined with the historical legacy and current conditions of political repression, economic inequality and social upheaval common among disparate religious extremist movements, have all led to an increased sense of fragility, instability and unpredictability for the present and the future.

At the same time, it is also possible to discern a number of features which are found in all religious terrorist groups across different regions and faiths. These features serve not only to define the cause and the enemy but also fundamentally shape the means, methods and timing of the use of the violence itself.

2.11.2 The Causes and the Enemies of Religious Terrorists

Yet, this sense of crisis, as a perceived threat to their identity and survival, has been present to varying degrees throughout history. It has led to recurring phases of resurgence in most faiths. In these revivals, the believers use the religion in a variety of ways: they take refuge in the religion, which provides centuries old ideals by which to determine goals; they find physical or psychological sanctuary against repression; or they may use it as a major instrument for activism or political action. Thus, religious terrorists perceive their actions as defensive and reactive in character and justify them in this way. This is echoed by Sikh extremists, who advocate that, while violence is not condoned, when all peaceful means are exhausted, "you should put your hand on the sword. The defensive character of protecting one's faith through religious violence is also evident in the Sikhs fear of losing their distinct identity in the sea of Hindus and Muslims. In the United States, the paranoid outlook of white supremacist movements is driven by a mixture of racism and anti-Semitism, as well as mistrust of government and all central authority. Hence, religious terrorism serves as the only effective vehicle for political opposition. The threat of secularization from foreign sources is also the catalyst for springing religious terrorists into action. Intrusion of secular values into the extremists' own environment and the visible presence of secular foreign interference provoke self-defensive aggressiveness and hostility against the sources of these evils. This is especially true against perceived colonialism and neo- colonialism by western civilizations or against other militant religious faiths. These defensive sentiments are often combined with the visible emergence and presence of militant clerical leaders. Such leaders have more activist and militant ideologies than the mainstream movement from which they have emerged as either clandestine instruments or breakaway groups. It is often the case that these clerical ideologues and personalities act as a centrifugal force in attracting support, strengthening the organizational mechanisms and in redefining the methods and means through terrorism.

At the same time, they provide theological justification, which enables their followers to pursue the sacred causes more effectively and rapidly. The so-called spiritual guides, who ultimately overlook most political and military activities while blessing acts of terrorism, can be found in almost all religious terrorist groups: In many ways, religious terrorists embrace a total ideological vision of an all-out struggle to resist secularization from within as well as from without. They pursue this vision in totally uncompromising holy terms in literal battles between good and evil. The sense of totality of the struggle for these religious warriors is one purely defined in dialectic and cosmic terms as believers against unbelievers, order against chaos, and justice against injustice, which is mirrored in the totality and uncompromising nature of their cause, whether that cause entails the establishment of Eretz Israel, an Islamic state based on sharia law or an independent Khalistan ("Land of the Pure"). As such, the religious terrorists perceive their struggle as all-out war against their enemies. This perception, in turn, is often used to justify the level and intensity of the violence. "The manifesto justifying that jihad is its path and that "death for the sake of Allah is its most sublime belief." In fact, the lack of any moral constraints in the use of violence cannot only be attributed to the totality of the struggle itself but also to the preponderance of recruits of young, educated and newly urbanized men (often with very radical, dogmatic and intolerant worldviews), in contemporary religious terrorist organizations. This increased militancy of a younger generation of religious terrorists can be explained by both the fragmentation of groups into rival splinter factions and also the killing or imprisonment of key founding leaders and ideologues. Yet, the mechanisms of unleashing acts of religious terrorism, in terms of intensity, methods and timing, are tightly controlled by the apex of the clerical hierarchy and most often are dependent on their blessing. In most cases the strictly hierarchical nature of religious terrorist groups with a highly disciplined structure and obedient cadres means not only that the main clerical leaders command full control over the political as well as military activities of the organization but also that the strategies of terrorism are unleashed in accordance with general political directives and agendas. Yet, the use and sanctioning of religious violence requires clearly defined enemies. The newly formed religious terrorist groups today do not appear in a vacuum nor are their members necessarily born into extremism.

The identity of the enemy and the decision to use religious violence against them are dependent on, and shaped by, the heightened degree of the sense of crisis threatening their faiths and communities. This, in turn, is influenced by the historical legacy of political repression, economic inequality or social upheaval, and may be exacerbated by ethnic and military disputes. This sense of grievance is uniquely experienced between the faiths and the individual groups, as well as in alignment with the political strategies and tactics adopted to confront them according to local, regional and international contexts. Internally, this militancy may be directed against the corruption or injustice of the political system, or against other religious communities; externally, it may be focused against foreign influences, which represent a cultural, economic or political threat to the respective religious communities. While few terrorist groups adopt large scale campaigns of suicide missions, the religious terrorist utilizes the traditional methods of assassination, kidnappings, hijackings and bombings in a skillful combination in alignment with the current political context on the local, regional and international level. Despite the growth and array of religious terrorist groups with diverse demands and grievances, they are all united, not only in the level and intensity of violence used, but also in the role played by religious symbolism in selecting the targets and the timing of the violence itself.

The shifting center of gravity of the Cold War was the major context in which Afghanistan policy was framed, but the Iranian Revolution of 1979 was also a crucial factor. Ayatollah Khomeini anointed the United States as the "Great Satan," and pro-U.S. Islamic countries as "American Islam." Rather than address specific sources of Iranian resentment against the United States, the Reagan administration resolved to expand the pro-U.S. Islamic lobby in order to isolate Iran. The strategy was two pronged. First, with respect to Afghanistan, it hoped to unite a billion Muslims worldwide around a holy war, a crusade, against the Soviet Union. I use the word *crusade*, not *jihad*, because only the notion of crusade can accurately convey the frame of mind in which this initiative was taken. Second, the Reagan administration hoped to turn a doctrinal difference inside Islam between minority Shia and majority Sunni into a political divide. It hoped thereby to contain the influence of the Iranian Revolution as a minority Shia affair. The plan went into high gear in 1986 when CIA chief William Casey took three significant measures (Rashid 2000, 129-130).

The first was to convince Congress to step up the anti-Soviet war in Afghanistan by providing the mujahedeen with the U.S. advisors and the U.S.-made Stinger anti-aircraft missiles to shoot down Soviet planes. The second was to expand the Islamic guerrilla war from Afghanistan into the Soviet Republics of Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, a decision reversed when the Soviet Union threatened to attack Pakistan in retaliation. The third was to recruit radical Muslims from around the world to come and train in Pakistan and fight with the Afghan mujahedeen. The Islamic world had not seen an armed jihad for centuries. Now the CIA was determined to create one, to put a version of tradition at the service of politics. This was the tradition of jihad of a just war with a religious sanction, nonexistent in the last 400 years revived with U.S. help in the 1980s. In a 1990 radio interview, Iqbal Ahmad explained how "CIA agents started going all over the Muslim world recruiting people to fight," Pervez Hoodbhoy recalled with Pakistan's Zia-ul-Haq as America's foremost ally, the CIA advertised for, and openly recruited, Islamic holy warriors from Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, and Algeria. Radical Islam went into overdrive as its superpower ally and mentor funneled support to the Mujahidin, and Ronald Regan feted them on the lawn of the White House, lavishing praise on "brave freedom fighters challenging the Evil Empire. [2001]

This is the context in which a U.S./Saudi/Pakistani alliance was forged, and in which religious madrasahs were turned into political schools for training cadres. The CIA did not just fund the jihad; it also played "a key role in training the mujahedeen" (Chossudovsky 2001). The point was to integrate guerilla training with the teachings of Islam and, thus, create "Islamic guerrillas." The Indian journalist Dilip Hiro (1995) explained: Applying this definition, the terrorism label may be withheld from attacks when they are aimed at military entities or carried out as part of wider-scale warfare (Martin & Weinberg, 2017). The same groups that attack noncombatants may also attack combatants within or outside war, and they may do so concurrently (Martin & Weinberg, 2017). Terrorist groups are identified by their use of terrorism; however, they need not rely solely on terrorist tactics (Martin & Perliger, 2012). Terrorist groups also may carry out attacks that do not match the definition of terrorism described here.

2.11.3 A Political Philosophy of Terrorism

According to some criminologists about half of the dangerous terrorist groups on the earth are for the most part instigated by religious doctrines and concerns. They consider these acts as test of their sincerity with the religion and accomplishment of assigned duty by God and the way to achieve the will of God and a way towards heaven. Criminology further explains these religious creeds mingled with political interests. In this regard, for the achievement of their political will, the religious figures first blame their own country's politicians for neglecting the important historical part and lessons of their religious issues then they blame foreign influence/prevaling international system for influencing their religious culture. These blames are inclusive of three reasons. First, the foreign influence/system doesn't serve the religion's survival interests. Second, the system competes and has animosity with world's different religion and the third the system is depicted as evil-like force or influence. Simply the militant religion considers secularization, modernization and westernization as the most specific enemies.

Therefore, the religious movements start violent campaign against it as the legitimate defender of faith and they justify their actions posing themselves only accountable to God who has chosen them for the sacred mission. Religious movements can be quite violent, ferocious, extreme and carrying pre-emptive attacks in its nature. Simply, in its extremist form religious groups adopt terrorism as a last resort to its campaign.

In its tactics religious terrorism is quite extremist and full of injustices and maltreatment. Strategically it supports preemptive attacks for the fear of an existing threat from the opposite faith and ideology. In fact, terrorism in the name of religion aims at political motives. Believers of the religious group consider it righteous to adopt violent means in defense of their faith against other religions. They consider their religion universal and assume it their great responsibility to propagate their faith by all violent means. Current Terrorism is mostly religion based; suicide bombing, martyrdom and the use of weapons are symbolic features of it. The significant means of these terrorist networks are Internet, international media and satellites.

2.12 Jihad and its Basic Rules

If we try to find out the detailed description of Jihad through Islamic context, it never means to get a sword and kill all the nonbeliever, unlike in western mainstream media, how they portray Islam and Jihad. The word Jihad really means to struggle, try hard or effort, and it doesn't mean only Holy War but more than that unlike crusade, in Muslims context the word Jihad describes three different types of struggles:

1. A Muslim's struggle from the heart to live like a real Muslim as suggested by Quran and the teaching of Islam.
2. To be a good Muslim and to be kind and supportive to the people around him and build a society according to Muslim doctrine.
3. To fight for Islam in need with power and do his best to protect the religion.

Numerous present day writers say that the core meaning of Jihad is the inner spiritual struggle, and this is acknowledged by lots of Muslims around the world. Although, there are a lot of indications to Jihad as an armed battle in Islamic books that it is improper to assert that the explanation of Jihad as holy war is incorrect. There are many Muslims who think exactly like westerner and don't know the exact meaning of Jihad think taking arms against oppressor is the only duty as to fulfill the Jihad duty. I think it's more than that. A good Jihad could be to look around your neighborhood and find someone who needs help in terms of social, moral or financial support. A child who can't afford to go to school by providing them necessary school supply is the best Jihad or feeding hungry who don't have enough to eat two meals a day is a perfect Jihad.

2.12.1 Jihad and the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) (The Internal Jihad)

Prophet Muhammad PBUH called the internal Jihad is the *greater Jihad*. But the reference in which the Prophet says this is regarded as coming from an unreliable source by some scholars. They regard the use of Jihad to mean *holy war* as the more important. Here internal Jihad is to get control of your desire and have inner peace by doing something which is not harming others both physically and emotionally.

The expression *internal Jihad* or *greater Jihad* indicates to the struggles of a devotee to live their Muslim faith in a proper way. Majority of the religious people try to spend their lives according to the path shown by God to the humankind so the God can be happy by their actions. Consequently, Muslims people spend their lives with great determination to live their lives according to the path shown in the Quran. They devote their selves to Allah and follow the rules of faith and help others as much as they can. For some people, it's quite hard to live the way God guided people. It means that there are set standards of living a life according to the Islamic faith. What to eat, what to drink, how to pray, how to walk and how to talk and specially dealing with people is a bit struggle for some believers. Some people sacrifice their own desires and dedicate their lives, for instance when a young boy devote himself to God and remember the whole Quran, leave a beard as soon as it grows and never shave and always live their lives according to the standard set by God. Some of them want to follow these set standards but it's hard for them, they prefer to fulfill their desires then devotion to good.

A good example of these people could be those Muslims who consume alcohol and eat pork which is strongly forbidden in Islamic faith. Those who joined militants for Jihad were totally brainwashed. They were as young as 14 years old and the easy target of the militants. They were fighting for Allah but they didn't know the real players behind this game. People of the tribal areas are very religious and they pray for time a day and strictly follow the rules of Islam and that was one of the reason that they joined extremists in their unlawful activates. If we look at the real meaning behind is not just get a sword or gun and start killing people but it is more like not doing what you really want (self-control). There is a saying in tribal area, (Start Jihad from your own house) it means make yourself first a good Muslim and follow all the rules then you can guide others. There are many needy people in the area. Helping the needy ones also is a Jihad. According to Now This World YouTube Channel's Published on (Jun 17, 2014) technically Jihad means a struggle the way of Allah. There are two kinds of Jihad, the outer and the inner Jihad. The outer is the kind that defends Islam against outside aggression. The inner represents the internal spiritual struggle to seek some improvements in the way of Allah. So basically, it's a struggle to be a better Muslim both spiritually and in practice.

A passage from a Hadith describes when Prophet Muhammad PBUH said on his return from a battle, the prophet said. “You have come from the lesser Jihad to the greater jihad- the striving of a servant (of Allah) against his (own) desires.” Prophet Muhammad PBUH. From the website myjihad.org “My Jihad is to always pursue new ideas and conquer new challenges” the social network twitter went on hash tagging people with “My Jihad” My jihad is to balance work and family life. Another participant said my Jihad is to challenge society norms and works towards improving our cultural. An Egyptian participated with the text “My jihad is to keep the air in my country clean. One more participant went on “My Jihad is to appreciate the jihad in a place where the Jihad is misunderstood” so basically jihad means a struggle not particularly war or fighting with people.¹

2.12.2 The Five Pillars of Islam as Jihad

The five pillars of Islam formulate a use of Jihad in this logic, subsequently a Muslim moves closer to Allah by doing them. There are other means that a Muslim involves in the “Greater Jihad” contain:

1. To learning and understanding the Holy Islamic Book the Quran with all your heart, mind and join additional religious education of better understanding and knowledge.
2. To control bad habits such as greediness, hatred towards other, bad temper, protect yourself from evil, to be proud of wealth, power and authority which are common human nature.
- 3 To stop consuming alcohol like some of the Korean citizen who converted to Islam while working in Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates or other Islamic world or even some Muslims who were consuming alcohol. To stop smoking because any kind of intoxication is forbidden in Islam.²
4. Visiting a nearby masjid, cleaning the floor, vacuuming its carpet if it has one, looking around if the believers need something like water for Wudu (self-cleaning before a prayer).

1. www.myjihad.org

2. http://www.bbc.co.uk/religion/religions/islam/beliefs/jihad_1.shtml

5. Having active participation in any kind of activity arranged my Muslim community for Muslims or none Muslim mainly in during Ramadan, Eid or other events.
6. Taking a side of the weak people in community and showing support to them regarding social justice in community.
7. To not keep grudges inside and forgiving people even they are not nice to you and did something bad in the past.
8. To not prefer or decide good or bad due to social condition, authority, race, religion and personal affiliation.

2.12.3 The Greater Jihad Controversy and the Holy War

The Prophet has said to have called the internal Jihad the "greater Jihad". When the Prophet Muhammad PBUH came back from a battle, He said: "We are finished with the lesser jihad; now we are starting the greater jihad." What he really wanted to tell and explain to his followers that going out with an army fighting against an enemy outside is lower category of Jihad and to have a control on yourself, desires and submitting your self is to God is a much greater jihad (holy war). Some of the religious scholars don't agree on this quotation. They think this quotation is not from a reliable source. They think the original meaning of Jihad is the "Holy War" to just go, get your weapon and start fighting, more like become a rabble and it's important. Meanwhile, for some of the Muslims scholars gave great importance to this quotation and it's been highly appreciate specially between the Sufi, sects of Islam. Jihad is also connected to the point when Muslim believers, or their faith or territory are under attack, Islam permits (some say directs) the believer to wage military war to protect them. However Islamic (Sharia) law sets very strict rules for the conduct of such a war. In recent years the most common meaning of Jihad has been Holy War. There is a long tradition of Jihad being used to mean a military struggle to benefit Islam.

"Fight in the ay of Allah against those who fight against you, but begin not hostiles. Lo! Allah loveth not aggressors."¹**Quran 22:39**

1. Al- Quran 22:39

2.12.4 What can Justify Jihad?

To justify Jihad, there are some explanations of the causes and reasons that can justify being entering into a war. The Qur'an is very clear that self-defense is always the primary cause that can lead to a war against anyone who shows an offensive without any justification. There are a few terms that give legitimate motives for military Jihad:

- When you or your family is under attack or severe threat and you need to defend yourself. You are allowed to for a Jihad. It means you are not going to attack someone but others coming to attack you and you have to defend yourself.
- If you are a true believer of Islam and you want to spread the message of Islam to a specific society. The people need to be educated about Islam and are flexible enough to listen to Islamic preachers or have a debate about religion that can help spread the message of God to those who doesn't have any contact with Muslims or Islam before can strengthening Islam.
- In some countries like the United States and Europe people are free to practice their religions. Its democracy and they have right to religion but in some places people don't like Muslims practicing their faith and are offended by locals. In that case Muslims can come forward and do measures to solve the problem and try to come to an agreement to protecting the freedom of Muslims to practice their faith.
- In Islamic history, Muslim rulers were simple and working for people and their community. They were not calling themselves kings or rulers but they call them slaves servants. Servants of God and servant of people and they were showing that with their actions. The saying "Actions speaks louder than words" are the perfect example of that but Muslims rulers these days specially in the Arab world are totally the opposite of that rulers in pre Islamic history. To protect Muslims from domination by a ruler who had a record of being tyrannical ruler or more like an entrepreneur or a businessman.
- To go on a fight with an enemy that breaks the promise or agreement of peace or have a cunning opponent who are tricky and unfaithful.

- To favor and support the wrongdoers against the innocent or putting right a wrong.

“Therefore if they withdraw from you but fight you not, and (instead send you (Guarantees of) peace, then Allah Hath opened no way for you (to war against them).¹**Quran 4:90**

1. Al Quran: 4:9

2.12.5 What is not Jihad?

There are clear explanations and conditions of Jihad. The reason and the motive to start a Jihad and now to clear what is not a Jihad is as follow.

- If someone is fighting a war that includes force conversion to Islam is not a Jihad. It's totally against the teaching of Islam and it consider and cruel act by an individual or a group. The Al-Qaeda, Taliban or ISIS could a good example of that war.
- To start a war and attack people of a specific area just to get their natural resources and colonize the people that can be used as cheap worker for their economies and been transported as slaves and house keeper is not a Jihad. Example of that could be European imperialism era and the United States attacks on the Muslim world due to their geographical location and great natural Gas and oil reserves.
- To make a war to take someone else's territory for personal economic gain and benefit and to settle disputes and start was is not a Jihad. It's a personal thing which could be solve through mutual understanding. To show off power by a leader, ruler or a group to suppress others is not a Jihad.

Although, the Prophet Muhammad participated in a few military actions on a number of occasions where he leads the group of Muslim from front. These were kind of battles for survival instead of attacking or conquering others. It's important to mention that fighting between two tribes were common at that time.

2.12.6 The Rules of Jihad

A military Jihad has got its own rule and it's the duty of each soldier who devotes to strictly follow the rules in order to be legitimate.

- To not push the enemy to the level that has to fight against you. The rival should always have initiated the combat.
- Jihad is not for power or economic benefits. To gain a place, land or territory is not a Jihad.
- The Jihad should be plan by religious leaders because they have more knowledge about the Islamic rule of law and they really know how and what to do during a specific time period, that's why the leader of the Jihad group should always be a religious leader. Jihad should fight for common benefits of people not about personal gains; it should be fought purely for the will of Allah.

Before going into Jihad and to start fight, leaders should try all the possible men to solve the conflict without fight. Utilize all the resources and try to bring peace until the end or if it's not working they are allowed to go for it. In a war, children, women, innocent people and old age shouldn't be harm, fight or killed. Women must not be touched or approached for rape or any action that leads to sexual harassment.

After winning a war, the enemy shouldn't be treated badly or cruelly. They should be treated with justice as common people. That opponent soldier who gets injured should treat exactly the way they treat their own soldiers. They shouldn't be treated as enemy after war. If they enemy request for peace and to stop the war, the war should be immediately stopped and should go ahead in peace talks and agreement. In war situation, the enemy property or belongings shouldn't be damages or vandalized.¹

1. http://www.bbc.co.uk/religion/religions/islam/beliefs/jihad_1.shtml

2.12.7 The Quran on Jihad

All the religions in the world have some war kind of teachings, if see at the Quran, Bible and other sacred books they all have something in common regarding war. The Qur'an has several passages regarding warfare. Many of these passages encourage peace, however some are very aggressive. The Bible, the Jewish and Christian scripture, demonstrates a matching variety of attitudes towards wars and fighting.

“But if the enemy inclines towards peace, do thou (also) incline towards peace, and trust in Allah: for He is One that heareth and knoweth (all things)”. **Quran 8:6**

2.13 The Sharia Law

Sharia, an Arabic word meaning "the right path," refers to traditional Islamic law. The Sharia comes from the Quran, the sacred book of Islam, that Muslims believe is the real word of God (Allah). The Sharia also stalks from the Prophet Muhammad's teachings and explanations of those ideas by evident Muslim aboveboard intellectuals. Muslims trust that Allah (God) revealed his actual determination to Muhammad (PBUH), who then spread Allah's guidelines to humans in the holy Quran.

Meanwhile the Sharia began with Allah, Muslims believe it sacred. Between the 7th century when Muhammad (PBUH) died and the 10th century, numerous Islamic authorized academics tried to interpret the Sharia and to familiarize it to the increasing Muslim Territory.

The standard Sharia of the 10th century characterized a significant segment of Islam's golden era. From that time, the Sharia has constant to be understood and modified to altering situations and new matters. In the present time, the effects of Western colonization created efforts to organize it. It is not a list of rules but pretty much a set of principles on phases of life, comprising marriage, divorce, finance and ceremonies such as fasting and prayer. Islamic academics recognize Sharia in distinctive means and Muslims across the globe differ in their exercise of it.

The most terrorism-affected cities 2000-2015 (Reported terrorist-related deaths)

City	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	Total
Baghdad (IR)	-	2	-	125	800	1'286	2'819	2'502	1'069	1'282	908	509	754	2'034	2'582	1'965	18'637
Mosul (IR)	-	-	-	5	172	125	75	210	185	135	104	89	174	701	616	200	2'791
New York (US)	-	2'765	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	2'769
Mogadishu (SO)	21	3	-	-	4	20	3	308	205	194	224	207	253	231	392	269	2'334
Karachi (PK)	30	42	47	25	52	11	75	212	57	55	106	280	254	428	420	202	2'296
Ramadi (IR)	-	-	-	9	16	18	53	176	36	39	78	78	52	107	659	962	2'283
Maiduguri (NI)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	304	20	139	300	182	471	682	2'098
Baaqoobah (IR)	-	-	-	18	124	146	184	197	217	54	120	76	135	364	258	115	2'008
Al-Hasakeh (SY)	-	-	-	-	-	59	-	271	51	33	4	7	36	47	814	662	1'984
Kirkuk (IR)	-	-	-	6	58	131	122	225	129	107	41	67	124	244	180	91	1'525
Kabul (AF)	1	5	14	7	17	20	59	156	116	77	65	165	144	151	241	221	1'459
Peshawar (PK)	1	-	-	-	-	4	10	59	51	283	78	103	142	303	332	93	1'459
Quetta (PK)	9	5	-	69	66	3	20	32	32	41	116	170	213	451	108	109	1'444
Faloojah (IR)	-	-	-	10	10	4	61	144	27	32	38	28	76	115	414	470	1'429
Kut (IR)	-	-	-	-	-	181	88	58	17	19	60	50	75	349	259	218	1'374

Source: Global Terrorism Database: start.umd.edu/gtd/

Source: Global Terrorism Database: start.umd.edu/gtd/ <https://www.weforum.org/>

The figure above by global terrorism database shows the most terrorist effected cities between 2000-2015, reports terrorist related death. In this list Karachi and Peshawar and Quetta cities of Pakistan have been listed as the most terrorist effected cities in the world. The death toll of the Peshawar city between 2000-2015 is 1459 people. Its only one city in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province. The tribal areas casualties have been recorded independently because of the terrorist hold in the area but there are some local media and government agencies who has reported the death toll and infrastructure lose with internally displaced people (IDP) due to the war on terrorism.

Chapter Three: Theoretical Framework

To explain and highlight the flawless sketch of militancy and its impact on the behavior of Pakhtun people, first I applied the grounded theory to collect data according to my objectives. The grounded theory gives a researcher a free hand to explore the problem with different angles. Through the grounded theory process, I collected data, from the people of Dara who were working in different fields of life with social and political backgrounds. I analyze the data, code it according to the objectives and then decode it according to the research objectives. At the end I reached to saturation point through which I applied the theory of Religion and Terrorism, the Conflict theory and Religion and the Globalization theory and the Terrorism and Culture theory. The connection of these theories with my topic is explained in detail.

3.1 The Theory of Religion and Terrorism

Latest theoretical elaborations in the evolutionary learning of religion emphasis on four multicultural recurring descriptions of religion: mutual contribution in pricy ceremonies, faith in paranormal means and counterintuitive notions, split of the holy and the irreligious, and youth as the analytical life stage for the spread of religious attitudes and beliefs. These four features create an adaptive multifaceted that changed to resolve issues of group collaboration and obligation, difficulties confronted by all terrorist groups. That's how terrorists hire these descriptions of religion to accomplish their objects and claim that evolutionary examines of religion are important for supporting present tendencies in terrorist movement. Terrorists use pricy ceremonies to tentatively associate sentiments with consecrated symbols and motion group obligations.

These holy symbols are expressively reminiscent and motivationally influential, rising in group harmony, faith, and collaboration. Religious views, comprising assured rewards in the afterlife, additionally help to enable collaboration by changing the apparent settlements of expensive activities, containing suicide extremism. Shapes of brain growth exclusive to youth condense model evolving phase to appeal recruits, reveal them to holy views, and procure them in great threat manners.

According to Akers (2000, pg. 1) theories are about and linked to real life circumstances, such as our comportment preferences on an issue and our involvements with other characters, people and associations.

Akers (2000) also splits theories into two broad groups. In first set, he specially discusses regarding the theories that clarify or contract with the creating and imposing criminal law. For that that, terrorism has become rather that individuals in contemporary phases gradually confront either directly by organism maltreated or indirectly by being visible to its impacts within the media. There is no religion in existence or any well-known sects of religion support No religion or favor armed tussle and violence.

This approach doesn't conclude that religions are totally peaceful and they don't have any conflict or issues with others. Functionalist school of thought describes religion is a social institution with precise and fundamental missions in the existence of the society. Majority of the functionalists do not argue religion as to why people made or have it but they mind to emphasis more on the purposes of the religion. For them religion is essential in the protection of base and avoiding swift social variations and movements. Consequently, religion works in a style to safeguard, provision, and support progress over revolutions (Durkheim, 1933).

According to the theory of Terrorism and Religion, some terrorist groups attribute parallel amounts of importance to religion and after reinterpretation of basic teachings; they use religion to their benefit. The attentions were drawn to the process of how religion and particularly Islam has been revisited and reinterpreted in a way to provide terrorist group's guidance as the literature suggested in four basic ways. First; how religion becomes the key element in legitimating violence; second, how it has been used as the cure to alienation of in group members; third, the ways in which religion sets free the group from the need to appeal to larger constitutes; and lastly, how it is used in target selection period.

The theory of religion and terrorism explains, terrorist groups use those institutes to increase new supporters those are important in the group's existence and shifting the cause, morals, and rules to upcoming generations.

In other words, for terrorist parties, they function as a stream from where new workers are drawn; consequently, the figures of supporters' applicants who are concerned to group's actions and its viewpoint are essentially significant. For their existence and to be able to keep their strength, groups require their own institute to appeal (Hoffman, 1998).

3.2 The Conflict Theory and Religion

Unlike functionalists, with their distinctions, conflict theory factions manage to see religion as an instrument that was not only exploited by the influential in their strengths of misusing labors, but also religion is made by them. These intellectuals proclaim that, vendors of the processes of manufacture participants of bourgeoisie group made religion as a method to retain labors (proletariat) below continuous regulation and control, as rewards for the miseries of this world, religion proposals or assurances wealth and joy in the hereafter. That's why Marx (1844) recognizes religion as the "opiate of the masses". For Marx, religion provides untruthful pleasure and a belief of wellbeing which bounces workers' courtesy from their actual state (being manipulated by the rich) to an indeterminate future guarantee of pleasure.

In Marx point of view religion has been used by people to get certain goals and objectives, mainly to control masses and keep order in the society. If see many of the violence the happened in the history of human kind, religion is somehow involved in that misfortune. This research found that Taliban extremist strategy was exactly how they were controlling people. Giving miss interpretation of the religion and connecting the verses from Quran to declare jihad against anybody who were apposing their ideology. The connection between religion and terrorism turn out to be more obvious with the incidents of September 11, 2001. Though, it may be understood as a new phenomenon, in fact religious terrorism is centuries old. Still, the strength of the occurrences and rise in the amount of religiously driven terrorist factions is a new development. Rapoport (1984) argue that the connection among religion and terrorism is three tiered. Till the 19th century, religion was nearly like the only inspirational power that terrorists used to attract motivations. From nineteenth century to 1960s, mainstream terrorist organizations were secular in nature. In fact, they were not exploiting religion as their justifying and legitimating base.

Majority of them had ethnic, nationalistic, political, etc. plans. From 1960s till day, the world saw, and is still watching an intellect, the return of strong bonds among religion and terrorism. Hoffman (1998) provides a detailed evaluation of the nature of the affiliation between them.

Structuring the conflict, Juergensmeyer (2003) argues that while religion is not the cause of most conflicts involving terror. Religion is the means by which terrorists translate a local political struggle into a cosmic war.

In other words, terrorists often frame their disputes in religious rather than political terms. This has various advantages, most significantly in motivating others to sacrifice themselves for the cause. This transformation from political to religious struggle encourages actors to perceive that they are participating in something of divine significance that transcends individual self-interest. Among Sikh militants in the Punjab, Juergensmeyer describes joining the struggle as “motivated by the heady sense of spiritual fulfillment and the passion of holy war” (2004a:2). It is remarkable how successful contemporary terrorists have been in shaping world views so that they are consistent with their own views. Bin Laden, for instance, has been particularly successful in transforming his local grievance (getting U.S. troops off “Muslim” soil) into a cosmic clash between civilizations.

Divine and Eternal Rewards, Religion not only provides a divine dimension and moral legitimacy to terrorist activity; it also defines the rewards that combatants can attain. After considering the benefits that Sikh militants attain, Juergensmeyer concluded that “[t]he rewards for these young men was the religious experience in the struggle itself: the sense that they were participating in something greater than themselves” (2004a:2). In addition to such spiritual rewards of transcendence, religion may also explicitly offer benefits in the afterlife that can rarely be matched in this world.

Religious terrorists of course employ religiously defined costly requirements to signal commitment, resulting in high levels of in-group cohesiveness and trust that are essential for carrying out their clandestine activities (e.g., Hassan 2001).

As Pape describes, terrorists have “a close bond of loyalty to comrades and devotion to leaders; and they have a system of initiation and rituals signifying an individual’s level of commitment to the community” (2005:8). Interestingly, among many terrorist cells these rituals also include the recording of a video testament prior to an attack (Atran 2003).

Such video testaments not only serve to immortalize the suicide terrorist and his cause among followers; they also create undeniable contracts, as well. Despite having vastly different origins, doctrines, institutions and practices, these religious extremists are unified in their justification for employing sacred violence, whether in efforts to defend, extend or avenge their own communities, or for millenarian or messianic reasons. Still, the so far Islamic terrorist groups tend to have their own forms of explanation of religious, and through long training courses, their followers consider that those readings are the real ones, and interpretation before were spread by the enemies of Islam. That is one of the reasons why they do not hesitate to attack and kill other Muslims or even well-known Muslim scholars and religious leaders, since they consider those persons as supporters of infidels (nonbelievers).

Many Islamic terrorist groups consider that trying to only satisfy individuals and pursue their support are precise to the actions of profanity and a main disregard to God’s power. They believe that it is God whose permission is required to be pursued. In their description of Islam, God identifies the objectives for not only prepared followers such as their associate group fellows, but also for the rest of Muslims.

Religion develops one of the most influential proxies that could propos expressive opinions or propose tolerance for an unreasonable incentive for the present miseries. Sadly, it is that very prospective of religion creates it the energy and inspirational cause for some terror groups. As specified above, no main religion recommends violence as first recourse, these institutes the main confront for terrorist groups. Those parties discover techniques to resume, revise and reinterpret the educations and make themselves shelters within religion (Islam). Religiously motivated terrorism is more common than the other sort of terrorism. It is easy to gather people and change their mind specially the youth in that part of the world where education and connection with the modern world is a dream.

The FATA tribal areas and Dara is the example of this religiously motivated extremism where people are very religious and blindly following the religious scholars and their ideology. As Simon and Benjamin 2000, mentioned the state sponsored terrorism where state use their people for a specific mission to obtain their goals. Similar kind of situation happened in the FATA areas where government trained the local tribal with the help and funding of the CIA to fight Soviets in Afghanistan. The current scale of religious terrorism, unprecedented in militancy and activism in Pakistan is indicative of this perception that their respective faiths and communities stand at a critical historical juncture: The terrorist groups in FATA not only feel the need to preserve their religious identity, they also see this time as an opportunity to fundamentally shape their future. There are a number of overlapping factors that have contributed to the revival of religious terrorism in its modern and lethal form at the end of the time.

3.3 The Terrorism and Culture Theory

Culture explanations of political outcomes tend to avoid history and issues. Thinking of individual from traditional cultural in authentic and original terms, culture talk de-histories the construction of political identities, the terror of September 11 in a historical and political context Rather than a residue of a pre-modern culture in modern politics, terrorism is best understood as a modern construction. Even when it harnesses one or another aspect of tradition and culture, the result is a modern ensemble at the service of a modern project.

Chayes and Chayes have offered an average description of norms “to involve a broad class of general assessment statements-principles, standards, rules, and so on” This description of norms contains both formal, traditional norms as well as informal social norms. Moreover, the explanation does not accept that norms are truly ethical. There are several additional approaches through which norms are detached. Andrew Hurrell specifies three approaches of norm distribution through “discursive enmeshment,” “legal internalization,” and “bureaucratic enmeshment.” The other factor of norm dispersal is localization. Constructivist theorists like Amitav Acharya has argued that in the struggle amid international and local norms, instead of displacement of the local norms, a process of localization is likely to occur.

However, the basic social and administrative organization might preserve the comparable; a reestablishment is expected to occur, joining external norms with traditional beliefs and opinions. Therefore, substances in the universal harmonization might not undertake outer or universal norms in their entirety. Comparatively, there is believed to be a process of cultural mixture of adopted views by the locals for immeasurable reasons. The outside norms are later adapted to appropriate local conditions till they admit a specific rationality by their selves. Norms can also derive regarding a common accepting or certain other similar detail of connotation, parallel to ethnicity, society, tribe, race, religion, and so on. The study claims that majority of the Al Qaeda related groups presented a similar ability during the Afghan Soviet war or formulation in Afghanistan groups. This participation and structure, expanded over a sense of linking to the similar Pakhtun tribes, offered provision to the custom "Talibanization" in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa tribal areas of FATA in Pakistan.

Is religion a matter of conviction or legislation? The first alternative gives you reason and evangelism; the second gives you the Crusades and jihad. Take the example of Islam, and the notion of jihad, which roughly translated means "struggle." Scholars distinguish between two broad traditions of jihad: *jihad Akbar* (the greater jihad) and *Jihad Asgar* (the lesser jihad). The greater jihad, it is said, is a struggle against weaknesses of self; it is about how to live and attain piety in a contaminated world. The lesser jihad, in contrast, is about self-preservation and self-defense; more externally directed, it is the source of Islamic notions of what Christians call "just war" (Noor 2001).

Iqbal Ahmad draws our attention to the television image from 1985 of Ronald Reagan inviting a group of turbaned men, all Afghan, all leaders of the mujahedeen, to the White House lawn for an introduction to the media. "These gentlemen are the moral equivalents of America's founding fathers," said Reagan (Ahmad 2001). This was the moment when the United States tried to harness one version of Islam in a struggle against the Soviet Union. Another feature of religious cults that makes them incredibly dangerous is the personality driven nature of these groups.

Cultist devotion to one leader leaves followers less able to make their own moral decisions or to consult other sources of reasoning. If that leader is emotionally or mentally unstable, the ramifications can be catastrophic. The more dangerous religious terrorist groups from traditional faiths may often share this feature of the cult: a charismatic leader who exerts a powerful influence over the members of the group. Whether initiated by cultists or by extremists from more established religions, the violence of religious terrorists can be particularly threatening in comparison with that of the political terrorists of earlier years.

As Hoffman notes, “For the religious terrorist, violence is a divine duty . . . executed in direct response to some theological demand . . . and justified by scripture.” Religion can be a legitimizing force that not only sanctions but compels large-scale violence on possibly open-ended categories of opponents.

3.4 Conclusion

Contrary to popular belief, the nature and scope of religious terrorism is anything but disorganized or random, but rather driven by an inner logic common among diverse groups and faiths who use political violence to further their sacred causes. The resort to terrorism by religious imperative is also not a new phenomenon, but rather deeply embedded in the history and evolution of the faiths. Religions have gradually served to define the causes and the enemies as well as the means, methods and timing of the violence itself. As such, the virtual explosion of religious terrorism in recent times is part and parcel of a gradual process of what can be likened to neocolonial liberation struggles. This process has trapped religious faiths within meaningless geographical and political boundaries and constraints, and has been accelerated by grand shifts in the global political, economic, military and socio-cultural setting, compounded by difficult local indigenous conditions for the believers. The uncertainty and unpredictability of the present environment as the world searches for a new world order, amidst an increasingly complex global environment with ethnic and nationalist conflicts, provide many religious terrorist groups with the opportunity and the ammunition to shape history according to their divine duty, cause and mandate while they indicate for others that the end of time itself is near.

There is a reason for the terminological contradiction of the term terrorism for use of terrorist actions as a weapon by criminals, freedom fighters (who are fighting for the right of self-determination) and even states in order to legitimize their order and suppress the opponents. Thereby, it is assumed that terrorism is being practiced by all political, revolutionary, nationalists, religious and ruling class for the achievement of their objectives or promoting their plans. Their struggle or strategy turns terrorism into a weapon of violence, which is used indiscriminately against non-combatants and the targets are common people. Many types of terrorism exist, but each of these has the same objective of effecting change within, or in respect of, a political system through violent means.

Among the various species of terrorism frequently identified are ethno-national, political-religious, extreme left-right, single-issue and state-sponsored terrorism. Fanaticism that is apparent in terrorist organizations across a spectrum of belief systems is a major part of this change. In the past, terrorists were more likely to be dominated by pragmatic considerations of political and social change, public opinion, and other such factors. Today, a phenomenon that was a minute rarity in the past terrorists bent on death and destruction for its own sake is more commonplace than ever.

In addition, the statelessness of today's terrorists removes crucial restraints that once held the most extreme terrorists in check or prevented them from reaching the highest levels in their organizations. Terrorists can still enjoy the funding and shelter that only a national economy can mobilize, but they are on their own to a greater degree in greater numbers than in the past. Organizationally, terrorists are using the non-hierarchical structures and systems that have emerged in recent years. In the final analysis, this research reveals that terrorism is obsessed by political objectives even when the reason given by groups or states, for targeting innocents, are transmitted in religious, ethnic, linguistic, territorial or moral terms.

The outcomes of the militant groups harboring in the FATA region as well as other parts of the country is a critical issue for the internal as well as external security of Pakistan. The decision of joining the so called "war on terror" with their master America has drastically affected the country's economy and the life of common people.

The spread of militancy from FATA to settle region and then the main cities of the country became a nightmare for the establishment of Pakistan. It is acknowledged that the U.S war on terror became Pakistan's sovereignty war now. The state of Pakistan is confronting the worst time in its history due to security situation and the out leashed extremist groups that stormed the whole country specifically the FATA and KP province. Considering the current militant activities and their strategies towards Pakistani government and its security forces there is no sign of relief instated the extremism is increasing day by day.

Talibanization has spread like a cancer in the Pakistani society and as well as it is hearting its reputation in the international community. The establishment of Pakistan may need to come up with proper policies to eradicate extremism from the country. The military operations in the FATA region by Pakistani security forces against terrorist groups, resulting civilian casualties and it had created even more extremists in the area. The sever threats by the militants had made Pakistan instable and weak both internally and externally. The United States may leave the area soon like they did in the Soviet era but it will take some time and energy for the state of Pakistan to clean this mess that had brought by the so called war on terror.

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

4.1 Research Methodology

The research was based on anthropological study in the field and conducted formal informal interviews focus group discussions and interviewed 33 people aged between 25-65 and 5 of them were females. Due to cultural restrictions, the researcher was unable to interview more educated or knowledgeable female who can understand the situation and answer the research questions. The researcher mainly interviewed female primary and middle school teacher and got fruitful information about this war on terror which brought changes to the local culture.

There are 5 case studies which were directly or indirectly involved to the militancy. The researcher conducted a few focus group discussions and noted information while the participants were discussing the impact of militancy on Pakhtunwali ethical code. The main respondent of this research were local elders, Maliks, school and college teachers, businessmen, students, locals and member national assembly (MNA).

This research also includes participant observation, case studies and photography which will be included according to the related subjects. The researcher attended five Jirgas and observed the conflict resolution mechanism. The survey analysis provided a great detail changed in the Pakhtunwali ethical code before and after militancy. When the researcher tried to contact the assistant political agent (APA) F.R. Kohat, he promised to meet and talk about this issue but the next day at arrival at his office according to the scheduled time but upon meeting he apologized and refused to interview as assistant political agent.

He said, “I don’t have permission from my authorities and I am not allowed to talk on this sensitive issue as an APA. I will need their permission, after I will be able to say something. If you just want to interview me as a layman, then I am available but I can’t respond to your questions while sitting on the seat of APA.” (APA, F.R. Kohat).

The research doesn't need his interview as a layman as he is not a FATA resident and he doesn't have enough information about the locals or any further detail about the local conditions.

4.2 Hypothesis

- Due to militancy, people in the Federally Administered Tribal Area (FATA) do not follow the Pakhtunwali Ethical code.
- Militancy has changed and negatively affected the developmental process in FATA.

4.3 Research Variables

- Independent Variables
 - Militancy
- Dependent Variables
 - Pakhtunwali ethical code
 - Level of developmental Process in FATA
 - Level of change and functionality of Pakhtunwali ethical code

A Research variable in sociology and other social sciences is the effect, the phenomenon affected or changed by other actions or phenomena. Examples of dependent variables in sociology include levels of crime or poverty in neighborhoods, racist attitude or order with in a civil society. This research was working on the independent variable militancy impact on the dependent variable which includes Pakhtunwali ethical code before and after militancy.

The main concern of the research was to analyze the power of extremism and the potential of militancy that could really change the centuries old culture. Does this impact was really caused by surge of militancy or it was just cultural change? The study proved that the independent variable militancy strong enough to change dependent variable the Pakhtunwali ethical code and the process of development in FATA in general and in Dara in particular. Though, there were some cultural aspect that helped molded this code and the dependent variables were vulnerable to the independent extremism and terrorism.

As we see, cultural changes in societies time to time that could be one of the reason of this rapid change in Pakhtunwali code but the rapid turn and the people responses proved that militancy played a huge role in this process change. To some extent, globalization, modernization, mass media, telecommunication and latest technological invention could be responsible for this change. The extreme level of militancy which really shocked and traumatized people and there was no other way to just leave this culture and make life comfortable instead creating problems due to this code.

Other dependent variable was the level of development which was rallying on militancy. If there was no militancy in the FATA tribal areas the developmental process could further developed and local people could have a happy, healthy prospers life which is connected to peace and stability. Local people in Dara Adam Khel were enjoying their normal happy life before the entrance of militancy. That's true the area was not that developed like major cities of Pakistan but majority of the people of Dara were employed or were busy doing their own businesses so the level of development or the index of happiness was high but due to this imposed militancy the developmental process suddenly declined.

Many people lost their lives, lost their loved ones, close relatives, businesses, and properties and migrated to different cities. To leave a running business or a settled house where they have lived all of their life is a very big grief for those who left their houses due to life threats. People moved to secure places and left their houses for the future of their kids and refuge for safety. Militants went on and captured the local people houses and made their bunkers and meeting centers where they were planning attacks on army and security forces. In response security forces would come and demolished those houses. When the real owners of the houses came back and saw their houses destroyed to the ground were a huge grief watching the ruins, the houses they made with all their life savings got demolished. So, the developmental process was badly affected by militancy and the progress was stopped until army kicked out all the militants from the Tribal areas in 2016. The basic changed that has been noticed and the research regarding Pakhtunwali ethical code before and after the militancy was mainly their tribal Jirga system which was the council of elders for conflict resolutions.

Due to the interference by Taliban and running their own Sharia type or other words Taliban type court for conflict resolution was a big strike on the local elders and Maliks. The other big issue that as found in this research was that Taliban didn't like the well know famous Maliks or elders at all. According to the respondents the Taliban commanders thought that these local elders and Maliks could be a great threat for their existence in the area and they have the potential to change the local people against them and it can ruin their plan of getting control of the tribal area. That was one of the reasons they were targeting the well know Maliks in the FATA area. There were only two options for famous, faithful local Maliks, to leave the area or ready to die. The Maliks were still thinking that the Taliban will at least respect them a little bit due to the Pakhtunwali code. In Pakhtun culture people really respect elders, especially Maliks and if you have grey hair in your beard, they are considered to be the most respected people but in Taliban case it was different. There was no love or respect for anyone. They were working on a specific agenda which was to achieve the targets at any cost doesn't matter if some is happy or sad, or dying or alive.

4.4 Dara Adam Khel Culture

Dara Adam Khel is a town in Frontier Region Kohat within the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) of Pakistan. It has gained fame and outrage for its bazaar packed with gunsmiths and weapons merchants. The town consists of one main street lined with shops, with some backstreets and side streets holding workshops. It is generally inhabited by Pakhtun of Afridi clan, the *Adam Khel*. The populations of Dara are approximately over 100, 000. The city of Dara Adam Khel is situated in F.R. Kohat, south of the city of Peshawar and close to both the infamous Khyber Pass and the Afghan border.

The Dara arms and ammunition market is one of the world's biggest illegal gun market. Seventy five percent of the population is involved in the gun business, and gunships seem to be the sole market keeping the city a live but people are looking for alternative business these after the spread of militancy and sanctions on gun making market by both the army and Taliban. The second biggest businesses of people are transport.

Many inhabitants of Dara are related to transport business. Coalmining is booming and it's becoming the main economy of Dara Adam Khel. The mountains of Dara are full of coal and other natural resources. Coalmining now a day is at peak and the royalty of the natural resources is with local people. There is a special committee that distributes the income generated from the coalmines and shares it between the local people.¹

4.5 Economy

Handmade arms manufacturing production is the core source of revenue for the citizens of Dara Adam Khel. Extensive kinds of weapons, from anti-aircraft guns to pen-pistol are manufacturing in Dara. These weaponries are handmade by single gunsmith using conventional manufacturing methods; generally, deliver from father to son. Weapons are frequently tried by test firing in the air. Dara is organized by the indigenous tribesmen and it is a crumpled village of two floor timber and bricks structures in the sand rocky-mountains nearby the Kohat Frontier region.² It delivers arms to all over in Pakistan for security and hunting purposes. These guns played a vital role during the soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

Dara Adam Khel represents a clan of the Afridi Tribe, and is inside Pakistan but has certain special laws as compared to the rest of Pakistan. Majority of the people here make and sell guns, while the second largest business of the inhabitants is transport. Now a day the coalmining business is on top and people are trying to invest in coalmines instead of arms industry. Mountains of Dara Adam Khel are full of natural resources and coal can be find anywhere in these mountains. That is one of the reason that the gun market is on decline due to investors are rushing towards coalmining, which is more money, less stress and comfortable. Another main source of earning for the people of the tribal areas and Dara are immigration to the Gulf countries.

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1. [Economy of the Federally Administered Tribal Areas](#) Retrieved 2017-08-17
 2. [Firearms Stalls Line The Streets Of Pakistan Town](#). Retrieved 2017-06-03.

Many people from the tribal areas are working in Saudi Arabia, Oman, the UAE, Qatar and Kuwait. They are working as security personals, company workers, software engineers, heavy machinery drivers, labors, taxi drivers and running their own businesses. Dara is famous for its handmade gun all over the world. In the arcades, off the main road are workshops where hundreds of very small size rooms where the gunsmith and young boys make working replicas of the whole world's guns with hand tools and a small drill press. The tools are surprisingly simple, yet the forges turn out perfect imitation of every possible sort of weapon, from pen pistol and hand grenades to automatic rifles and anti-aircraft guns. The replicas are so carefully reproduced that even the serial number of the original gun is carried over. If a rifle is handed over to the gunsmith in Dara would handover that he never seen before, can easily make it in 10 days. Once the first replica is made, the next copies will mostly take two to three days to complete. Handguns, being more complex, take a little longer.¹

According to Vice News, the gun trade in the area was affected by Taliban and was forced to go underground. In Dara, almost three-fourths of the people are in the gun trade. Around 400-700 guns are made each day and the number is rising with the adoption of more tools. These guns are more than enough for the Pakhtun themselves. Many guns find their way to and from Afghanistan. In the 1980s, heroin was shut down in the markets after consultation with the tribal elders' due to foreign pressure, but guns, known as the ornaments of a Pakhtun, could not be eliminated. Manufacturing of heavy ammunition, however, has been closed down. Travel by foreigners to Dara is forbidden due to security reasons.

4.6 Tourism

In the past foreign tourists were welcomed to visit Dara by getting a permit from the Home Office in Peshawar. Due to security reasons the entry permits to Dara are no longer allowed. Still some people are going to the town by taking a bus from Peshawar to Kohat and get off in main Dara Bazar but due to hard check by the local police (Khasadar) they would usually be sent back to Peshawar. There are some brokers in Peshawar who sometimes help arrange a visit for foreigners to get into Dara for a huge amount of money.

The broker will take all safety measures and the visitor could hang around the market and test fire a few rounds of any gun made by local gunsmith for a small amount of money. A famous British writer, actor, television presenter and comedian Michael Palin had visited Dar Adam Khel to contribute to his popular *Himalaya* television series and had a brief documentary on the town of Dara.¹

Ethan Casey, an American Print and Online Journalist have also visited Dar for his travel book *Alive and Well in Pakistan*. Benjamin Gilmour an Australian film director has featured a drama (*Son of a Lion*) regarding the life of a young Pakhtun boy set in Dara Adam Khel which was premiered at the Berlin International Film Festival in 2008. The “Vice Media” presenter Suroosh Alvi, also recorded the Dara gun market for a segment of “*Vice Guide to Travel*” in 2011.²

4.7 Social Ceremonies Marriages and Death/Funerals

Before militancy marriages were celebrating with the traditional folk live music, dance and concerts. They were inviting guests from different parts of the country to participate and share the happy moments with the friends and family. But due to militancy that restricted the special events and security threats, people stopped celebrating their marriage ceremonies. After a number of successful military operations by the Pakistan army which over throw the power of the militants in the area, some people started celebrating the marriage ceremonies as they were in the past.

“There are live concerts, dances and guests are coming from different parts of the country to participate in the marriage ceremony” said Shafiq a local residence. But people are still fearful and they are worried that thing may change and the militants may come back. Marriages or Funeral are the ceremonies where family members and close relatives must participate in tribal culture (Pakhtunwali). Before militancy the funeral ceremonies (*Janaza*) were arranged at the funeral ground near the grave yard of each village but due to suicide blasts in the funeral ceremonies, people decided to arrange the funeral in Hujra by the family members of the deceased.

1. [Firearms Stalls Line The Streets Of Pakistan Town](#) Retrieved 2017-08-15

2. [Economy of the Federally Administered Tribal Areas](#) Retrieved 2017-11-19

4.8 Eid (Muslims Religious Festivals) and Dress Code

Eid is an important religious holiday celebrated by Muslims all over the world. There are two Eid ceremonies in a year. Eid-ul-Fitar, '*Warokay Akhter*' marks the end of the Islamic holy month of Ramadan (fasting). Eid-ul-Adha, '*Sthar Akhter*' is also called the "Sacrifice Feast" is the second of two Muslim holidays celebrated around the world each year. Both Eidain are celebrated with full religious enthusiasm and people wear new clothes, give greetings to each other and families visit their friends, Relatives and loved ones.¹

Dress pattern of the area is simple 'Shalwar Qamees' for both male and female. Male members of the area wear a hat '*Topi*' along with the waistcoat. The elders wear a shawl '*Chadar*' with their traditional dressing. Female members wear hijab "*Burqa*" a shuttlecock type gown for 'Purdah' and a big shawl 'Chadhar' while going outside.

4.9 Education and Religious Beliefs

Government had recently rebuilt a number schools and colleges that were demolished by the militants. The schools were destroyed and closed for almost six years and there were no educational activities for the local youth. Parents were not satisfied with the situation and were willing not to send their kids to schools due to security threats by Taliban. Some of them send their kids to other schools in the city but those schools were also targeted by the militants. The only collage in Dara, which was destroyed by militants 10 years ago resumed its educational activities since 2016. The only two girls' high schools that were also demolished by the militants are under construction. Recently, the government established the only FATA university in Dara which in under construction.

Dara Adam Khel is a sub branch of Afridi tribe. The sub sections of Dara Adam Khel are Galli and Hasan Khel. People of Dara are the believers of the Sunni sect of Islam. People follow the religion with great belief and follow the paths of Islam.²

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1. "[About Us](#)". *Vice News*. Archived from [the original](#) on 2014-07-03. Retrieved 2017-07-11
 2. [http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0379115/Himalaya with Michael Palin](http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0379115/Himalaya%20with%20Michael%20Palin) Retrieved 2017-09-18

CHAPTER FIVE: CASE STUDIES AND INTERVIEWS

5.1 Case Studies

Case Study 1

Name: Haji Malik Mehtab Ali

Occupation: Retired Army Soldier

Gender: Male

Education: High School

Pakhtunwali is as old as it traces back from the birth of Islam to onwards. When the leader of Pakhtun Tribe Qais Abdul Rasheed was told that there's someone preaching new religion Islam and his name is Prophet Muhammad so he went to meet Prophet Muhammad PBUH. Qais Abdul Rasheed asked him what this religion is all about. Prophet Muhammad replied. Believe in one God ALLAH; pray five times, help the weak among us, stop the bully from bullying, never attack someone else's property, respect older, care for sick and needy, never strike a woman, make peace between two people, neighbors and in surround communities. When he heard all this Islam doctrine he said that we are practicing this long before Islam. So the tribe of Qais Abdul Rasheed converted to Islam at once as a whole and now it's saying that wherever there is a Pakhtun he will be Muslim. Islam and Pakhtunwali are the branches of the same tree. Pakhtunwali in the past where people were following all these rules both culturally and religiously. When I look around these days Pakhtunwali is almost gone, I can't see that charm that love and that strength of Pakhtunwali which was bounding Pakhtun people together. In the past when we were sitting in Hujras the elders were sitting on the front row and the younger or youth on the back or second row listening very carefully to the elders talking about the daily life activities whatever happened during the day but they didn't have courage to talk or interrupt elders because of the great respect for their elders in their heart. But these days' things are totally changed because of the technological advancement and the media brought a lot of changes in the new generation. The only way of getting information in the past was listening to elders but these days because of the flow of the money and the wealth, easy access to mass media and communication the youth are much smarter than their elders.

That is one of the reasons that brought a big change in the terms of following Pakhtunwali and its principals. The second reason is Talibanization, which destroyed the concept of Pakhtunwali. In the past a Pakhtun woman can't get out of home alone especially to the market but these days our ladies get *Burqas*, veil/hijab and go to the market alone. The irony is that they hide themselves behind the veil from us but not from outsiders, the shopkeepers in the local markets. Because of Talibanization the women are free to go where they want while wearing the Burqa.

Because of this militancy this imposed Talibanization destroyed our culture, destroyed our Hujra, destroyed our Jirga, our guest is gone. We can't even ask a guest to stay for a night, what a big shame it is. We can't ask a stranger to stay in our Hujra because it's late night. In the past when a stranger was passing through our Hujra, we would stop him to stay for the night and served him with different kinds of foods but now we don't let him stay even for a single night. In the past we used to go to the marriage and death ceremonies miles away from our home just to participate in the sorrow or joy of the other communities as our Pakhtun culture but now a day we can't join any event in the neighborhood. People feel fair to be killed by Taliban or there will be a bomb or suicide blast.

There was a DSP in Peshawar who was killed by Taliban. When people got together for his funeral ceremony they had another blast in the funeral and killed more people and his close relative. In my village in Juma (Friday) prayer, there was a suicide bomber sitting in the middle row of the mosque. During the prayer he blew himself killing 104 people including children. It's just because our village was the only one that was opposing the rule of law and decisions of the Taliban. We were getting regular threats from the Taliban and a lot of our youth and some Maliks left the village knowing that they would be killed. We made a security plan for our village and appoint young armed men all around the village. We were not expecting Taliban that would send a suicide bomber to the mosque because a real Muslim or in Islam you can never attack a place of worship whatever it's a mosque, Church or a temple. The Taliban assigned task to their spies to locate the young ones who are interested in Jihad and looking for some power but the elders or Maliks of the area didn't know that.

When the Taliban newly came to Dara, the Assistant political agent summoned all the Maliks of Dara for an emergency meeting and informed them about the Taliban activities. They strictly advised them to protect and take control of your youth from the Taliban because they are trying to recruit young people from all over Dara. There were a few people who knew that their family members were involved in Taliban activities and they were unable to stop them which lead to more destruction of the area at the end by their own people. I went *Baghra* to meet the Taliban leader Tariq to talk about my son who was involved in a fight with Taliban. My son was wanted and they order to kill him wherever they see him. The commander of Taliban sent me a letter to bring my younger son Qaiser Mahmood so they can cut his head and slaughter him.

My son fought one Taliban, took his gun and shaved his head with the help of his other friends and villagers, even though his own uncle was a member of Taliban group. Our villagers and my son were anti-Taliban and were challenging them all the time. When we met the Taliban commander in Baghra to solve the conflict, he just simply said that don't interfere in our business and don't come in our way or try to stop us. I told him "Ameer Sab" the Commander of Taliban that's right we won't come in front of you and your force but what's the guarantee that you won't say anything to us and spare my son and our village? In reply he said that 99% of the people of Dara will be upset with this because they want us to be involved with something so the other area can live in peace but it's not like that. I always order my men to not involve in cases where they don't need to. Don't make mess without any reason.

We will try to avoid your village and you try not to confront us in any case. Actually, this militancy is all self-created by different intelligence agencies. It's a great game between to powers the U.S.A and Russia but Pakistan jumped in the middle and the situation of Pakistan is as Cambodia in America, Vietnam War. Pakistan was scared of soviet that they will come in Pakistan through Kabul Thorkham and will take over our country so they welcomed American plan of training Taliban and arming them to fight Soviets. This is a gift from Retired General Zia-ul-Haq who allowed Americans to back Taliban's again Russian through Pakistan.

Zia-ul-Haq said, “Afghani Mujahedeen are fighting our war”. The president of that time Awami National Party (ANP) said that it’s not our war it’s the War of the U.S and Russia but no one was listening to them. It was also American policy to engage Russians in Afghanistan so they can take revenge of the Vietnam War because Russia was very active and supporting Vietnam in US Vietnam war.

What Pakistan earn from this war was firstly, they made the atomic bomb and the secondly, they got American latest military technology. The US wanted to supply arms and ammunition directly to the Mujahedeen but Pakistan said you can’t do that. You have to supply weapons through us and we will deliver it to the Mujahedeen. Once one of the high authority American intelligence agent wanted to meet Mujahedeen commander directly, when he started his traveling from Islamabad the ISI caught him at District Attock and send him back directly to Islamabad and advised him not to try to meet the Mujahedeen directly, it could be dangerous for you and you will need an NOC to meet these people.

Then Zia-ul-Haq new that he’s going to die soon because he was not obeying the U.S orders so whenever he was flying somewhere he was taking some American high authority officers with him on board. When his C-130 Hercules plane crash on 17 August 1988, several other high profile civilian and military personal also died including the United States Ambassador to Pakistan Arnold Lewis Raphel. We supported Mujahedeen against Soviet Union for self-protection. We thought we would be next target after Afghanistan if the Soviets succeeded in Afghanistan but now the game changes against us and the U.S.A is trying to use the same Taliban against us. Despite all these destruction governments didn’t do anything special for the victims of the militancy?

The families of the suicide bombing victims got some cash but that came from the United States and its still coming. It’s not by the government of Pakistan but from the USAID and still for instance, if the USAID announces \$10,000 for each dead person in the terrorism but the decease family would only get \$3000 and the rest will go to the government officers bank accounts. If a police officer dies in a bomb blast or suicide blast he would get \$32,000 but if local security personal (Khasadaar) dies he will get only \$3000 even though both are doing the same job.

People of the Dara were giving asylum to people in the past but these days' they don't care about asylum seekers or strangers. People don't bother and don't have enough time to take care of asylum seekers or strangers. Dara law was not to allow any security personals or soldier to walk on foot in Dara area, they were only allowed to go in their vehicles because the system was so strong that the army and government should request the local Maliks first before dispatching the army or border forces in Dara area but these days they are walking freely and we required their permission to walk around.

My granddaughter told me that she doesn't want to marry. She wants to finish her studies first and then will appear in CSS competitive exams. She's an undergraduate student. I mean in the past a girl can never think of studying higher education and telling her father or grandfather that she doesn't want to marry. I think this is a positive change towards women empowerment, which came through this militancy. Every single girl is going to school these days and there is no child in my area that's not going to school except the ones who want to go to Madrasa the religious school which established almost in every village.

There are three kinds of Jirga, *Pa Khaano* (Informative), *Pa Wak* (giving authority), *Pa Liyaar* (Custom and Tradition, Decision according to the holy Quran). Now it's depending on people what kind of Jirga do they agree on and which one do they want for their conflict resolution. I would prefer the Maliks of my village to arrange a Jirga for me, in case I have a conflict with someone. I would never ask any outsiders to come in the middle and figure out my issues. The assistant political agent is the king of the ring. He is the most powerful person in the Dara area regarding his position. He can do whatever he wants to make new laws or solve any issue people have in Dara depends on his sincerity and interest.

5.2 Case Study 2

Name: Rashid Aziz

Occupation: Businessman

Gender: Male

Education: B.A

Actually, I don't know what my crime was and I still don't know why they took me to their office and later on to their torcher cell where I stayed for the next 5 days. These were the worst 5 days of life. The fear, the anxiety, the horror, the trauma and the actions of Taliban were like I was in hell. I didn't know when they going to give order to slaughter me on the street of Dara and place my severed head on my chest and pin a note saying "No one will move this body for the next 4 hours" and my family and relative can't do anything just watch my dead body with a severed head and wait for that time which wrote on the note places on my chest. That's was usually happening with the people who were executed by Taliban militants in majority of FATA area including Dara Adam Khel. They use different kind of torcher techniques both physical and mental torcher. They do whatever they wanted and whatever they could to make you accept what they want you to. People accept it once they face them but the problem is that people have to accept the things they had never committed. My case was very clear and simple, there was nothing serious issue or hearing about me with Taliban. It was more like some one complaint about me to Taliban that I stopped them making their house or something regarding a piece of land. I have got some friends and relatives who are in contact with Taliban who protected me and recovered me safely from Taliban. Now think about those people who were in the custody of Taliban and there was no one to support them, financially or give them moral support. The people who were poor or they don't have any one in high authorities who can contact Taliban's leader and request to forgive him. There were people that I met in Taliban prison who were targeted by their own relatives. Their own family members pointed them to Taliban because they didn't like him. It was a kind of jealousy *Thrubgani* (Cousinship) or rivalry in business, education or authority. These were the most suffered people who lost everything. They lost their money, families, respect and lives as well. They got killed in a very brutal way that a human can't imagine. They took me from my shop in the daylight.

Their prison was just behind the market. They came to my shop while wearing black masks. They were 5 Taliban and a few of them were waiting outside in their car. The commander was sitting in the car. They came into the shop with their guns pointing at me and order me to go with them. I came out from the shop and asked them what the matter is? They told me that our commander will tell you the matter so one guy pulled me from one hand and the other one from the other hand and took me to their car. When the Taliban want to take someone from their place they usually tie their eyes with a black piece of cloth but they didn't tie mine. They just asked me to go with them that's all and I was really confused, didn't know what I did wrong with them or someone else. I sat in the car and they drove me to their office, which was just 2 minutes' drive from my shop. They put me in the prison and told me to wait until commander arrives. He was in a different place not in Dara at that time, maybe Waziristan. Every day I would ask them when the commander would come to meet me but their answer would be the same every day that he will come today.

The locked me in a room alone but there were other rooms that there were many people in each room. Maybe those where the people with extreme crimes but my situation was different so I was in a different room alone. I was really very scared and didn't know what they are going to do with me. They are the kind of people who don't care about anyone and usually do whatever they want. These 5 nights were agony in my life experience. No matter how good person you are or you didn't do anything bad but still when you are under Taliban arrest, you can expect anything from them. In Taliban law you don't have a right to defend yourself. If you are in a situation like this where you don't have freedom to proof yourself innocence, then what can you do with these kinds of people? They were the judges, they were the police, they were the lawyers, they got the entire situation in their control and they were deciding everything whatever they wanted. I saw a guy in the prison when they interrogated him and he denied something. They all started beating him together until he got unconscious. The worst thing is when the Taliban blames someone in public for a suicide attack, or attack on public and private properties or attacks on army convey, then that person has to defend and clean yourself all of his life. They killed many people in Dara and made a story behind them that this guy was doing this bad thing that's why we executed him and there is no one who can ask them if they are right or wrong?

And what's the proof behind your claim? But no one can question them because they got the power to impose anything they want. For every kill they plan in the morning where to through the dead body and what note to put of his chest and warn people. All these people whose family members are arrested by Taliban are just waiting for a call that who will tell them that their person was executed and his dead body is lying in front of that market. Go and get his dead body so that was the situation in Taliban times. Death is not only when some shot and kill you, for me this is death when they insulted me, disrespected me, pointed gun at me, came to my shop and told me to go with them and I know who they were. This is all death even though I spent some money to release myself but the people, the Taliban who came after me were those who were working in the market for \$1 a day. So poor that they don't have anything to do that was one of the reasons that they joined Taliban so they can have power and authority.

A lot of money and they experienced the magic of giving order. It is fun to give order to a crowd and they obey you, they listen to you and follow what you say, so yes these Taliban were those poor people who were looking for opportunity to have a chance to dominant people. For me its death when someone working for \$1 a day and he pointing gun at me asking me to go with them. Majority of the Taliban in Dara were the poor ignorant, jobless, robbers, car lifters and bad people, in other words the mafia of the society. Those were the ones who wanted to have a good life style but they don't have the resources to do so. There were less than one percent of Taliban who were purely working for Islam the rest were all a gang of thugs. They were the most ignorant people of the society and no one was respecting them just because of the social status so that's why when they join Taliban they were getting revenge from the common people, the ones who were even not treating them as human when they were not Taliban. Instead of working hard to accomplish their life goals they went other way around. They joined the extremist, terrorists group to get rich and get power at once. With the entry of Taliban there was a big power shift from older to Younger because Taliban were recruiting majority of young people n Dara, that was one of the reason that youth stopped respecting their elders and that exactly what Taliban wanted.

They wanted to make the youth rebellion from the society just to listen to them and obey them. The APA office announces that there will be a gathering near Dara Bazar and all people should participate in this gathering to make a bock against the Taliban. Majority of people from all 5 tribes came including some very expert and seasonal Maliks and I think it was planned to kill majority of prominent elders of the area so there will be no one who can appose Taliban decisions or make any resistance against them. It was Sunday; a huge number of people got together to make a tribal force against Taliban. The Taliban sent a suicide bomber in that group and when he blew himself in the middle of the crowd that killed almost 40 the most knowledgeable, smart, well-known and influential Maliks of Dara including 150 others.

That was the day when Dara totally went into Taliban's control and they started the horrible cruel activities. There is no leader left in Dara who can represent the issues of the community and lead this area. The ones who were real leaders and who were wise enough to talk about the issues of Dara and make solution died the rest are just un-experienced and selfish people left who are only concern with their self. When I was in their prison I was asking them all the time when are you going to set me free and they were always saying to wait for the commander to come. On the fifth day in prison Taliban came to my room late at night and told me that I will be free tomorrow. So in the morning they asked me to change my clothes and drop me off at my shop.

After this case when I was freed, a year later they called me again and this time it was conflict between my far relative and our family. They wanted to build a house on our land but I stop them and told my relatives that it's our land, how can you build a house on someone else's place. So they went to Taliban and complaint about me that he is not letting us build the house. They called me and order not to stop these people from building their house. I told them that it's our land not his personal place but they promised that they will arrange a group of people who will be mediator and will decide my case according to Islamic law and justice. We arranged a Jirga and resolve the conflict through our local Maliks.

5.3 Case Study 3

Name: Haji Raheem
Occupation: Businessman
Gender: Male
Education: Middle school

The Pakhtun tribe has its own rule of law which Pakhtun people follow like honor, bravery, revenge, forgiveness and asylum etc. called Pakhtunwali. They use force and violence through gun power and forcefully applying some rules on people of an area that is not acceptable but to torcher them and terrify them obey they oppressor is called militancy. This wave of militancy badly impacted the Pakhtunwali code in all areas. Pakhtunwali is not the same as it was used to be in the past. The militancy really weakens the pillars of Pakhtunwali. The government or any related organization didn't do any rehabilitation or developmental work for the people of the area and the victims of militancy. These days' people don't allow strangers or outsiders to stay in their places. People actually don't know why someone would stay here in Dara; it's a pretty dangerous area these days due to militancy and if someone outsider is coming to stay in Dara, there would be some motives behind that. People of FATA still respect the Jirga and accept the decision made by the Jirga members. I would prefer the office of the assistant political agent to arrange an official Jirga for my conflict. I would deny the decision of Taliban because they don't exist anymore in the area, in fact the lost their strength. The Pakistan army defeated them in all fields and kicked them out of the area. I did face the Taliban militants and had a disagreement with them. I was not obeying their rules neither was I happy with the deeds so they kicked me out of Dara for four years. They didn't let me stay with my family.

I was away from Dara and my family for the last four years. In case if I wanted to stay in Dara. They would have killed me like they killed many others, so I preferred to stay away until Taliban are in power. None of my family members faced any trial by Taliban. The assistant political agent has an important role in conflict resolution. He has the power and authority to solve any kind of issue in the FATA area. I would prefer to resolve my issues through the office of the assistant political agent because his decisions are based on justice though his office workers are not that faithful but still for quick and easy conflict resolution I would go to the APA office.

5.4 Case Study 4

Name: Ryan Afridi

Occupation: Social Worker

Gender: Male

Education: MA Sociology

Pakhtunwali is the way of life of Pakhtun people. It's a system that keeps Pakhtun people together in any kind of situation whether its happiness or sorrow, they stick together through the bond of Pakhtunwali which remains in the blood of real Pakhtun specially the ones living in the mountainous area and not exposed much to the international world. The good example of Pakhtunwali could be the people of Tirah valley of Khyber agency and people Waziristan bordering Afghanistan. There are people in other parts FATA who really cares about Pakhtunwali and who really Pakhtun friendly and want their Pakhtun people to be united and educated but these are just a number of people because globalization and modernization really changed things not only in Pakhtunwali code but many other cultures around the world.

Pakhtunwali is a life code for Pakhtun people though which they spend all of their life and keep Pakhtunwali is a guideline for peace and harmony, brotherhood, moral support, mutual respect, understanding cultural values and transformation of Pakhtun culture to the next generation. For instance, when a guest come to our place, we serve him/her generously with all what we can to make him/her feel special regardless any expectation. We say that a guest is a gift from God, so to make God happy we take good care of the guest and let him stay at our Hujra as long as he wants to stay. It could be anyone. He could be a friend, could be a relative, and could be a friend of friend and some cases a stranger but stranger or traveler could stay only for a night and keep moving towards his destination the next day after having breakfast. Another one, we have Hujra culture. Hujra is a common guest house and a school of socialization. This is the place where young Pakhtun boys learn about our culture from our elders. It's a place where we learn how to talk and act in a proper way. The elders talk about their day and discuss the updates that happened in the area or any new story that could be interesting to share.

The young Pathan who are sitting at the back row of the gathering should listen carefully to the elders and learn the way of communication. Many elders discuss their daily life *Jirga* (the council of elders) so majority of youth of that particular family learn about Jirgas. In other Hujras people discuss updates from around the world, they could discuss current affairs any technological invention that could be interesting to share it with the people of the community but it is usually happened in educated family. It's a common practice in Hujra or anywhere in Pakhtun community when a guest or an elder comes to you, you should stand in respect and wait until he sits, after he sits comfortably then you can sit and ask for a cup of tea or a meal if it's time for lunch or dinner. If you don't ask a guest to eat or drink something, it considers against Pakhtunwali. Women are much respected in Pakhtun culture. People of Pakhtun community always take care of not only their own female family members but respect any female regardless age and races.

If a Pakhtun caught misbehaving or disrespecting a female so Pakhtun usually say "*Sa Bay Paktho Kar De Okra*" it means what you did was against Paktho. It clearly shows how strong Pakhtunwali exist in our culture is even if you don't come to guest for a hand shake and just "Hi" will put you down in Pakhtun culture. Militancy is imposing self-made rule of law in a state and apply it on the people of that community with the power of weapons and brutal acts. It can also be defined as a person or a group of people taking up arms and challenge the writ of a government and implement their laws on the people of a specific a community. There can be difference kind of militancy, for instance when a group of young people from a community take up arms against the brutal act of a government and its mistreatment against the people of that community. The example of that could be the armed groups in Indian occupied Kashmir and the separation armed groups of the Baluchistan liberation army. Militancy here in FATA area or in Dara seems like imported militancy.

We really don't know who area militants and who are our protector. I mean the government agencies where aware of the threat from militants as they were warning people to be careful, the militants have training camps in *Tora Channa* (a stream in a valley inside Dara Mountains). If they already knew then why the government agencies didn't interfere or attack them to root this evil out from the peaceful FATA area.

The irony was the militants were wearing mask so did the army. It was very hard to distinguish between both of them and they both were treating the local people more than wild animals. For example, there was an old man who was stopped by the army soldier on an army check post and they soldier asked him.

Pakistan army soldier: “Who are good, We or Taliban”

Old Man: “You and Taliban both area good. We the people of this area are bad. If I say Taliban area bad they will kill me. If I say you are bad, then you will kill me so it’s better to say we are bad”. That is just one example of this brutal era in the history of FATA and specifically in Dara. The militants in Dara area are the uneducated jobless youth who don’t have skills for their future career and they are looking for alternatives. I know people were joining Taliban with the permission of their families just because they say it’s a good pay. Now the question is where this money to Taliban coming from?

The easy recognition of the Taliban in Dara was that they were wearing red color jewels embroider hats and Service sports shoes and they were looking straight in the eyes of local people like they wanted to create a fight and kill someone. They were blood hungry. Majority of them were the bad boys of the area like mafia, car lifters, snatchers, thieves, hashish smokers and young guys from poor families. Even some of their commanders were the people who were unknown to the people of Dara because of lack of representation and social interaction with the community elders and local people. They were just known by their own village but not by people of Dara.

There is a vicious impact of militancy not only in Dara but FATA and the provincial capital Peshawar as well. Why we think it was a preplanned imposed militancy. At first, Taliban order girls not to go to school just remain stay at home or go to Madrassa the religious schools. After they order boys, as well those we will blow up the school so don’t go to schools anymore? Students were still going to school. The good thing was that they blew up the schools at night not at the day time otherwise it would have cost us the whole new generation.

Every night they were setting dynamite under the basis of school buildings and demolishing a school every night. In a month, they demolished almost all the educational institutes including primary, middle and high schools.

Lastly, they demolished the only government degree college of Dara Adam Khel which was constructed in 1974. I remember the night when they set on fire to the college library. I could see the flames from the second floor of my house. My house is just 200 meters away from the college. At was around 10:30 at night. Tears broke down from my eyes when I was watching the flames because it was my college where I was graduated from and this was the only library with a few hundred books that we were reading to prepare for exams.

When I was watching the flames of the library books I thought I am standing on fire or someone set me on fire. I was the one usually talking against them and a lot of people especially my relatives including my father were warning me to control your tongue because they were worried about me.

They thought Taliban has many spies around and someone could tell them that I am against their ideology and they could harm me. That time beheading people who were against them was a common practice. They could behead a person and put a note on his chest that nobody is allowed to move this body until a specific time even the deceased family members including their father and brother.

It was really a barbaric situation in Dara and a person could only imagine how the educated class of Dara was feeling. For some people, it was ok but for people like me, I was feeling sick in my stomach after listening to all these horrible stories. Dara Bazar became a human slaughtering house.

5.5 Case Study 5

Name: Muhammad Zeb

Occupation: Telecom Officer/Government Contractor

Gender: Male

Education: M.A

Pakhtunwali is our custom and tradition, which includes bravery, hospitality, Hujra and respecting others. Whatever happens in Pakhtun society according to these social norms are the principles of Pakhtunwali. Whatever a Pakhtun say should stand on and fulfill his promise is the value of a good Pakhtun. Militant are the armed group of people who are working against the rule of law. They are also the people who are busy degrading country's respect and trying to breakdown the development process of state through their violent and armed actions. This armed group of people is totally against the Pakhtun culture. They don't agree with the custom and tradition and the values of this tribal culture. They were trying to divide people into different groups so it can be easy for them to control them. This group also tried it best to keep Pakhtun tribe illiterate and uneducated so they can be easily controlled and have no knowledge of what's happening in the world in science and technology. That was one of the reasons that they started from the demolition of schools and colleges for both girls and boys. The result of that was that the youth minds changes towards militancy and extremism. Of course when there is no book, no study, no school, no knowledge and no other place of learning the kids would automatically change towards the trends and that time it was Taliban who were in Power and attracting young generation. These militants or Taliban played a game through which they disrespected the elders or Maliks of the Dara through their own youth. The young ones who don't have enough knowledge and life experience were the easy targets of Taliban to use for their own agenda. They used the youth who were the most energetic and cream of this area for terrorism purposes and destroyed our culture through our own people. They were they people who the Taliban used against their own people and accomplished the mission. They made a 16 or 17 years' child the leader or commander of the area and targeted the elders through those children. They killed all those elders or Malik who were the symbol of unity, the elders who have the charisma to solve complicated issue and unite the tribe to the core.

This militancy totally destroyed our customs and tradition. They badly affected our daily life like our Jirga, Mosque, Hujra our marriages, funeral and relationship with our own community members. Many people migrated to other safer cities. They left behind all their household stuff, their cattle, and their relatives, close family members and moved to other nearby cities. Local people didn't show any resistance against Taliban and they just surrender to these monsters otherwise they won't have that strength the way they are portraying now. Militancy badly impacted the local Jirga. They took the control of the justice system in their hands and started deciding people's conflicts in their own way. The Taliban usually appoint the similar minded people to decide for them and later on, hand it over to the youngster who are unable to understand the situation and the Jirga rule of laws.

Now Taliban area gone but local Jirga is totally deteriorated. When we go to the office of the assistant political agent for conflict resolution but he also doesn't know the local Jirga and want people to get his permission to choose mediator for any conflict. There are some changes in marriage ceremonies and deaths funeral but it is not particularly because of the militancy. I think it is also because of the huge population these days it's hard to contact everyone and arrange a reception for them in a marriage ceremony because it's very costly. In deaths people usually go to funeral ceremonies depends of their availability and preferences. If someone was free and interested to attend someone's funeral would go and participate in that event. In terms of conflicts in families' people usually try to ignore and forgive if something wrong happened by a close relative or friend but in the past it was a bit hard to forgive, people usually revenge at any cost. Some of the changes that we are facing could be blamed on mass media and communication. We can't blame Taliban for everything because in the past if we have a guest, the guest would be the guest of the whole village but these days the guest is only responsibility of the one who he came to meet. So if someone comes to meet me he will be only my guest and other won't bother to ask if the guest wants to drink or eat something. In the past and still now people are not welcoming someone with criminal background to stay at your place as asylum seekers. In some cases, they could when the host doesn't know that the person who staying on his rental house is a criminal or wanted to the government agencies just because of his illegal activities or had any crime in the settle area.

These days no strangers are allowed to stay at our place until there is some who come with reference and he has no criminal record against him. People doubt each single person who ever comes to stay at our place.

The political agent that assigned by the central government to solve the problems of the tribal areas are usually newly appointed CSS officer from different parts of the country who doesn't know a lot about the tribal areas. When we have a conversation with him, we only have ten percent underrating with him because he is unaware of the local conditions and it gets harder to explain thing to a person who doesn't know about the culture. The government didn't even build their own government properties like schools, colleges, and basic health units but yes they did rebuild the schools and colleges in Orakzai Agency and a few other places. We are still waiting for the government response towards the rebuilding process.

The victims of militancy the ones who got injured got \$1000 dollars and those who lost their lives at bomb or suicide blasts got \$3000 each. The political Khasadaar Force (Security Personnel in Tribal area) got \$28000 each. The Taliban came to our Hujra to settle down a dispute with my father. They came to our Hujra and we agreed on a decision and made a conclusion. We were not interested in the charity that they were asking from home to home for their members and to run their offices but we always denied and rejected that. After they came to our Hujra we settled down the issue and they left but a week later they shot dead my father in a funeral. He was an old man but they didn't have any mercy on him and shot him multiple times in his face and body. He died on spot.

The best options for me are to arrange two mediators and other party chooses two mediators and sits down and resolves the conflict. Not many but a few people prefer to go to the army for a conflict if they have any issue. Some of them go to Taliban they think the Taliban decides instantly even on spot sometimes, if not on spot then they arrange mediators for two parties and solve their problems. Personally, I would prefer the local Jirga where I am free to choose two of my mediators who will talk for me and the other party chooses its own and solve the problem this way.

5.6 Interview 1

Name: Ahmad Zahir

Occupation: Boys Middle school teacher/Malik

Gender: Male

Education: Masters

In my opinion, the basic features in Pakhtun people's nature is Pakhtunwali, for example hospitality, taking care of poor people in society and safe guarding the weak from oppressors. Militancy is raising voice and standing against tyranny and injustice but if it doesn't work then taking arms and fighting against it. In other words, fighting for your rights while using force and going against the law is called militancy. The impact of this armed resistance is very bad for the social and economic development of a country and the society itself, which leads to decline, both socially and economically. That specific society remains backward in all fields including education, health and business, compare to other peaceful areas of a country. The main reason of this backwardness is the investors don't even think if investing in the area. The local cream of the area which are the most intelligent people like doctors, engineers or businessmen leave the area and move to safer places and other big cities of the country. The government did a lot to help the people affected by this armed conflict between the Taliban and the government armed forces. They made schools, basic health units, streets pavements and financially helped those who lose their loved ones during the conflict, suicide attacks or bomb blasts. The main effected people of this conflict were the local poor people who have nowhere to go and remained trapped in the area during the peak of the conflicts when suicide attacks or bomb blasts were daily routine in the tribal areas. These days nobody wants someone to stay at their places specially those who are involved in some sort of crime, either with government or local level in the area. Generally, people are not interested in giving asylum to people coming from outside. The trend changes due to the decade long armed conflict in this area between the militants and the Pakistan Army. Before militancy Jirga was one of the strongest institutions of the Pakhtun culture. The Maliks (elders of the area) were very respected and powerful in decision-making process. People were listening to them very carefully and obeying their decisions because the Maliks were solving all the conflicts according to justice.

They were resolving a conflict while listening to the arguments of both the parties. The decision was accepted to both parties with respect and conflict was solved in days. They were making decision faithfully without taking anyone's side. These days Jirga is not like what it was used to be before militancy. No one gives that much respect to the Jirga and Maliks are not that powerful either. They don't have the skills to solve a conflict like the Maliks used to be in the past. They were very creative and working to solve a conflict with all their hearts. Some of them are not wise enough or they don't have enough experience to solve a complicated issue. Usually the Jirga is able to solve any kind of conflict but in case if they are unable to do so then the people would try to contact religious people like a Mufti (Islamic Scholar) or Mullah who have wisdom and famous for their honesty and has the ability to solve a problem according to Islamic doctrines.

In case Mullah fails to solve a conflict then the two parties take the issue to the Army. The current army commander usually forwards the cases to a few assigned people for conflict resolution. I cannot deny the decision of the militant. They are powerful and they have an organized group which forces people to obey their orders otherwise they insult people in front of all the villagers is a signal to obey; if not then they threaten to kill. They don't care about anyone; they do whatever they want. Taliban can kill and no one can say anything so people who are living permanently in this area usually obey the militants' rule or they will be killed like majority of the outspoken people who were criticized them got humiliated and killed. The militants maintain their power in the FATA area through gun power and violence. I didn't neither my family have any conflict with militants nor I had never face them in my life. I always try to avoid them because sometimes they are looking for an excuse to make a fight and bring you to the trial so it's better to avoid them whenever you see them somewhere or say yes to them if they want to impose some new law in the area. Assistant political agent (APA) arranges a Jirga of different Maliks who have the ability to solve a conflict. I would prefer to solve my conflict through my own family members if I have one because they would know the importance and background of the conflict better than outsiders. The Jirga by outsiders are costly and disrespectful to advertise your conflict in the area. I would prefer to solve it through my family members even if I have to pay extra.

Interview 2

Name: Palwasha Khan

Occupation: Girls Elementary School Teacher

Gender: Female

According to Palwasha, Pakhtunwali is Pakhtun culture, custom and tradition, Pakhtun way of life according to Pakhtun principles is called Pakhtunwali. When no one listens to you, you don't have voice against in justice and the law enforcement agencies are working in your area against your will and here comes a time when you take up the arms against the in justice and the government law enforcement agencies is called militancy. There is a great impact of militancy on Pakhtun culture. This wave of extremism totally destroyed the Pakhtun culture. There are only militants in power these days who controls the area and its administration. You can't make a decision according to the Pakhtunwali culture as it was before established for a long time and people were following those cultural institutions to solve their conflicts. It's a big economic and cultural loss for the people of Dara Adam Khel.

The government did a little bit rehabilitation work by giving livestock to those who were directly affected by the militants or those who were involved in suicides or bomb attacks. Those people also got some sort of financial aid from the government who lost their business or property but it wasn't enough, which can cover their loss. Different kinds of NGOs also came to help but you know it's very hard for NGO workers to come to Dara the tribal area and work. People think NGOs area spy agencies or they are trying to free the women from a male dominant society or change people towards Christianity to introducing western culture. It is very hard for NGOs to work here in the tribal areas of Pakistan particularly in Dara Adam Khel. At first NGOs were totally banned in the area but after Pakistan Army's rat and regular operations they defeat the extremist somehow and it made a way for NGOs to come back to the area and work here. The NGOs were specially helping the militancy affected people for example giving them a cow or a goat and some cash to start something that can help their family.

These days' no one gives asylum to anyone just in one condition, if the asylum seeker is a relative or someone you know personally and the case against him shouldn't be a severe one otherwise the person won't be allowed to stay in our place or would be rejected to give asylum. In fact, it won't be an asylum, it would be more like you are taking care of your relative or a guest not and asylum seeker. People of Dara still respect the Jirga and the decision made by the Jirga because it's the basic code of Pakhtunwali.

The local people usually try to solve their conflict through Jirga because it's an easy access to justice and to solve the conflicts inside the community instead of going somewhere else and waiting for the decision for ages. If Jirga is unable to solve a conflict or an issue between two groups, then the next step is to take the issue to the Political Agent to find a solution to the problem.

I cannot deny the decision of the militants. If I deny, they would come after me immediately and there would be no one to protect me. It could be very dangerous for both my family and me to deny the decision of militants. I didn't face any trial by militants and none of my family member has any issue with them now and in the past.

The assistant political agent role is to solve the issues of the people of Dara. His main role is to appoint mediators to solve conflict of the local people. I would prefer to solve my issues through my family members inside the family instead of taking it out to the Jirga or APA.

Interview 3

Name: Fatima Bibi

Occupation: Girls Primary School Teacher

Gender: Female

In my view Pakhtunwali is hospitality, respect of others, keeping promises, taking care of the vulnerable, integrity, respecting someone's privacy, proper dressing according to Pakhtun culture, standing against the oppressor, taking care of family name in terms of not doing anything which can bring bad name to the family and respecting other people feelings. Pakhtun is a lively tribe and it has its own way of rules and regulations that Pakhtun people must follow. The world understands and recognizes Pakhtun culture or in other word Pakhtunwali lives in the heart and blood of Pakhtun people. Pakhtunwali teaches mutual respect for the community members to live peacefully and take care of each other in good and bad situations. Many people relate militancy to the religion but there's nothing about militancy in Islam. The religion didn't say anything violent the way these militants are doing here in Dara. They broke records of cruelty and brought disaster to the area. Islam teaches moderation in all fields of life. Islam never says to force people or pressure them to obey the Islamic rule of law. The main impact of the militancy is on the education system. The schools were destroyed by the militants and remain closed for years. The education system collapsed due to the power game between militants and the security forces in the Dara. The new students didn't enroll in school, colleges and universities. Instead of going to school the youth mind was changed and attracted more towards militancy and extremism. Instead of taking pen pencil and book young people took guns and started joining the militant's groups. That was the turning point of the whole area because the parents had no control over their kids as the militants were providing them with everything they needed just to join their groups. They destroyed the boys and girls, primary, middle schools, high schools and the only Dara College. The Pakistan army later took over the control of the college and made it the army's base camp to fight the insurgents in Dara area. They brought their army tanks, vehicles and a full battalion in to Dara College and it remains closed and occupied by the army since 2004 until 2015. The one or two private schools that were open during this time were also under threat.

When parents were sending their kids to school they were always worried and fearful. They didn't know that their kids would come back home from school alive or not. The government did a lot of rehabilitation works specially the army played a vital role in re-opening the educational institutions. The secret of the development and prosperity is in a good educational system, which is the basic need of every society in the world. I don't think the people of Dara are interested in giving asylum anymore. The worst experience that they have, just because giving asylum to people, who brought all this disaster to the area would never happen again. I think people of Dara area now scared of their own shadows; I don't think they would give asylum to anyone. Personally, I would never do that. Our all community system is handling by Jirga. People still do and will respect Jirga. The Maliks or the council members of the Jirga are our elders and they are respected in the community, we always hope and trust them for justice during a conflict between the community members or groups. If Jirga is unable to solve a conflict, then the case goes to the assistant political agent and through APA the conflict gets solved but there always a way to solve our conflicts. Either through Maliks or through APA and people obeys and respects their decision. We can't deny the decision of the militants because they are strong and powerful and if you deny their decision then the consequences could be extreme in terms of financial and life loss caused by the extremists. I didn't have any issue with them and I didn't face them in any situation.

In fact, we moved to another city during the severe time with militants for education and better future of my children. None of my family members have any conflict with the militants neither they face them in any kind of situation. Everyone in this area was trying to avoid them as much as they could and they were trying to hide somewhere if they see the militants somewhere in Dara. The role of the assistant political agent is to solve the problem of the people of Dara but in some issues, he is unable to solve the problems for example we have the coalmine conflict between coal miners and the local people. They are not agreeing on the coal profit share and distribution and the assistant political agent doesn't have a solution for this issue to solve it with peace and justice. If I am not getting justice from the Jirga, then I would knock on any door for justice. I mean I have a right to decide for myself and if it's not happening through Jirga or APA then of course I would be looking for alternatives.

Interview 4

Name: Haji Naveed
Occupation: Truck Driver
Gender: Male
Education: High School

Pakhtun tribe way of life is called Pakhtunwali, that include the custom and tradition, dealing with others in a respected way, expecting others to respect you the way you do and spend one's life according to Pakhtunwali concept. In fact, militancy is the cruel and unlawful acts of extremists in which they target poor people without any reason just to show their anger or to gain some specific goals. There is a big impact of militancy on Pakhtunwali code. The Pakhtunwali code is not the way it was used to be in the past. It destroyed the whole system of Pakhtunwali, which was the pride of Pakhtun people.

We haven't seen anything specific from the government in response to the layer of almost a decade long militancy in Dara area. There is no rehabilitation work and none of financial work done by the government or any other related agencies or organization. Situation is not the way it used to be, no one gives asylum to anyone especially to those they don't know. Actually, people don't trust each other's these days. People of FATA specially Dara still respect and except the decision of Jirga. The Jirga is the most important and powerful institution, which remains strong and obeyed by the people of Dara from all walks of life.

The assistant political agent is the second-best option for me personally after Jirga. They have the ability and their jobs are to solve the conflicts of local people but I would never ever ask militants or extremist to come and solve my problem. They are a cancer for humanity and I am happy that the army is here and the militant can't wander freely the way they used to be in the past. I would never accept the decisions neither I would ask the militants for help in case I have a conflict with someone. They are worst creatures on earth. I have never faced them and I don't have any relations or any kind of dealing with these beasts. None of my family member has any conflict with them and neither have they faced them all that decade long conflict. Assistant political agent plays an important role in conflict resolution.

He can arrange governmental Jirga which helps solve the issue quickly which is more likely to be accepted by both the parties and is a reliable Jirga. Personally, I would prefer to solve my conflicts through Jirga through the elders of my own family because they have better knowledge and they know the whole situation so it's easy to solve a conflict through my own people.

I would never take any of my conflict to the militants for conflict resolution. They are the enemies of the whole FATA and they killed and destroyed the future of Dara.



Interview 5

Name: Malik Raheel Khan
Occupation: local Malik/Mediator
Gender: Male
Education: Bachelor B/A

In fact, Pakhtunwali is the traditional life style of Pakhtun people and their rule of law. They spend their whole life according to these principles, which includes hospitality, honor, justice and revenge, Jirga, bravery, loyalty, Hujra (the common guest house) participation in Pakhtun marriages and death ceremonies, forgiveness and asylum, respect, pride and courage. Forcefully, in fact with the power of gun and knife applying your school of thought or religious view on someone without having enough information, abilities and leadership qualities is called militancy.

There is a big negative impact of militancy on Pakhtunwali code. Local people don't follow the principles of Pakhtunwali the way it was used to be. They don't respect their elders and their families, they don't except Jirga, and the concept of bravery, honor and Hujra has been shattered.

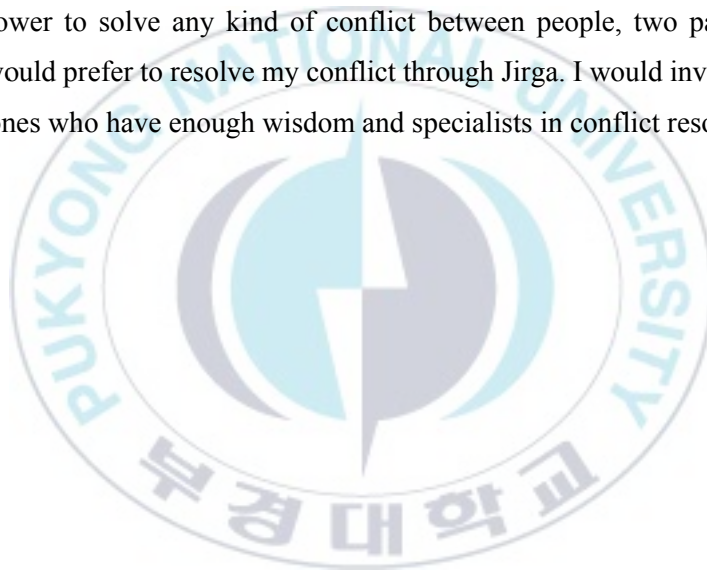
The government did a lot of rehabilitation work in my area just because of having good relations with the high authorities in the government. They helped those financially who lost their family members but they didn't build the houses of those victims which were destroyed by both the militants and by the Pakistani army during operation against the extremists. People don't give asylum these days. Actually, to be very frank, people don't trust each other's these days even two brothers don't trust each other.

The situation of Dara is worse than ever. There are still some people who respect the decision of Jirga and prefer to solve their conflict through Jirga by the elders of their family. First people try to solve their conflict through Jirga; if it's not working then they go to the assistant political agent office and submit an application in order to solve their conflict. I would never accept the decision of militants because they are not the representatives of the area.

They are just a bunch of cruel sick minded people got together and forced people to obey their rules. There is the military force everywhere in Dara and in FATA these days and the militants are almost disappeared. The army crushed them all.

I had faced the militants twice. I had a discussion with them on some of the community issues. There was also a conflict between the militants and the youth of my family just because of their own mindset laws, which they wanted to apply on people of our area. Assistant political agent is the main officer who is appointed to solve the dispute of the people of Dara.

He has the power to solve any kind of conflict between people, two parties or tribes. Personally I would prefer to resolve my conflict through Jirga. I would invite the elders of my area, the ones who have enough wisdom and specialists in conflict resolution.



Interview 6

Name: Gull Khan

Occupation: Farmer

Gender: Male

Education: Un-Educated/Layman

Pakhtunwali is the promise that Pakhtun people make and the words that they say and no matter what happens or what the situation would be but they would stand by their words and never pull back. They never break their promises and always stay trustworthy. Once a Pakhtun promise will always fulfill it and that's the beauty of Pakhtunwali. Militancy is the tyranny and the cruel actions of Taliban and other extremist groups through which the force people to obey their orders or kill them. Because of Taliban, there is a very negative impact on Pakhtunwali ethical code. Before militancy Pakhtunwali elements got a strong hold in Pakhtun society. Family relations were top priority but Taliban destroyed that whole thing and vanished the basic meaning of Pakhtunwali.

It's totally change now; you don't have that feelings anymore. In Pakhtun culture whatever happens people respect the funereal ceremony but the Taliban extremist's even bombed or suicidal attacks on funereal ceremonies and killed people who came for condolences. They didn't care about the feelings or the culture of Pakhtun people. In the past the youth of FATA were really respecting their elders and treasure them but Taliban killed majority of them specially the ones who got a lot of respect in the society. Taliban knew that they can raise their voice against them that can destroy their plan. That's why they started killing those wise and well known Maliks or elders first so they can have easy access to the area to take control of the people and their custom and tradition.

The youth don't have enough information of their cultural values, custom and traditions. Those elders were the source of information and the channel of culture, custom and tradition transformation. The government or the political administration didn't help or rehabilitate any of the militancy victims except those who got somewhat approach on the higher level of authorities to help them both financially and socially.

The Maliks usually used the rehabilitation or developmental works for their own relatives or for those victims who were in their close relation or family members. These days' people don't allow strangers, asylum seekers or anyone involved in some kind of criminal act. People of Dara are very careful these days. People are still respecting Jirga and they accept the decision of Jirga because Jirga is always based on justice and the decision made is in front of the whole community so people respect it.

The other source of mediation is the office of the political agent, if we don't come to a conclusion through Jirga then the assistant political agent arranges the official Jirga. I would never accept the decision of the militants.

They are the cruelest people on earth who don't care about their selves and others. They decide what they want to just show their power and influence on people. Pakistan army crushed them like ants and thanks God they are not anymore in the FATA area.

The Pakistan army is everywhere so people feel safer now. I didn't faced Taliban neither my family had any issue with them. The assistant political agent is a powerful officer and his position is very strong. He has a great role in conflict resolution between people and communities. His job is to solve the issue of the tribal area. Personally I would prefer Jirga if I have any issue with someone. Arranging Jirga is easy, respectful and the conflict resolution process is quick and justified.

Interview 7

Name: Habib Khan

Occupation: shopkeeper

Gender: Male

Education: High School

The custom and tradition of Pakhtun people called Pakhtunwali. Forcing a self-made law on people that maybe not acceptable to someone but using force against those who don't agree with that law called militancy. There is a big negative impact of militancy on Pakhtunwali. This layer of militancy crumbled the custom and tradition and the way of life of Pakhtun people. The trust, the love and care, the unity between the Pakhtun tribes has been ruined. The government or the political administration didn't do anything special. They didn't compensate the victims of the militancy. There is a little bit work done but that was from the member national assembly (MNA) funds that helped the victims of the militancy in a few areas. People of FATA and especially in our Dara, no one wants to give asylum to anyone. Actually nobody trusts strangers these days; even they don't trust their own family members so it's very hard to give asylum to someone outsiders with any kind of involvement in illegal activities or anything which goes against the law. The people of FATA and specially Dara rely of the elders of the area and accept the decision of Jirga and they respect the Jirga as always. The second option for me personally is the assistant political agent. I would like to solve my conflicts through assistant political agent in case I have any but the first option will be always Jirga. In the past when Taliban were in power we were used to obey them whatever they say but these days, army is everywhere in Dara and they totally kicked them out of the area so now people don't care of Taliban anymore. I would not accept or obey their decision. I didn't have any issue with them neither I faced any trial by Taliban but they did summon two of my nephews in a robbery case to their center for investigation. The Taliban had a cruel remand on them and beat them as hell. Assistant political agent is the main officer here in FATA. He plays a vital role in the conflict resolution between people and community and people of FATA respect the decision of the assistant political agent. I would prefer to resolve any of my conflict through the Jirga comprise of the elders of my area.

Interview 8

Name: Haji Sayed Jamal

Occupation: Businessman

Gender: Male

Education: High School

The actions and the lifestyle of Pakhtun called Pakhtunwali. The injustice and the unlawful of act of Talban and other militants called militancy. The militancy had negatively impacted the Pakhtunwali code. It ruined the custom and tradition of the Pakhtun culture that was the beauty of this unique tribe. These days' people don't care about the code of Pakhtunwali like honor, bravery, hospitality, Hujra and loyalty. Government didn't start any rehabilitation work due to militancy. Because there are still some militants left and the government doesn't want to risk so they may be thinking to wait for a while and vanish the name of Taliban and then they will start their rehabilitation work.

People don't let strangers stay in their Hujras or common guest houses because it's risky and people learned a big lesson due to these asylum seekers so the local community don't give asylum to people anymore. People of FATA still accept the decision of the council of elders and the respect the Jirga. Assistant political agent would be the next choice after failing a conflict through Jirga. I would never accept the decision of Taliban or militants these days because the army is everywhere to protect the local people from the militants. I didn't face Taliban or militants neither my family members have any issue with them.

We didn't face any trial by Taliban. Assistant political plays an important role while governing the FATA and Dara area. He is designated by the federal government to solve the issues of the tribal areas. He's a powerful man and he arranges official Jirga to solve people's issues. I would prefer to ask assistant political agent to solve my problem because when he arranges a Jirga and appoint Maliks to have hearing on any conflict then it's easy to come to a conclusion and resolve a conflict in days.

Interview 9

Name: Haji Noor Badshah

Occupation: Retired

Gender: Male

Education: Rd. Engineer

There are some specific rules in Pakhtun society for Pakhtun people to follow, which is the life style of Pakhtun people like hospitality, honor, bravery etc. People actions with extreme mindset and to force their wills through force and power on others call militant and this process called militancy. Due to militancy, there is a big negative impact of on the Pakhtun culture as well as on the Pakhtunwali code. A few people remain who are still following this code, majority of them area ignoring the fact that giving asylum and taking of the guest was one of the great trait of Pakhtun culture. People don't trust each other these days. They try to meet someone outside in public instead of inviting them to home or Hujra, in case they come in the host would try to send them back their home as soon as possible. The government of Pakistan didn't do much for the victims or those who lost the properties, businesses or loved ones because army has most of the control of the area and they are using the developmental according to their own planning. There is no one who can ask the mighty Pakistan army for developmental works project or its costs etc. These days' no one allows strangers to stay at their place. In fact, people don't trust strangers anymore. They stranger would come as stranger but he might be a spy, a militant or any other wanted person who can be threat to the whole community.

People in FATA areas still arrange Jirga and accept its decision. I would prefer to go to the office of the assistant political agent in conflict resolution. The army is controlling Dara's affairs these days and the Taliban area almost gone so I would easily deny the decision of any militant without any fear. I had never faced any trial by Taliban or militants and none of my family members have faced any trial by them. The assistant political agent plays an important role in conflict resolution. He has the power to solve any kind of conflict in the area. My first option would be the Jirga from my own people the elders of the area if not then I will go to the office of the assistant political agent for conflict resolution.

Interview 10

Name: Dr. Shah Zeb

Occupation: Doctor

Gender: Male

Education: MBBS

In my view Pakhtunwali is a code of life of Pakhtun people all over the world. Through that code they make some principle then practically follow these rules and apply it on their daily life. The process of making Taliban/ Talibanization and making specific rules through which they can terrorize people in their own way and activities called militancy. The militancy in FATA area has greatly impacted the Pakhtunwali code both socially and morally. They totally change these principles in a negative way that badly impacted the daily life and prosperity of Pakhtun people especially in FATA area.

For example, in Pakhtun culture, a woman very respected and people would take care of her and respect her whatever she is a relative or someone stranger, people can't even think of hitting, hurting or attacking her but these Taliban militant not only killed their husbands but in some cases these militants killed only women or sometimes together with her husband. There are some cases where the Taliban order the Maliks the elders of the area to decide a decision in the favor of Taliban or make some rules dictated by militants but when some of the Maliks denied their order they killed those Maliks brutally. Maliks, males or female members of the community and in some cases they killed children as well. So there are so many stories, which hard to believe that it all happened in Dara or FATA area, the area which was famous for its peace and hospitality. The government of Pakistan didn't do anything especially for the rehabilitation or the development of the area. They didn't help those who were really affected by militants both economically and morally.

People don't trust strangers any more. They don't let someone stay for the night in their Hujra that was used to be one of the biggest sign of Pakhtun people. The Hujra was a place that used for guest and its gates were always open that could welcome anybody to stay and eat meals and drink tea, but these people locked the gates of the Hujras main.

Even people lock the Masjid doors as well; it can be only opened for prayers and would be locked right after the prayers. Therefore, there is no chance of stranger or someone unknown gets asylum in the FATA area these days. People still obey their elders and respect the decisions made by the Jirga. Jirga remain the strongest element of Pakhtun culture.

Assistant political agent office would be my second option for conflict resolution after Jirga. There are no Taliban these days so I won't hesitate to deny their decision, and army is everywhere in Dara so I would definitely deny anything that goes against the rule of law. I had an interaction with them only once when they had a clash with the army and one of the militant got hit by a gunshot. They came up to my hospital with their injured friend. They point the gun at my head and order me to treat his friend so I didn't have any other choice. I did my job as a doctor and treated their friend.

There was a young boy in my family brain washed by Taliban who joined them and went with them to the remote mountainous area where they were operating and training kids for bombing, combat and suicide attacks. We went there many times just to request them to release our kid and let him go.

The assistant political agent is the executive officer of the Dara area so that's why people go to his office to solve conflicts and he has the power to mediate and issue in his jurisdiction that appear in FATA region. Personally I would prefer my own local Jirga with the elders of my family and secondly the office of the assistant political agent would be my next choice.

Interview 11

Name: Malik Hasan Khan

Occupation: Malik Mediator

Gender: Male

Education: Metric (High School)

In my view Pakhtunwali is the daily life and everyday dealing between Pakhtun people. We have some customs and traditions that we follow in everyday life. For example, how to entertain guests in both happiness and sorrows that i.e. marriage receptions or death funereal ceremonies, the behavior and the role of Hujra and how we revenge our enemy, to make effort for peace through negotiations between two rivals are Pakhtunwali. In my opinion, militancy is the actions of some violent people who come up with some religious versus to get the attention of the religious sect of community and prove that they are correct even though their action would be brutal or violent. If some people don't agree with their ideology they would make them agree with the power of gun and trauma is militancy. Militancy really changed the social ethics, values and the concept of Pakhtunwali. For example, in the past in a marriage ceremony there would be musical programs. The friends or the relatives of the bride would come with some sort of local musical groups, play music, sing song and dance all night. There were shooting competitions where the people would place a target somewhere far in the mountain and the best shooter would come up with their guns to show their shooting skills. Friends from different cities would come to attend the marriage ceremony would sit in the Hujra with other friends until late night chatting and gossiping. Now after militancy, nothing happens like that, people just come for a while and go back home as soon as possible, the Hujra became like a ghost house because no one stays there anymore. Government of Pakistan didn't do anything special regarding rehabilitation or developmental activities. They didn't help those people whose houses were blown by Taliban or the ones who lost their business. The biggest example was the barbershops and the music and movie shops, which Taliban forbid operating in FATA and Dara area. The government didn't do any financial help or give them support or encourage them to start their business again and help them establish a new business. A barber can only have a haircut but cannot shave.

If shaves peoples beard the Taliban would blow up his shop the next day that's how they lost their only business that they were taking care of their family with that business. Similarly, a music shop or movie, audio video center was treated the same way. The barber was not following the teachings of Islam by shaving people's beards and the movie or music shop owner were brining vulgarity in the area so that's why Taliban forbid these two businesses but at the same time there were other things on the hit list. In the past people in the settle areas with the government control of police and law enforcement agencies were doing their jobs, if someone kill another person, the killer can easily come to the tribal area and get asylum but these days due to Talibanization and strict army rules and changing dynamics of the area, this rule of giving asylum has been vanished. People don't trust each other so definitely they can't allow anyone outsider to stay in their place anymore. People don't give asylum anymore neither they want someone to stay at their place even for a single night until they do their research if the stranger is known to someone or his involvement in any crime or illegal activates. People of FATA still respect their Maliks of the area with all of their hearts. They still accept and respect the decision of the Jirga and prefer to solve their conflicts through Jirga. Jirga is still an important pillar of Pakhtunwali code that is practiced on daily basis. If someone is not happy with the decision of the Jirga, which is hardly happens so the next option is the assistant political agent. He will arrange an official Jirga for the two parties in conflict in case they don't agree on the decision of Maliks. We would not accept anything ordered by Taliban. Firstly, they are no more in the area and secondly if there is anyone left then we could go to the army and they will handle them in their own style. I had faced them, once I was a mediator in conflict and they came in the middle and told me that I should make a decision with justice or they will kill me if I favor any of the party involve in conflict. They told me to do my job with justice and not to favor one party. They also warned my son for something they were not happy with. They warn him to follow their rules or they will kill him. Assistant political agent plays an important role in conflict resolution. In case of any conflict, he summons both the groups in conflict to his office. He listens to both of the rivals and then arranges an official Jirga for them to solve their disagreement. My first choice would be the elders of my own area to solve my conflict through local Jirga, if it doesn't work which usually does, then I would go to the office of the assistant political agent for my conflict resolution.

Interview 12

Name: Shahid Khan

Occupation: High School Teacher

Gender: Male

Education: Masters

According to the high schoolteacher Shahid Khan, Pakhtun people have an old history, which goes back 5000 years ago. They were living in Afghanistan, Pakistan, some parts of Baluchistan and other places. They have a specific rule of law and principles, which they should strictly follow, called Pakhtunwali. Pakhtun people spend all their life through these principles no matter wherever they are; they will respect and follow the rules of Pakhtunwali.

Militancy is a form of brutal behavior through which a group of people applies their law while using the religion card on the people of a specific community or against the writ of government. They want people to follow their direction and obey their rules whether they like it or not. Militancy has a huge negative impact on Pakhtunwali code, which affects it both socially and morally. It changes the whole shape of Pakhtunwali code through their barbaric actions, which was a clear message to the people of Dara that no more Pakhtunwali can be tolerated here.

The government did a little bit rehabilitation work after a decade long insurgency of Taliban in FATA areas. For example, the government schools both girls and boys were demolished by the Taliban are under construction. A few of these schools' construction has been completed but there are still a huge number of school remain untouched or in the construction process, beside that we haven't seen any other rehabilitation or developmental work by the government of Pakistan. Local people don't allow strangers to stay at their places especially in Hujra anymore because the situation has been totally changed now. People don't trust each other and nobody knows if the person who wants to stay at your place for the night might be a criminal.

The army issued a notice not to allow strangers to stay at Hujras because the situation is not fully recovered and Taliban might come as strangers, gather against the government law enforcement agencies and start attacking people again. Before militancy majority of people were happy with the decision of Jirga and they were respecting their elders but these days the status of Jirga is not the way it used to be in past. Many people ignore Jirga and prefer to take their cases to the office of the assistant political agent for conflict resolution. There can be some reason for that as people think the new Maliks compare to the ones in the past.

Majority of the Maliks or elder who were well aware of Jirga rules and experienced in conflict resolution got killed by Taliban militants. That's one of the reasons that people now a day prefer to go to the office of the assistant political agent to solve their problems. Some people go to the office of the assistant political agent, a few of them go to the army to request for justice, when army jumps in a conflict it solves in days because there is no one who can reject the order or decision of the army but it depends on how you contact the army majors or other responsible authorities in this matter. You should have some contacts in the army who can arrange a meeting for you with the senior army officer so you can discuss your problem with them and they can find a way to solve it.

Taliban militants are no more in the area and people are not scared of them anymore. The army is everywhere so there is no chance of Taliban giving an order to people. People of Dara are not interested in appointing the Taliban as mediators. I had never faced Taliban in my life; neither any member of my family has any issue with them. These days the assistant political agent is not resolving a conflict on the spot. He's trying to give more time than before in comparison with the past decision making process. People are just visiting his office over and over for the results but he's usually not in his office or busy in his personal stuff. His lower staff was also blamed of getting bribery from people to arrange a meeting with the assistant political agent or announces the decision in their favor. This is a huge trouble for the local people and it's changing the role of the assistant political agent and disrespecting this profession. I would prefer to resolve my conflicts through the Maliks/elders of my area through local Jirga.

Interview 13

Name: Naeem Khan

Occupation: English Lecturer

Gender: Male

Education: Masters

I believe they totally crushed social and cultural life. In the past we were used to have these local musical programs especially on marriages ceremonies or whenever a few friends get together and wanted to have a gig in the Hujra. They mashed all these activities. They have a big impact on our education system in Dara as well specially on female education as they destroyed and detonated all the girls' school, not only girls but the boy's school as well. The Dara College was detonated up the one we are sitting right now, it's still in construction process and the government reconstructed a few rooms and a side of the college where we can resume the classes and save the youth of Dara from their education waste time.

The Jirga system was extremely affected because they were usually not allowing Maliks to process the Jirga's and prefer people to ask them for conflict resolution. The well-known Maliks or elders were killed or migrated to the nearby cities like Kohat or Peshawar. The lives of the Maliks were at risk due to their eminent reputation in the area and Taliban order them to avoid the Jirga system or get ready for the consequences. It has also badly affected the economic life of local people as well because during the alarmed security situation and the military operations the business activities were paralyzed everything. Most of the Pakhtun culture was badly affected, at a point people were thinking like it was just to destroy the Pakhtun culture by bringing the Taliban or militants. Pakhtun people were suffering a lot in all parts of Pakistan especially in the FATA area. There is a big change now after the army operation Zarb-e-Azab. This was the worst operation against militants ever happen. I would say that there was a conspiracy theory an interview given to RT News Channel by Webster Tarpley, Author, Investigative Journalist published on December 31, 2009 replied to questions asked by the TV host" I and I totally agree with him.

"A former NATO officer claims US Special Forces have conducted secret raids inside Pakistan border regions. These operations were conducted between 2003 and 2008, only one was ever made public.

What were these US elite forces looking for inside Pakistan?

According to the reports troops were looking for the high value targets and hideouts of the Taliban and Al-Qaida. The one that became widely known in September 2008 was condemned as a provocation by the Pakistani government.

A report by the British Special Air Services going into Baluchistan, and this is quite credible because Pakthunistan and Baluchistan area the two areas they gorged to be to the rebellions. Ethnic groups from Pakistan's Baluchistan province where most of the raids occurred blame the government in Islamabad for allowing these things to happen, said RT LIVE investigative journalist Webster Tarpley. He pointed out that President Obamas West point speech of December 2 is a thinly veiled declaration of war against Pakistan in the sense that it announces the intent of the US to promote the dismemberment, the partition of Pakistan along ethnic lines and in order to do that you have to create trouble on the ground. Ambassador Richard Holbrook, who is the US tsar for the region, was asked Do you have troops in Pakistan? and he said The US has intelligence personnel in Pakistan but not troops. And I would ask what about the contractors, Mr Ambassador? asked Tarpley. Webster Tarpley disclosed information published in The Nation and Vanity Fair magazines about Blackwater Select and Total Intelligence Solutions having massive snatch and grab and even assassination operations run out of Karachi, Pakistan's largest city, under the command of the US Joint Special Operations Command and CIA. The operation was proposing to assassinate Dr. AQ Khan the most famous nuclear scientist The Taliban refused to take responsibility for some explosions in public places especially the one in Peshawar where they killed innocent women and children in Pakistan and blamed the CIA for destabilizing the situation in the country through terror. I guess from some points of view the golden age of Black Water was perhaps not under Bush/Cheney but it is now under Obama, Tarpley said, and they are running wild in ways they trample the sovereignty of Pakistan as a country. RT. Published on Dec 31, 2009."

According to this report by Webster Tarpley the U.S. plan is to destabilize Pakistan was quite right. The ex-chief of the Pakistan army staff General Raheel Sharif was very strict in handling extremist or Taliban. I don't know whether the previous army generals were not sincere during the operations against militants or whatever the reason might be but this guy Gen. Raheel Sharif squashed all the extremists. After the army school incident in Peshawar where Taliban killed 144 students, he made it clear that, "There are no good and bad Taliban". Mr. Nadeem stated that there were a lot of international intelligence agencies involved in terrorism and destabilizing Pakistan including Indian RAW, U.S CIA, Israel's MOSAD, Russian KGB and British MI6 but the ISI of Pakistan was single handily tackling all these international agencies in the FATA tribal areas of Pakistan. All these things have a very bad impact on the people of Dara. When these militants were in power the Jirga was totally crumpled and nobody used to go to them to solve their disputes. It was not important for the people and there was no decision making power with the Jirga. It's regaining its glory, it's getting its power back these days and people started trusting Jirga again and it's coming back to normal now like it was used to be in the past. It's getting better because those powerful elements are gone now; the Taliban are no more so Jirga is back.

The Jirga is not that powerful to impose their decision on local people because there is the political system here in our region and they have the power to solve any kind of conflict between people and communities. Taliban were sincere to the cause of bringing Sharia Islamic law to the area on the name of religion. The youth were joining the Taliban just as a part of religion Jihad and actually it was not a jihad, it was a game played by these international players. The teenagers of FATA were happily ready to die for Islam, what they called martyrdom and go to heaven but didn't know that killing the innocent people won't send him to heaven but to hell instead. The top leadership has a nexus with the international players to bring this militancy through youth of Dara to start Talibanization and militancy in this area. It was an international plan to make this area a battlefield and destabilize Pakistan. This plan was executed by the four international secret agencies like RAW, CIA, MOSAD and KGB were involved to weaken Pakistan. Why America wanted to destabilize Pakistan was just because of the CPEC the China Pakistan Economic Corridor.

The United States and India were not happy with this huge \$46 billion project, which will connect China to central Asia and develop Pakistan infrastructure. They thought because of this project Pakistan may develop and they won't need the U.S assistance and support anymore and they won't have any control over them. So they started this game to kick China out from this area and let Pakistan be their puppet.

America thinks that if this CPEC was functional then America has to face another block in this area in the face of China, Russia, Iran and Pakistan. To avoid this development, the best option for the U.S was to create this Taliban game in Pakistan. Especially they choose this area to start it from because it is close to Afghanistan and they can monitor central Asian states from here as well. For central Asian countries chains supposed to use the FATA route so that was one the reason that they started this militancy game here in this area so China can think one more time before investing in this huge project. America wanted to show China that this is a very dangerous area and it would be bad decision if they invest here because of the insurgency and militancy in FATA area. This area was the easy target for Americans to start their game because they knew that the people of this area are uneducated and it's easy to change their mind towards jihad and start their dirty game again the one they started against the Soviet Union in Afghanistan.

The people of FATA are very emotional especially when it comes to the religion and that true we were deceived on the name of religion. The illiteracy was the main reason behind this militancy, which made them stupid to be easily used by the external forces against their own people. This layer of militancy really demoralized our Pakhtunwali code. One of the most important elements of Pakhtunwali is *Melmasthia* (Hospitality), which is badly affected. People don't care about this element anymore. Guest doesn't get the same treatment the way it was taking place in the past. People of Waziristan were very hospitable that's why they choose Waziristan to start from this militancy thing. They were giving asylum to people and when these militants came from Afghanistan they came as asylum seekers after the U.S invasion of the Afghanistan in 2001 after 9/11 attacks then the Bush administration decide to invade Afghanistan to hunt Al-Qaeda and Taliban. So this forced militancy greatly impacted our Pakhtunwali cultural ethical code.

Interview 14

Name: Zamin Khan
Occupation: Local Businessman/Malik
Gender: Male
Education: B.A

The custom and tradition of Pakhtun people through which they share sympathy and have we feelings inside community with each other's specially for those who are living at the foot of the mountains call Pakhtunwali. The basic feature of Pakhtunwali is respect, Jirga, honor, bravery, hospitality. Pakhtunwali is closer to Islamic views on different aspects of life that could be one of the reasons why some of the Pakhtun youth joined militant groups. There are people who think; militancy was created locally to stop U.S or NATO forces stepping inside Pakistan soil. As the U.S and NATO forces were attacking all these countries like Iraq, Afghanistan, Libya and Syria so it was decided in the GHQ of Pakistan army that we could sacrifice 50 to 70 thousand lives but not letting the western forces step in Pakistan. In a nutshell it was designed by the Pakistan army to stop external forces entering Pakistan. The example of this could be as once the militants attacked the GHQ a very sensitive facility of the Pakistan secret intelligence ISI is not an easy task for someone outsiders, it could only be facilitated by those who have enough information about these extremely profound places. This form of militancy had a great impact on Pakhtunwali in Dara and FATA areas. It destroyed the local culture and disrespected the norms and values of the Pakhtun society that were following by Pakhtun people generations to generations.

I will go with an example that when I usually come back home from Peshawar or Kohat. On the way, I have to show my ID card at a few military check posts to the people they don't belongs to this area (army). I should ask them to show me their identity instead they are asking me to show them my identity in my own house. I think this is a biggest attack on Pakhtunwali code. This is very disrespectful for a Pakhtun should be asked to show his identity in his own house. There is a saying about Pakhtun that with love and care you can take a Pakhtun to Hell but with force you can't take him to the Heaven. It shows the simplicity of this community and their people and how easy for outsiders are to get along with. Through this militancy there is a lot of selfishness came in our society.

The WE feeling can no longer be seen in this group due to favoritism and personal interests. This militancy weakens the self-confidence among Pakhtun communities. The proud Pakhtun became an IDP or introduced as a terrorist by local and international media. Other communities in Pakistan started hating this peaceful society just because of the militancy in this area. Pakhtun people are scared and pushed to the corner; it will take a long time to come back to normal life when they used to be brave, confident and free. They saw the horror of the terrorism on the streets of FATA, they saw people had been slaughtered in the markets, the saw severed heads been used to play football by militants. They witnessed suicide blasts in public places like Mosque, Markets, Schools, and bus stops and on the main busy streets of Dara and Peshawar. Pakhtun people saw their deaths with their own eyes every single day during this long era of militancy. The fear, the anxiety, the horror, the stress, and the humiliation put a dark dot on the history and mind of Pakhtun people that will take a long time to remove and get back to normal.

For example, if I ask some here on the street, let's go and pray in the Mosque, that person will think twice before making his mind to go to a mosque. First, he will think someone will kill me inside the mosque. Second, he will think what if there is a suicide blast happened inside the mosque so this is the fear that this militancy left on the Pakhtun mind which is not letting them go freely to do their business or join the other walks of life. Pakhtun especially FATA areas had a free independent life style since the creation of Pakistan. We were not in the control of the police or civil rule of law. FATA areas were always governed independently by the Tribal law directly connected to the federal government through the governor of the KP province and the president of Pakistan. People of FATA like guns and arms as a culture or for self-protection but they have never been encounter by the police and army. Pakhtun people can go way for with his own community people in adversary fight against their *Thurbur* (cousin) but fear guns in hands of whomever out the community like the Police, army or the militant. The Jirga system was a very strong institution in Pakhtun society but these days because of the wealth power and militancy people are trying to buy the Jirga through their wealth. They are paying to Maliks to decide the case in their favor, and the reason is just because militants killed or threatened majority of the expert Maliks.

The new Malikhs are unable to understand the situation or doesn't have enough wisdom to make a decision accordingly. According to my understanding, in the past there was no discrimination between Pakhtun people. Elders/Malikhs were trying to bring people closer to themselves and treat them as family but these days' things are totally material. People only want to make relation with the wealthy people of the society. They want their sons and daughters to marry only in rich families. Money became everything in our society these days. People don't accept the decision of Jirga anymore in case they don't agree because there are other sources of mediation like the office of the assistant political agent, army and Taliban. They go to a different court for their conflict resolution if they are not happy with local Jirga. People have money these days and they became ingenious. They are looking for alternatives in case they don't agree one way, they utilize all of their resources and use all the possible means to win or solve a conflict in their favor. They don't hesitate to knock on any door where they feel they could get justice from. There are always changes in cultures around the world. The media and the new technology brought a lot of changes in each society.

Similarly, it happened in our Pakhtun culture as well, they're many changes that happened before militancy and some changes that took place right after and during the militancy period. It also has to do with the cold war when the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan that hurt the sentiments of Pakhtun people both in Afghanistan and Pakistan. This invasion changes the Pakhtun nature both culturally and religiously. Religiously people became harsher and violent and culturally they forgot the norms and values of Pakhtunwali culture and Pakhtunwali. Because of the Taliban local people were not allowed to arrange a music program in their marriage ceremonies but in the past they were arranging musical concerts and programs outside in the fields. Similarly, they ban women, girls dancing in their family marriage ceremonies and not to play the drum or other musical instruments. Now, since the Taliban fall after the army operations, people are free to enjoy and celebrate their all-cultural activities the way they were doing it in the past. Pakhtun people still want to let a stranger stay in their Hujra for a night or so but the situation is not permitting people to do so. It's because strangers betrayed local people.

The extremists came in the dress of a stranger or asylum seekers and backbite the locals so it's very hard for people to trust any outsiders and let them stay at their place. People are still hospitable but they don't trust strangers anymore. Government is trying to show that they are doing their best. They started rehabilitation work in the Dara as they just had the ground breaking ceremony of the FATA University in Dara and reconstructed Dara College. They also rebuilt the primary middle and high schools in different parts of Dara Adam Khel and FATA. I would prefer to use Jirga as a conflict resolution medium and would ever go outside my locality for conflict resolution as much as possible. There is a Pashto saying, "*Pe Jirga ke ba yo izat gatey 100 ba bailey*" in Jirga the only thing you win is respect the rest you lose everything". I have 5 daughters but I don't have any sons. I gave them all a good quality education in Karachi city. They got two domiciles from Karachi and Dara F.R. Kohat.

I applied both in Karachi and Dara to enroll two of my daughters in Medical Colleges as they got A+ grade in their higher secondary school but they were unlucky to get a seat in the medical college. I wanted my daughters to become doctors so they can help and serve the people of Dara. Being a doctor is a blessing and respected job all over Pakistan and especially in Dara. Girls are happily allowed to work as a doctor in Pakhtun society as it is a much-respected job. They have a chance to join other departments like journalism, political science or economics but my culture and society is not permitting me to let me them go and study in combined school system with the other boys as they will have a hard time marrying later in life so yes there are some bad aspects of our culture specially for women.

In our culture it's hard for a girl to do employments other than doctors and teachers. It's very good to have female education and to have an educated society but not to go in a professional career even though there is a saying that "you give me an educated mother; I will give a sophisticated society". If your family is already a highly educated family and you have many officers in your family both males and females, then it's acceptable if your women are doing jobs in the developmental sectors but it's very hard for the new starters to let their women go and work in the same workplace with their male counterparts.

Interview 15

Name: Nasir Khan
Occupation: Journalist
Gender: Male
Education: Graduation

Pakhtunwali is the daily life dealing of Pakhtun people with each other. It includes all the pillar that we follow on different occasions like honor, hospitality, give protection to the weak one from the bully, help each other's in need, bravery, Hujra, Jirga and respect for our elders and others. Bravery is in the gens of Pakhtun and it's always there. It's not something that you can see or read but it has a special time or situation where you can see it especially in Pakhtun people which are they famous for. It's something in their blood which no one can change; there will be bravery all the time in a Pakhtun nature. In each tribe there are people who are the example of bravery. They will stand with you in any situation whenever you need them. There is a big change in Pakhtunwali after this militancy. In the past we were free to practice our custom and tradition the way we wanted. These days we need permission from both the army and Taliban if we want to have an activity in our Hujra whatever musical program or giving a reception to the guest. We are not that independent tribal the way we used to be in the past. Because of the suicide blasts on Hujras and Mosque people were scared and they stopped going to marriages or funerals ceremonies. A lot of well know people of Dara died in these kinds of events. Therefore, people stopped going to attend these ceremonies and tried to ignore it as much as they can but now the situation is getting better. Taliban almost disappeared and the situation is coming back to normal and local people started doing their old activities. In the past, professional Maliks who were not educated were practicing Jirga. They got a kind of experience in this field that they knew how to solve the conflicts of people of Dara. They were doing 3 to 4 Jirgas a day which made them famous in the area because of their mediation skills. Mediators or Maliks these days are young unprofessional people, who just came to this field and don't know much about mediation skills. They are in the beginner stage; they are still in learning process but still they like to be in the middle of any conflict need to resolve. One of the reasons behind that is their background. Actually, they are not from the mediator's family or none of their family members were involve in mediation or Maliks to whom they can learn how to solve a conflict.

It needs a lot of wisdom and knowledge for a Malik to solve tribal level conflicts mainly here in FATA. They are not trained enough to solve a technical issue between two groups. The mediation in FATA should be step by step from grandfather to son and grandson because it's a process of learning and a school of training which transfers the conflict resolution techniques from generation to generation. Government did help those families who got injured or died in the militancy. The injured got \$1000 and the dead got \$5000 each but I don't think it was a wise decision to help them with cash but the government should have given them jobs or help them establish a small business which would have been far better than the cash. With a small business they could have improve their life standard and could have a respected status in the society. The only business of Dara people have is the Arms and Ammunition business which is totally collapsed these days because government made their check points on all the connected ways to Dara so it's pretty impossible for someone to take a gun from Dara to other city of Pakistan. So the arms business is just a dream now.

There are tons of coal and natural resources in Dara Adam Khel Mountains which was leased illegally to the people outsiders during the militancy. The government should cancel all that leases and start a new system for Coal mine leasing and make a special percentage in profit of these natural resources for those who got injured or lost their loved ones in this span of militancy. There are many outsiders who owned these coalmine leases even the relatives of the governor of the KP province got their leases so all the money or profit is going outside. The government and investors are exploiting the natural resources of Dara Adam Khel. It's very hard for the people of Dara to let anyone stay at their place like asylum seekers or even strangers because the situation is really bad these days. We can't let anyone stay at our Hujra as the government and army would ask about every single person if someone is staying with us. I don't face any trial by militant none of my family member did but we were restricted to do our job in their favor and do reporting and write articles while using their names in good words. Assistant political agent is the strongest body of the whole political system in the tribal area. He has the authority to assign any Malik for a conflict resolution and has the power to decide a conflict in days. I would prefer my conflict to be resolved through the local Jirga but if not then I would go to the assistant political agent office for further assistant.

Interview 16

Name: Zaheer Ahmad
Occupation: Businessman
Gender: Male
Education: B.A

Pakhtunwali has deep meaning in our culture. It's mostly representing the feelings, emotion, respecting and taking care of each other in general and in Pakhtun community in specific. Our custom and traditions like, Jirga, Hujra and helping each other's in need. Standing against the intimidator and protecting the weak ones among us from tyrant, participation in the community work, sharing happiness and agony. *Thurburwali* (cousinship) is also a part of Pakhtun culture in which, we compete or try to be above our cousin. We are always encouraged to be ahead of the cousin in any field, what so ever it is education, business or authority. These days' cousins are competing in educational field and trying to be on top in their families and in Dara as well. The downside is that these Pakhtunwali culture hasn't been following properly and it has been paralyzed. Because of selfishness, local people don't usually follow the principle of Pakhtunwali. They forgot or left the forefathers culture of showing respect to other members of communities.

People of Dara became greedier than ever. In the past people were respecting other's rights and not violating someone else's property or rights but these days they don't care. They just want to have all the luxuries and happiness of life by all means. Because of mass media and communication, frequent social networking facilities mobile and other advance technologies took people away from the past simple life style. They became modernize and this modernization forced people to put their Pakhtun culture on back and started a new lifestyle. I don't think this militancy has to do anything with the change in Pakhtun culture. In fact, Taliban just stopped people from doing bad things like selling drugs, stealing, robbery, killing or having dances or music concerts in marriage ceremonies. The worst part of the Taliban era was the demolition of schools and other government properties. They restricted people to their houses and there wasn't any mean of entertainment in Dara. People were slaves of Taliban and their cruel rule of law but it doesn't stop here for example, when the army arrived in Dara, majority of the soldiers were Punjabis. They were also trying to suppress the local people with their own style.

One thing everybody knows that Punjabi people don't like Pakhtun and they were always under Pakhtun in all fields. It was a great chance for Punjabi to show their power in army uniform and loot whatever they could. An example of this Punjabi interference in our local system is that, the Jirga system was very strong in our Pakhtun culture but since this Punjabi army came to the area they totally overthrew the Jirga system and direct people to the assistant political agent. Even though there was assistant political agent in the past as well but the Jirga was so strong that people didn't bother to go to the office of the political agent for conflict resolution. In fact, this Punjabi army is trying its best to destroy our culture. They don't want the Jirga to be a strong institution in FATA so they usually interfere in the decision of Jirga that is one of the reason that people are going away and don't trust Jirga anymore. They weaken the Jirga system and encouraged people to go to the office of the assistant political agent but if we go there it is becoming the same old Pakistan court system. They don't decide your cases on time and gives you a new date so the case is hanging for years and years. In the office of the assistant political agent we have to pay bribery for a conflict resolution or for the decision of the case.

When you pay for justice it means there is no justice, it is a business. In the past you can officially assign two Maliks to solve a conflict but these days we can't solve our issue locally, we have to go through the APA office and file the case and then wait for our turn and decision. It depends on the APA when he arranges a Jirga for us, depends on his mood and availability. Instead of settling a conflict through local people the APA sometime assign people from Punjab and other parts of the country who don't know local conditions. They don't know much about our culture, custom and tradition, which make the situation even worst. The APA interferes in almost everything these days. In my understanding, Militancy is taking guns against government and challenging the writ, law and order situation. The militant here in Dara could be imposed militant by someone outsiders or blood hungry thugs. This militancy hugely impacted this area and its lifestyle. People don't trust each other anymore. In the past people use to hang around the area until late but now you have to go back home before sunset and still you feel fear that someone may attack us on the way back home. Before it was very peaceful and people were happy and prospers, now there is a situation of uncertainty.

There is an anxiety that are making people mentally sick because of the brutality they have seen on daily basis through the decade long Talibanization period. Even people don't trust their family members anymore. Now at night the army sometimes hang around the area and there is the Taliban and levies as well so lots of the time if something happens at night nobody knows actually who did that, the area is not that peaceful the way it used to be in the past. Every village has an elder or Malik and he was the leader on that specific village. People were obeying and following him in any kind of situation. His words were the final words and he was ready to pay whatever it costs to defend his village and people but these days everybody is elder or Malik of his house. People don't respect elders anymore and decide for their own. They don't care of their community and people; they do whatever they think is better for them. In the past there used be one Hujra for the whole village but these days there are Hujras everywhere. The population is getting higher and people made their own places for entertaining guests or for special events. Another major cause behind this whole situation is the lack of education and competition between people in earning money. Everybody as trying to earn more than his cousin so he can be a dominant personality in the area and people will respect him and listen to him more than others.

There is a bit changes can be seen in the people's nature after Talibanization. Before in the marriage ceremony we were having firing or shooting in the air or having shooting competition. The best shooter would get a prize. There were music programs and shows on special occasions, which can't be seen anymore. People were going to relatives or neighbors Hujras during marriage or deaths, were staying there for nights to show support to the deceased family but now they just go for a while, show their condolences or eat with them together and come back home as soon as possible. People or relatives were coming a week ago for the marriage of their cousins or relatives but now the just come at the evening and just go back the next morning. In the past if someone give birth to male child there would have been firing in the air for a few hours to express their happiness but these days it never happens. This custom has been vanished from our society. In the past people would recruit a cook or person who goes village to village for a mirage invitation purpose or deliver marriage invitation cards but these days' people just make a phone call and invite friends and relatives which, is a total change in Pakhtun culture.

I don't know about the people who lost their businesses or lost their family members in the militancy but I do know that there was a suicide blast in a Mosque in (Friday) prayer where 104 people got killed by a suicide attacker. They got around \$3000 each. I have no idea about the rest of people who got injured or died in any encounter with Taliban or by army shelling. They government did rehabilitation work by rebuilding the basic health units BHUs, primary and high schools as well Dara College. When Taliban demolished government schools and order not to open any school or send our kids to school otherwise they will bomb the school again. The best role was played by the private school.

These private schools were opened in all that critical time when the Taliban were not allowing kids to go to government schools so parents sent their kids to private school. 80% percent of the people of Dara businesses are arms and ammunition and you know if we are in a situation like this where we have armed militants and army around us then we can do our businesses openly. People businesses have been badly affected by militancy and they don't know what to do because they don't have any alternatives. They didn't have experience in investing in any other business or doing something that doesn't involve fire arms so still they are sitting in this hope that soon someday these Taliban and army will go back to their barracks and they will restart their arms business once again. On top of that when we spend all of our life saving for our kids and future and we get a letter and call from Taliban that bring all that money that you have or you will be killed then what should we do? Should we give the money or ready to die?

That was the situation here in Dara that made people mentally sick and crazy. I know some people who gave Taliban a huge amount of money and left Dara. They went to live in nearby cities but those who don't have the money got killed. People are still following the Jirga institution for conflict resolution but it's not that strong the way it used to be in the past. Majority of people are going to the assistant political agent office in case they want to do the government Jirga that is registered and organize by the assistant political agent. Many people try to arrange their own local Jirga depend on the conflict. If two rivals are willing to decide or they want to solve the conflict through local Maliks as mediator to resolve their conflict.

Personally, I would prefer our own Pakhtunwali system that is Jirga of my own area elders and Maliks. If the APA doesn't agree with that then I don't have any other way to go. I would definitely ask the assistant political agent to solve my problem but I know it's going to take a long time to solve these issues. In the past Maliks were strong and their decisions were accepted by both the parties in conflict but these days Maliks are not that strong. They are usually waiting and looking for the response of one of the party if they could approach him with booty. The Maliks get a kind of fee for each conflict and both the parties should give it in advance.

For instance, the Maliks will ask for \$100 each in advance so when the conflict come to an end the Maliks should divided the money between each other. Each conflict has different amount of fee, it depends on the issue and its importance. In the past people of FATA were poor people.

They only thing they have their animals which were the only source of income so whenever there was a dispute between two people or communities, at the end of the conflict resolution the Maliks should ask for a lamb or goat to sacrifice and arrange a big feast in pleasure of resolving conflict and they were doing it as on volunteer basis just to make peace in the community and between two people. But these days Maliks ask for pure money from people to resolve their conflict.

Interview 17

Name: Shareef Khan

Occupation: Business

Gender: Male

Education: Metric

Pakhtun is someone who has all these qualities like bravery, honesty, revenge, help, trustworthy, respect and faithfulness called Pakhtun. If someone doesn't have these qualities he's not a Pakhtun. A real Pakhtun must know his custom and tradition, lifestyle and dealing with other People of the community through the principles of Pakhtunwali. A Pakhtun should be an example for others especially for his youth. His life should be a lesson of life experiences through the principles of Pakhtunwali. He shouldn't do something bad that people could point out "*As a Pakhtun you shouldn't have done that*" it's a shame for the whole Pakhtun society. So in my view Pakhtun tribe is a very proud community that has some amazing qualities that other communities wish to follow.

Many of Pakhtunwali principles are good but there are some bad aspects of our culture as well for example giving asylum to someone who committed a crime in his area and run to FATA for refuge. Then local people were here to defend that person with all of their resources just because of the Pakhtunwali principle. The other one is *Swara* culture custom whereby a young girl is forcibly married as part of punishment for a crime committed by her male relatives. There was *Kaanrey/Teegaculture* where a group of Maliks or elders comes in the middle of ongoing battle or firing to stop the fight and give a specific time for conflict resolution. *Shareeshtha* or *MlaaThaar* or *Baalandraa*, was a union between the members of the village if there is something happened to each single person or someone tries to attack the village or a person from that community then the whole village, young or old will come out to protect that person and fight the oppressor or attackers. The *Jirga*, the assembly of elders that make decisions by an agreement is not that strong anymore. A Malik was representing a whole village and the youth as well so people were following his decisions because they knew that he is supporting the village and their people.

The Malik was the representative of the whole community but these days Maliks are not wise enough to decide for the whole community and they are greedy and money hungry. They don't have information about the Pakhtunwali culture and wisdom to solve some particular issues. If you go through the history of Pakhtun, you can never see them control by outsiders. They will always resist against the external powers whoever come or try to control them. It's in Pakhtun nature to be free and independent and live in an area where they can practice their own Pakhtunwali culture. I will blame the illiteracy and lack of wisdom responsible for the militancy in Pakhtun area. I want figure out the lack of education because if you look around, all other communities in Pakistan and around the world are focusing and spending on education but Pakhtun people are investing in their businesses. They are not attracted to education at all. You see in almost all the shops they have their kids sitting with them and helping their parents in businesses. These 10 years old kids should go to school instead they are sitting here in the gun shop and learning about guns and business.

There is one of the problem with the Pakhtun tribe that they don't want to do research in education or any other disciplines instead they just want to sit in a place or start a job and just stay there for all of their life until they die. They actually don't bother to try new things or experience something that is not done by someone else before. It's easy for them to do something that people are already doing and they know about it. In my view militancy is taking gun not only against the government or challenging its writ but also to show power and make people obey their rules. It's like someone wants you to like and obey them without any reason. If someone don't like them or doesn't agree with them then they have their guns ready to attack that person or the whole community and force them with the gun power to accept their decisions.

This militancy really negatively impacted our Pakhtunwali culture. They really disrespected our elders and Maliks. Some of them were brutally killed in front of their families or with friends and some of them were informed that they are going to be killed this week. Maliks were very respected and strong people in the past but these days the Taliban destroyed the image of the Maliks.

The political agent used to come to Dara and ask for permission before doing any action but these days he is calling Maliks to visit his office in a specific time frame if there is anything important to share about Dara. There is a big change in people behavior regarding social norms and values for instance; in the past we were told the marriages were an occasion of happiness sharing with other communities and relatives but these days' no one even bothers to invite close relatives to a marriage ceremony. Modernization, social media and technology are the biggest reasons for all these changes in the behavior of Pakhtun these days.

People are slaves to their new technological devices and can't think of living without them. Selfishness and greediness is dividing families, cultures and even brothers. There is no respect for others left in the society. Government did some developmental projects in my area like reconstruction of all the school that has been demolished by Taliban but they didn't help anyone who had lost their businesses or people in suicide blasts.

They didn't do any alternative efforts for the people of Dara who lost their arms and ammunition business. I personally met a few Taliban militants a few times. They have people in our area and the used to visit our Hujra to meet that guys or sharing information about the strategies. I can say they are two-faced people, they say something else and they do something else.

They are not the people of their words or maybe they just do whatever order they get from their Boss. I didn't have any issue with them neither they forced my family members or me on any occasion. I will try to solve my issue by own family members at home doesn't matter if I lose a little bit will try to solve it inside home first. If not, then I will try to arrange the Jirga of Maliks outside the family but not by political agent because it's more problematic, time consuming and insulting.

Interview 18

Name: Ahmad Nabi

Occupation: Bank Employee

Gender: Male

Education: M.A

According to Ahmad Nabi a bank employee, my understanding, simple definition of Pakhtunwali is taking care of guest, feed poor, let the strangers stay at your Hujra if it is late at night, serve the stranger with the best food and help him the way you can. Giving respect to whoever comes to your Hujra or house no matter how bad the person is or maybe your enemy but still you have to treat him with love and care as a part of Pakhtunwali. If you go against these rules it means you are insulting Pakhtunwali. In our custom and tradition and even Islam as well you can't mistreat an elder; you can't disrespect someone who is older than you and have some life experience. Militancy is taking arms against a government on the name of your personal ideology or religion and apposing government writ or forcing people to follow their rules through power of gun and horror. The whole tribal belt was one of the most peaceful areas in whole Pakistan but because of some personal interest we are labeled terrorists. Tribal areas were the only areas in Pakistan, which was famous for their rule of law and peace loving patriot people who were giving their life for Pakistan. Because of a few young people who are misguided by someone can't destroy the image of the whole tribal area.

This militancy really badly affected our area, culture, custom and tradition. We went back to the Stone Age. Our schools both girls and boys were closed for 5 years. No one was going to school all that time when Taliban were ruling. People are mentally distressed. There is always a horror on the mind of people because of the brutal treatment of Taliban with local people. The humiliation of the elders Maliks and those who were the most respected people in Dara. A lot of people left the area and migrated to the nearby safe cities like Kohat, Peshawar and Islamabad. People of FATA are psychologically ill because of the agony and trauma. There was a time that these Taliban crushed the Jirga system but luckily it bounced back very quickly.

After the decline of Taliban, local people started trusting Jirga again and came back to life. They marriage and death ceremonies were badly affected by militancy. People were not commemorating the events both happiness and sorrows according to our custom and traditions. They portrait us the happiest, prospers and successful tribe to the world as terrorist, extremist and illiterate. There was a hidden force behind these militant whose mission was to change something in this area. I mean there is no big difference between the Taliban and the army, same beard, same shoes and strength, same style and same strategy. There is one change that I call it positive change that made this militancy possible is that now everyone is fighting for their right. Whoever has any issue with someone goes directly to the APA office and ask for justice, I think it's a positive change where people are able to fight for their rights. In the past people can arrange their own private Jirga and resolve the conflict but these days after militancy we have to request the APA to arrange an official Jirga for us which of course takes a bit time to arrange and proceed. Also there are the coal miners who have tons of money so it's easy for them to buy the Jirga or mediators for any price.

“De Jirga Sar Throosh we ow weikh ye Khog we” it means when you have a conflict and your start a Jirga it always stressful and feels bad in the start but letter on when you solve the conflict at the end of the Jirga you feel relax and comfortable. I think Jirga should decide all the disputes according to the holy Quran and Sharia law. The Holy Quran has the answer for the all the questions we need to know so it is better to ask the Jirga to decide the cases according to Islamic rule and law. There won't be any chance of favoritism when it comes to Islamic principle of conflict resolution. In Islam both man and woman are free to decide for the self whatever they feel better unlike we practice some customs through which we don't ask someone's permission and decide for them. The biggest example of it is the childhood engagements or deciding their marriages with someone s/he doesn't know. I think there should be a choice for both girls and boys. This militancy extremely changes the custom and tradition. Before militancy our neighbor or far relative or community people were always together in any situation of happiness and sorrow but after militancy things got change and we can't see that unity. People only meet those they have blood relation with. The other won't care if someone is happy or sad doesn't matter.

Actually, people lost sense of community, sense of humanity and sense of understanding. When army came to demolish the house of the Mufti Ilyas a Taliban commander, they placed dynamite around his house and adjacent to his house was Nisar Khan's house who was extremely humble and a real gentleman. When they detonate Mufti Ilyas house the Nisar Khan house collapsed as well due to the severe pressure by the bomb blast. Nisar went to the political agent to ask compensation or help him build his house but they simply said the army destroyed your house, go and ask army to build your house. Now the question was who will go to the army to tell them rebuilt his house. The army was even not interested to listen to him and they just ignored him at once. That was only one case that I explained there are tons of other cases that people are submitting everyday but there is no result or the government is not interested to help or compensate those who were affected by militancy. They were many families in Dara whose houses were hit by mortar bullet, in a result their rooms were destroyed and women or children where in the room died instantly. Lots of people's cattle like cows, sheep and goats got hit by both the army and Taliban bullets but there was no compensation for that as well. The political administration is so strong that there is no question about giving asylum to any outsiders. You even can't think of giving asylum to killers, criminals or someone involved in any kind of unlawful activity.

The army and political administrations are on the same page. Recently a business partner killed the other one and the killer was hiding somewhere and the army went on, captured the killer and handed over him to the political administration. It is impossible to let someone stay at our place these days. We have a few options that can resolve our conflicts. For example, private Jirga through which we can choose our own mediator who can resolve our conflict without telling APA. The second one is asking the political agent to arrange mediators for conflict resolution, which is government Jirga, and there are a lot of technicalities in that. So the first option is Jirga, second APA, then commissioner, third tribunal and now they are suggestion if someone doesn't agree on these options, they should have a choice to go to the High Court but this suggestion is under process. In the past people were going to the army for conflict resolutions but these days they are refereeing it to the office of the political agent but still they do attend some cases where they have their own interest in for example the issue coalmine leases.

They were giving recommendations and sending letters to the political administration regarding the case and suggestions. In my personal issue or if I have a conflict with someone, I will go wherever I can get justice from to solve my problem no matter who they are. I will knock any door where I can feel I can get justice from doesn't matter if it's APA, Army, Jirga or Taliban. I have never faced Taliban neither I have any issue with them accept once I went to their office to request to let one of our far relative free. He was a young boy joined Taliban without his parent permission so his mother was divested and asking everyone to please help her bring her son back. Business in Dara is almost ruined because of the militancy and the terrorist labeling. Majority of Dara people preferred to leave Dara and migrate to other cities and start a new business. Trust me they are all happy and successful doing their respectful businesses in different parts of the country.

Dara is famous for their hand made weapons, which are famous all over Pakistan. Instead the government should encourage the gun makers and support them technologically to improve their standard and introduce them to the international market; instead they blamed the people of Dara that supply arms to the terrorists. Before people were calling us uneducated engineers now they call us terrorists. They label us the friends of the terrorist even though we don't have any connection with them and we hate terrorists more than the army does but still us paying the price of this imposed terrorism in our area. Taliban were demanding money from the businessmen of Dara depends on their status and strength of business. For instance, some people paid \$25,000, some paid \$10,000 from some of them \$5000 depends on how much someone can pay so on one side we were looted by Taliban on the other side the government and army was blaming us as the friends of Taliban. That's why many businessmen from Dara left the area and went to other nearby cities. We are thinking of requesting the government and army to legalize our arms and ammunition factories so we can openly do our business so we don't have to play this blame game anymore. People of Dara are in a stage apprehension; they lost everything, their family members, money, business, respect and peace. The government should help them in all possible means to recover or compensate them according to their losses.

Interview 19

Name: Abdul Rehman

Occupation: Teacher

Gender: Male

Education: M.A Pharmacy

Pakhtunwali is the custom, tradition and way of life of Pakhtun people. It is also assimilated with Islamic law as well as equals some laws in international community especially in the west. We can find similar kind of cultural values and vice versa related to Pakhtunwali ethical code. There are ethics, which are also explained in the similar way in Islamic doctrine the way we have here in Pakhtun culture. Similarly, the ethics are also one of the major parts of daily life to be considering a good citizen in almost every society of the world especially in the advance communities like Europe, America and Canada. The difference between the west and our ethical values are that the west respect and strictly follow the rule of law and show that they are well-mannered and responsible citizen and here we are calling our self-Muslims special but we don't follow the rule of law at all. Even some times we don't follow our own Pakhtunwali codes.

I think this is the biggest difference between the West and us and this is the reason behind the development and respect for Humans and Human Rights. If we really want to know the meaning and the reason of militancy in Pakistan and specialty in FATA areas, then we should go back a few decades in Soviet era. It actually happened when the U.S came to support Mujahedeen in all means, fund them financially, gave them advanced technology, sophisticated arms as well as special gorilla trainings to combat Russians. Actually militancy is a gift from the United States, which they left for us while fighting the Russians in Afghanistan. America told us that we should fight Soviets in Afghanistan and they will fully support us. We fought, they supported us we defeated the Soviets but we didn't change our policy after the fully kicking out Russian from Afghanistan. Once we defeat Russians, we should have changed our policies and work towards peace and development in the area.

Instead we stuck into the same thing, Taliban, Extremist, violence, funding from the U.S, requesting international aids and looking for all possible means to get attention from the international community. Actually, we started relying on the international aid. Our intelligences are so use to these Dollars and international funding that they don't want to just close this chapter. They are opening new episodes of the old drama. Another reason is that Saudi Arabia played a biggest role in bringing militancy through their Wahhabi brand of Islam. Whenever the Wahhabi brand of Islam goes somewhere there is always violence and ferociousness. Wahhabism is that brand of religion that is extreme to the core. In fact, the spread of Islam was through love and peace. Our religion never encourages violence but unfortunately these days the extreme mind Wahhabi people are joining this group so immensely that it is very hard to distinguish between a Wahhabi and a peaceful preacher.

Consequently, militancy in view is disagreement with other opinion and taking arms against something you don't agree and try to resolve it through power, force and violence. Personal interests are also included in militancy. The militancy in Dara is interest militancy; people are joining militant groups like Taliban to get advantage both socially and materially. These Taliban here in Dara are all poor backward, uneducated people. They are jobless with no social or technical skills that are looking for easy power and wealth. They can only get these two things by joining militant group. Their advantages are to keep people under their command, make people obey their order, have a car, gun authority and target those who they think can be dangerous for them now or in future. This militancy left us with great sorrow and pain. It could be the worst time in history of Pakhtun people. This militancy made us wild animal's even worst than wild animals. We have never seen a person killing someone else in our life, now we saw people had been slaughtered on the streets. We heard the militant announcements:

"we are going to slaughter this person at this time. You all are welcome to see how it works and learn if you want apply this method of execution in the future for someone with bad character".

People became more violent; the kindness and the sense of feeling had been vanished from our hearts. We are senseless people now who are happy to see other people suffering.

It was never like this before, I think it is only due to militancy and the horror they brought to the area and made people stone hearted. Just because of this, it's very easy to kill someone. Just say something against someone you don't like, make a drama against that person and tell Taliban and they will kill him in the next 24 hours. Human life in this area is cheaper than a chicken. Just blame someone for something and kill him and that's fine. We went back to the barbaric era or Stone Age where people were playing death games with sword and killing innocent was a recreation game. There is no more Pakhtunwali left, it's only inside you and your language Pashto that all. People don't follow any of the Pakhtunwali code of principal. People became more materialistic and modern these days. People are just looking for ways how to make more money or earn more than his cousin or relatives.

There is a competition of earning money than having that cultural norms and values. They don't care about Pakhtunwali and other values. People just want to get any facilities they want can benefit and comfort them and it can only happen through access of money. When we are all focused on earning money than looking for the resources where the money came from in Pakhtun society. Instead we are looking for all possible legal or illegal means of collecting money without having cultural norms and values. Like in the past people were not doing some business they thought is against the law and Islam for instance drugs or making fake documents but these days, people are doing whatever they think can to make some money. The Taliban used a trick through which they attracted people of different minds. For example, the youth would love to have money, motorbikes, cars and weapons. They deliver all these possessions and involve them in their mission.

On the other side, there were the religious minded people for whom they brought extremist Mullahs (Religious Scholars) who can deliver a sermon of extreme detail towards the government, the west and people who don't follow their ideology. Of course, the religious people joined the militant force because of these Mullahs. Secret agencies from all over the world enter FATA and each of them were working on their mission, hiring people from all walks of life and school of thoughts and working for the implementation of their missions. The people of FATA and specially Dara have the worst life ever.

Workers of these national and international secret agencies were in different masks. FATA and Dara became a battlefield for these international powers. No one knew who is who and what is what. People of Dara started fearing their own shadows. There was no trust left even sometimes people couldn't trust their own family members like brothers or wife. Maliks in the past were there to help bring peace between two people and communities through active mediation and using their creative skills through Jirga. The Maliks had the power to implement their decisions on the two rivals. They were purely working for the betterment of the community to bring peace and stability through active negotiations.

These days Maliks are selfish and non-experienced when it comes to conflict resolution, the only thing they see is the money in other people's pockets. Their mission is to earn money through Jirga being a mediator and always try to be present in front of the APA so he can recommend him as mediator. It's a good business for these kinds of people now a day. The Jirga becomes more like a source of income than a Pakhtunwali culture value so there is a clear impact of militancy on Jirga and its importance. The jealousy and competition became so strong that people are using money to put their friends and family down and put his self on top.

People don't care about others in special occasions like marriages or death rituals. You will only see those who are your very close family like blood relations including sister, brother, first cousins, uncle and aunts; they rest will not show up any event. Relationship became really weak and unstable. The trust between people has become vanished in Dara and Fata area. This layer of militancy gave a great financial, social and physical loss to the people of Dara and the government didn't do much to compensate the ones who lost their only breadwinners, businesses and properties. The government is busy rebuilding the schools and other government buildings destroyed by the militants but didn't do much for the people of Dara. The government is getting a lot of money from international community on the name of terrorism or for those who were suffered but we are not seeing a lot on the ground. It's just the figures announcing by the international community and by the government information agencies that victims of the war on terror will be compensated. There are many kinds of Jirgas like permitted Jirga, governmental Jirga and local Jirga.

It depends on people and their conflict to what kind of Jirga is good for them. Also two opponents can decide whatever Jirga they agree on. A lot of people prefer their Jirga through army; some of them go to Taliban for justice. It depends on the person's mind what he feels that he can get a quick justice from. I don't want my Jirga through Army, Taliban or government but I would prefer to resolve my conflicts through local Jirga by family Maliks. I don't want to take my issues out of the community and make it public. People don't trust these days because of people's selfishness and personal interest. They favor corrupt people and their ideologies just because they want to get something out of them in terms of material things like money or authoritarian power. So it's crystal clear the situation is getting worst day-by-day. I faced Taliban once on a land issue.

Some of our far relatives wanted to build a house on out land. When I stopped them they called the Taliban to pressurize me to withdraw from the land but I didn't. I went on taking the case to the Sharia court by a group of Mullahs and Taliban. There were a lot of hearings on that case between Taliban and the religious scholars that case winds up without any decision and the other group stopped building a house on that land. Because of my changed get up and my religious believes they threat me a lot. They didn't like me as a Sufi. I believe in Sufism and they are Wahhabi brand followers so they were usually targeting those who were religious but not Wahhabi.

Interview 20

Name: Azam Khan

Occupation: Malik/Private Contractor

Gender: Male

Education: M.A

Pakhto or Pakhtunwali in the past when we have been really following the Pakhtunwali even if the guest comes to our house, we were serving him as long as he could stay at our place. Serving with delicious food and both hot and cool drinks and go out until the gate to see him off and say goodbye and wave at him until he was out of the screen. Real Pakhtun were the people who were crazy in love with this culture and were so proud that they giving their lives just on the name of Pakhtun. These days we are naming our kids with English and Urdu name but in Pashto. This change in culture is really taking our kids and new generation away from the Pakhtunwali codes. They sometimes even don't know what are Pakhtunwali and Pakhto.

They are used to watching English and Indian movies and Urdu dramas so they don't really know about their own culture, custom and tradition. When we were kids we used to call our mother *Adhey* and father *Aba* but these days' parents are teaching their kids to call the *Amie* (mother in Urdu Language and *Abu*. Some of the kids call them English mommy and daddy. So it is a really big change in our Pakhtunwali culture. In the past we were naming our kids with old Pakhtun name to show our love with Pakhtun culture but these our names are even not even Pakhtun names. There are rapid changes in cultural values. Actually we Pakhtun people love education. We want to spend on our children future. We want them to be the best in education especially medical, engineering, science and technology and somehow, we are successful in that but at the same time we really going far away from our culture, custom and tradition. It is a good thing to give a good education to our kids but at the same time we really need to give a good socialization here at home to our kids and I think that's the most important thing for our kids. If they learn their own culture at home will stay with them forever and they will be good citizens and good human beings. When we talk about the militancy here in Dara, it totally destroyed our Hujra culture. There are other institutions that are badly impacted by this militancy too but Hujra was a school of learning for Pakhtun kids. The Hujra was a process of socialization.

Now we have a *Batuk* (a room in a house for guests) instead of Hujra. *Batuk* (guestroom) is Punjabi culture and Hujra is Pakhtun culture. In our Hujra institution our kids learn from their elders. The elders sit in front row of and the youngsters at the backside and listen to their elders very carefully. Whenever an elder or guest come to the Hujra the youngster should stand in respect and remain standing until the elder or guest sits. These days I see things area changes. Even in my Hujra I saw one of my family members sitting on a bunk and his aged uncle came and sit next to him but this guy even didn't move and remained busy playing with his cell phone. It never happened in the past a guest or an elder come and the younger remain seated. It was and it is an insult of the elder and disrespecting the Pakhtun culture. People don't consider that kind of person as a Pakhtun. The change between the settle area and Pakhtunwali is that if there some one die in the settle area even I will give you the example of Hayat Abad Peshawar (a town in the nearby city Peshawar) the next-door neighbor doesn't know or have no concern with that decease family. But here in Dara area people from all over Dara come to attend a funeral ceremony.

The residents of Dara come to the Hujra of the decease families for days and in some cases for weeks to show condolences. People including elders, Maliks, businessmen and other walks of life from all five clans of Dara come for a funeral prayer to show solidarity and condolences with decease family. This is the greatest example of unity between Pakhtun tribe and also the part of our religion as well to show our support by joining a funeral prayer. In the past when there was an issue of the community with someone outsider, it was treated as the issue of the whole community. It was just because of the unity and the Pakhtunwali bond that was connecting them all together. But these days, no one wants to back or support anyone in case they are involved in a conflict. Everyone is trying to avoid being involved in someone else's issue. These are a few changes that came after militancy. We just cannot blame militancy on these change behaviors in Pakhtunwali culture. Access of education mass media and communication and social networking are also parts of these changes in the social setup of Pakhtunwali. A great example of this change is woman empowerment in tribal areas. Before women were limited to home affairs but these days' women are asking for their rights.

They want to be a part of the decision-making process. Recently the wife of Malik John wife has a disagreement on the FATA university land compensation. He doesn't want his wife to ask for money as Pakhtun culture. He wanted to settle down things as man and decide but his wife wanted to be the part of the process and demanded 50 percent share in the amount got from government in land compensation. When he didn't agree she went to the office of the assistant political agent. The APA arranged a Jirga for both husband and wife to resolve the conflict and at the end of the Jirga she got her 50 percent share in the fund got from the government. So this education and modernization also changes the culture and empowered woman. I was the one who always requesting government to establish as many girls' school as they can. I believe girls' education are very important for a healthy, peaceful and prospers society. If our girls are educated the whole society will be educated. *Badraga* (safe traveling of the guest) Badraga is a social tradition to ensure secure traveling of the guests. Any problem during the travel in the area of the host is then the issue of honor and hosts then never remains silent spectators.

Badrga still exists in some part of the tribal area but in Dara it's almost gone because people are becoming more educated and they don't want to leave any conflict for their new generation so that's why Badraga is almost over. Militancy is a process through which an incapable group or person uses illegal act or force to implement his views or school of thoughts on a community or society. Militant is the one who doesn't have enough resource to compete the resourceful one and to use unfair means to get power. A lot of people in Pakistan think that this militancy is imposed militancy and battle field for international secret intelligence agency like CIA, RAW and MOSAD in fever of the United States to have a strong hold on this area to keep an eye on Central Asia and to control China as well. Some people think that the main reason behind this forced militancy is to stop Pakistani's nuclear proliferation program. Afghanistan and the tribal areas are the best place for the U.S to monitor the activities of the Central Asian countries, Pakistan and China. China is very much interested in the central Asian countries and wants to be the main provider of their market that's why they started the 46 billion USD Gawadar China CPEC project. This route will connect Pakistan's deepest seaport in the world Gawadar with the Chinese city Kashgar.

This project is intended to modernize Pakistani infrastructure and strengthen the economy. This militancy destroyed our leadership. They insulted the elders, Maliks and all those who were able to unite the youth of the community and can utilize it against any aggression. They start killing those Maliks who were smart and out spoken. The ones who felt the danger left the area and migrated to other nearby cities and those who were not that important remain stayed in Dara. The socio cultural and economic aspects of Dara are totally shattered. Over 90 percent people of Dara business were arms and ammunition. They were supply arms to not only KP province but all over Pakistan like Punjab, Sindh, Baluchistan and Azad Kashmir. Because of the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan Dara weaponry business was in demand. They were not only supply weapons to Afghanistan but all over Pakistan specially Punjab. These days Punjab got more weapons than Dara. I think each house in Punjab will have a gun or two and they really use it. We Pathan are just famous for keeping guns for balance of power. We think if my *Thurboor* (cousin) has a Kalashnikov AK-47 I must have one because if I don't have one, he may think I am weak and he can attack or bully me anytime. So in Pathan culture we were using guns for balance of power and as culture. This was the guarantee of peace in the tribal area so people were really very careful while using guns.

In Pakhtun culture if you kill someone they will kill you back in revenge but due to militancy, this culture is also gone. These days' people are killed and the killer pin a note stating no one will touch this dead body until 3pm. So this type of killing or rivalry has nothing to do with Pakhtun culture it's just a pure terror and fanaticism. The Jirga system has been abolished. There is Jirga but not as good or strong the way it used to be in the past. Before militancy the assistant political agent would ask Malik for help in mediation or ask permission before any arrest or needed assistant of the elders or Maliks in a specific village. If the elders or Maliks fail to assist or handover the person then they would give a written permission to use force against that person and arrest him. Now a day we even don't know and the APA guards or Levies come to arrest the person they want. They even don't bother to just inform the elder or Malik of that village where they go for a ride or an arrest.

It shows how weak the Jirga and the Maliks area these days and we Pakhtun are also becoming impatient. We take small little issue to the office of the assistant political agent. Even if there is a fight between husband and wife we take that to the APA office as well. So I would say we don't have the power Jirga or Maliks who are stronger than this political administration. In our Frontier Crimes Regulations (FCR) the old British law for tribal areas, there is Jail, arrest but no capital punishment and beating up the prisoner. Now a day they just don't keep the prisoner and give them to FIA, IB and other investigation agencies. The Jirga is hugely suffered due to the militancy and ongoing changes. The FCR has many articles. 40 FCR is the guarantee of peace from the elders and Maliks of the area by the assistant political agent. 8 FCR is collective responsibility of a village in case a crime happens and arrangement of local Jirga. 11 FCR is about the criminal including, robbery, theft and cars snatching and their investigation. All these articles were handled through 40FCR. Assistant political is the chairman of these Jirgas, we have three options during our Jirga, to accept it, reject it or request for a new Jirga or do a little bit changes for implementation. These days in the APA office majority of the Jirgas are all business Jirgas.

People usually have business conflicts. APA is a trial court respondent, if the parties agree that's good if they don't agree the APA forwards the case to the commissioner. I would prefer the local Jirga, which is quick and economical. In this Jirga we are allow to choose to Maliks to mediate and the other party has similar choice. We just need to inform the office of the APA that we had this Jirga through these Maliks and this is the result. The victims of militancy got some money for example, the suicide blast in Balaqi Khel village where 104 people were killed. I am not sure that all of them got the money from the government but I do know two of them got \$25000 each. There was exploitation in the death pay as well. Some of them got only \$3000 or even a few got \$50,000. For the rehabilitation of the victim of this militancy got funded by the annual development fund and two other organizations like livelihood and FSSP did help people through FATA secretariat special program funded by these organizations. But they were threatened by the Taliban not to implement any project by NGOs otherwise they will target the staff of the organization and the victims' families as well. In 2008-9 there was no militancy in Jawaki area but the funding was going there.

They did water supply schemes, Street pavement and sanitation projects in those areas. I good a few tenders and completed the project in those affected areas. What I like about these organizations was that they were very active. They involved the local community in the developmental works. One the organization employees were frequently visiting the project area and monitoring our work. Second, they give permission to the community members to have a check on us. So, the community's members can register a complaint in case we do something wrong or use the wrong material. They were always there to check that our work is satisfactory. Some of them were funded by USAID but they give the name of FATA secretariat because of the soft implementation of the project to protect it from Taliban. I faced Taliban once with other friends and Maliks together while we went to *Zor Akhur* village for a tender when my friends where having a dispute with local people on drainage system and I was the contractor of that project. We arranged a local Jirga to solve the conflict of my friends and the locals of that village. The Jirga was in process until the evening and we decided to go back home because it was late. On the way a car came in front of our car and the guys inside the car were wearing black masks. They came close to us and asked questions like who we are and what are we doing here? We just explain the situation and they let us go. That's all; we don't have any concern with Taliban or other militants here in Dara. In my view militancy is process through which people of a specific community be prepared to fight for a specific goal. If the goal can be achieved easily then it's fine otherwise get the gun and force people and challenges the rule of law to apply their school of thought and impose their decision by force on the people of a specific community. This militancy badly affected our cultural values and our custom and tradition.

We were using Hujra as a school of learning and operate it as a place for people to get together for special event like marriages and funerals. The militant took control of the Hujras and made it their center office or place where their can execute their plans. It became permanent hub where they were meeting with Taliban from other parts of the areas and made it a meeting point as well. That's how they disrespected this social school of learning and an essential component of Pakhtunwali culture. Because of their presence in Hujra, local people stopped going to Hujra or a mosque. Instead of Hujra a social institution they made it a terrorist center where Taliban were preparing terrorist activities.

Interview 21

Name: Muhammad Sarfraz

Occupation: Lecturer

Gender: Male

Education: M.A

Pakhtunwali is the style of Pakhtun people through that they spend their own life and strictly obeys its codes and those who are not following these codes are out of Pakhtunwali. Pakhto or Pakhtunwali is closer to Islam but we are in the middle. We are not totally following Islam neither we follow the Pakhtunwali. In fact, we are standing in the middle. We call our self-Pakhtun but we don't act like a real Pakhtun and there are many valid reasons for that. That's why Pakhtun or Pakhtunwali is changing time to time. The selfishness is common in our society these days that's why it is hard to explain the real Pakhtun. On one side, we love Pakhto but the other side we love Islam as well.

Pakhtun people are more interested in the Islamic cultural and values and want to spend their lives according to the doctrine of Islam but when it comes to self-interest then people changes. They don't follow the Islamic values or school of thoughts when they see their personal interest. When I look at these kinds of people then I doubt the definition of Pakhto or Pakhtunwali. It is sad but true. According to Professor Preshaan Khattak, Pakhto is bravery, faith, hospitality, loyalty, respect, pride, honor and righteousness. In general, Pakhtun tribe is a very sweet and smart tribe. Their people are no less than any other people in the world in all fields like medical, engineering or science and technology. They are good leaders as well as good administrators. They proved themselves to be good commanders and have the sense of responsibility.

There were cultural musical programs formed on a marriage ceremony but because of Taliban it was vanished. The militant mind set of Taliban were not allowing TV or Radio in Hujra and houses. There was time when they were checking people's cell phone and if they found any song, music video or a girl picture in the cell phone, they would suddenly smash the cell phone to the ground and break it into pieces.

They would leave the person with a warning if they found the same person again with song or a picture on their cell phone, then would break the phone and give the person penalty, may be 30 lashes or put him in a torture cell for a month or order him to do some volunteer work like help thrashing crops with some poor people in the community and harvest crops. These kinds of actions by Taliban made the local people psychologically sick and they were looking for ways to leave this area. They were doing whatever they wanted to impose their rules on people. In fact, they wanted to terrorize people so they can be easily controlled. The guest system was seriously wedged. People were not welcoming guests anymore because of the worst situation in the Tribal areas. We say guest are the blessing from God but in the presence of the Taliban a guest was a headache. There was no guarantee of a guest's safety. For Taliban Pakhto or Pakhtunwali was nothing.

In fact, they were disrespecting Pakhtunwali in all means the way they could. When a guest comes to see you at your Hujra and you don't know him, we were not sure he is a guest, a spy, Taliban or a suicide bomber. There was no trust remain left in the area. Still people don't trust each other. A brother is scared of a cousin or even his own brother. A lot of the time the youngster of a family joined the Taliban but their elder didn't know that. When he was involved in a fight or found involved in a suicide blast then the family could know that their kids were also in the militant group. People were scared from their shadows. Because of this militancy the Jirga system had been shattered. The Jirga was too weak to implement any decisions on the two rivals. When the Maliks come to a conclusion of Jirga proceedings the next step was to send the decision to Taliban and they will decide after if they like it or not. The Taliban established their own Jirga and mediations system through which they were hearing different cases and decided on spot or hand it over it to their favorite people, the ones they were close to and trusted them.

People still respect their elders. It's a socialization process of each Pakhtun that they learn while growing up in the Pakhtun area. Respecting elder is an important part of Pakhtun culture. We can't run away from them by any chance but respecting the decision of a Jirga was different thing. Everyone was expecting the Jirga in his favor so if the results were against someone's wishes then they would go other source of mediation.

In the other sources of mediation there were the Taliban courts where they decided a decision on spot. There was only one choice to accept the Jirga, if we don't accept they will impose the decision by force anyway so there was no other option in Taliban mediation system. There were people who also went to the army for a dispute resolution but the army sent the case to the assistant political agent office to arrange mediation group.

Some cases were not that serious were resolve by the army itself so it depends on the people and the conflict as well. If it comes to my personal issues, I would prefer to resolve my conflicts through the elders of my own area because they are well aware of the situation and I believe they would do the justice. The role of the assistant political agent is very important.

They are the most powerful authoritative people of this area. They have the implementation power as well suggest mediators in any conflict. Actually, political administration is ruling FATA area and they are responsible for peace and law and order situation in the tribal areas. I didn't have any personal issue with Taliban I never faced them in any occasion neither any of my family member during all this time of militancy in Dara.

Interview 22

Name: Khan Wazir

Occupation: Lecturer

Gender: Male

Education: M.A Pakistan Studies

According to J.S Spain, Pakhtunwali is an unwritten ethical code is a way of Pakhtun people. They will obey these rules anywhere in the world throughout their whole life. This unwritten code includes Hospitality, Revenge, Bravery, Hujra, Jirga, Loyalty, Righteous and Honor. There is no concept of Pakhtunwali without Hujra. Hujra is the main component of Pakhtunwali. It's a common guest house as well as a great school of learning and transforming knowledge, wisdom and Pakhtunwali code to the new generation. Militancy is when someone or a group of people take arms for political or religious motives. This militancy left a really negative impact on our Pakhtun culture. It demolished our basic rules of Hujra, Jirga and Hospitality. The basic roots of this militancy go back to the Soviet war in Afghanistan when the US came to fight against the Russian with the help of Pakistan. The second reason of this militancy is the 9/11 American war on terror. This war on terror created more terrorists. When American drones were attacking villages in Afghanistan and Pakistan's bordering area, they were not only killing Taliban but majority of the casualties were the local innocent people.

Majority of these extremists are young people who are not only fighting for religion but they are also brains washed. On their mind, they are fighting Jihad and going to heaven but at the same time killing innocent people, they won't take him to heaven but hell. These terrorists came from Afghanistan as guests. Then they started marrying local people and became relatives but they were Jihadi mindset as well. The Maliks of the area work as a bridge between the local people of FATA and the government. The Taliban killed the faithful and reputable Maliks first because they were the channel of wisdom and unity. The Taliban felt challenged by these Maliks so for them removing these kinds of people of their way was the first target. Because they got the skills that they can mobilize the people easily and can turn locals against the Taliban.

The loyal Maliks got killed and the corrupt ones remain in the air that were openly supporting these Taliban and became their players. The devoted Maliks were famous for their quick and justified decision-making power. They were also making decisions according to the rule of law and Islamic doctrine without favoring any party during a conflict resolution. Their decisions were quick, fast and acceptable to both the parties in conflict. That's why they got this huge support from the local people. After they got killed or some of them left the area the Taliban started their own mediation system and they put the corrupt and unfaithful people in mediation. Besides that, in the past feud were handles collectively with unity but these days people just care about their families. No one wants to jump in someone else's conflict and everyone is responsible for their own trouble.

The Hujra culture has been destroyed. People are not going to Hujra anymore. The Mosque has been shut down. Not many people are going to pray in the main mosques anymore just a few people. This militancy destroyed our educational system and collapsed the institution. The infrastructure of FATA has been paralyzed and people are facing the worst life situation after this so-called war on terror. This militancy resulted weak family bonds and lack of trust between people, friends and relatives. No one trusts anyone. People don't want their guests to stay at their place for a night anymore. People are still living that fearful life because they saw the brutalities of Taliban and they still think that they are going to come back soon and start their brutal activities again. People are mentally sick and have a lot of stress and tension because of these militants. It impacted their social life as well as their economic activities. They lost their family members, businesses and properties. We want local government system in our area. It would help the community with quick justice system.

People are active and fully involved in local government system. It brings social change to the community and makes people aware about democracy and human rights. I would prefer my conflict to be solved through local Jirga and through the office of the assistant political agent. FATA tribunal is not a permanent solution of the Tribal areas issues. There should be a proper system to run this area.

Interview 23

Name: Rabi Ullah

Occupation: Associate Professor

Gender: Male

Education: MA Pashto

Pakhtunwali is the principle of Pakhtun people through which they spend all of their life with peace and dignity. Pakhtunwali helps Pakhtun people life together with peace and harmony and help each other in times of happiness and sorrow. Pakhtun people all over the world follow Pakhtunwali code including hospitality, honor, dignity, cease fire, and bravery. They strictly obey the decision of Jirga and respect the elders and Maliks of the area. A Pakhtun who is widely respected in this area should follow all these rules. In Pakhtun culture when someone needs assistant for any kind of personal work for example building a house, thrashing crops or defending the weak people against an oppressor in the society was collectively defended. This is called *Balandra*. Balandra was one of the most active components of Pakhtunwali in the past.

These days, people are not really into Balandra but trying to solve their issues by themselves. It might be because of modernization and advanced technological era which is not allowing people to spend their time while helping others. There was a custom, when a person was marrying his daughter or sister; he supposed to ask from a reasonable amount of money from the bride's family. This is called "*Sar Paisay*" Head Money. If a family was not asking for money the people in society would call her "Cheap or Free". That's why people used to claim as a head money would, however used to buy clothes, shoes and fulfilled other necessities of the bridegroom's marriage ceremony. Because of literacy and awareness, the custom is almost gone just 20 percent left. The cousinhood (*Thurboorwal*) is at its peak. People want to compete their cousins, family members or other community members at all levels. The good thing is the majority of Thurboorwali these days all competing in education. There is a competition between brothers, cousins and friends that who will get a good and higher education.

The negative side of *Thruboorwali* is that they will drag you back if you are doing better than them in business, education or any other fields of life. Militancy is processes that force a person or group of people against the rule of law and make a panic situation in a peaceful area through their barbaric and inhumane activities. The militants don't have a religion, neither have they had any principals. They don't have anything special in them neither they are talented. Becoming a militant is an easy job for them. Just take a gun and start killing people whoever you don't like or someone who don't agree with. Don't obey the government rule of law, challenge the government writ and kill innocent people is the job of militants. This militancy hugely affected our Pakhtunwali code. The main element of Pakhtunwali is Hujra and mosque which have been badly affected because of the militancy. Hujra was a social institution and a place of learning for new generation. It was also a common guest house for those who were coming from other areas.

It was a place to fulfill the social norms and values and used a center point in happiness and sorrows. Mosque was the compulsory portion of a Hujra. These days, people don't go to Hujra due to fear of militants and suicides blast not only in public places but in Hujras and mosques as well. The community members were arranged in many different kinds of events in the Hujra including music concert on special occasions like marriage ceremonies but these days you can't see these events. In the past, our ladies were going out just with a long shawl but because of militants order they started using Burqa which covers them from head to toe. This burqa order applies on every single woman including ten years old girl. These were our ladies, our respect and we were protecting them all of our lives as a Pakhtun culture but why these Taliban wants to do that now? In Pakhtun culture women are very respected and everybody respect them as their own family members then why Taliban wants to apply their dressing codes on our ladies as well? Our marriage ceremonies are greatly impacted. People are scared of inviting many guests to the reception. They can't arrange the music concerts that were the fun part of a marriage ceremony in Pakhtun culture. My own brother was killed in a funeral while he was there for condolences with the deceased family. We arrange our brother's funeral, we told people to please not to come to the funeral because we were afraid that Taliban will send their suicide bomber again and blow more people. Currently the Jirga system is totally corrupted.

Jirga in the past was the most honest institution but due to militancy, the respected, honorable, sincere Maliks got killed and the one who left were the people of this corrupt mafia Taliban. These days' mediators are expecting bribery from the opponents. The one who pays more get the favorable decision. Nobody respects Jirga these days because Jirga lost its credibility. Mediators in the past were not working for money or some sort of benefits. They were just working for peace in the area and for the community. They would only want an animal like a lamb or goat to sacrifice to make a big feast in the respect of the decision. People were totally happy and agree with that decision.

Many people were joining Taliban just because of *Thurboorwali* the cousinship. They wanted to pressure their cousins or relative in case they were not cooperating or there were some issues that one party was not supporting. Many Taliban were uneducated, ignorant and the worst people of the society because they just wanted the power to show that they are strong but in real life they were nothing. They didn't have any reputable past. Majority of the Taliban were the crooks of the society. The government didn't do anything special for the victims of the militancy. They just give \$3000 each to the person's family who got killed in the suicide blast or encounter with Taliban but the rest there is nothing on ground. They are saying that they are going to help with different schemes but it's just words. We haven't seen anything practical from the government or any other organization who were involved in rehabilitation works.

Those people who got links with establishment got a lot of help and assistance both financial and social but the ones who were poor or don't have any contact with the higher authorities got nothing. I would prefer my conflict to be solved through my family members. If it's doesn't work with that then I will go to the local Jirga. After local Jirga, I would prefer to go to the assistant political agent office for further assistance.

Interview 24

Name: Qaiser Jamal

Occupation: MNA (Member National Assembly)

Gender: Male

Education: MA

Pakhtunwali is the social behavior of our everyday life that includes caring of guest, hospitality, honor and protecting the weak people among us from an oppressor. Militancy is when a person or a group of people start killing innocent people of a specific community in specific area and destroy the government property and infrastructure. They also try to forcefully impose their barbaric laws on the local people and kill those who are not obeying their order. This militancy extremely impacted our culture, custom and tradition. People don't sit in Hujra anymore. We don't have the love and peace left in our culture. People became more materialistic. People don't go to attend a funeral ceremony or show condolences so to those who lost their family members. Instead of dealing with all kind of good and bad situations collectively, it is more like a personal thing these days. Everyone is responsible for his own lost and gain in a communal activity. The respect for the elderly has been decreased and due to this militancy, the young people are becoming more like the leaders of the area but they don't have that skills, information and talent to lead a society with dignity and wisdom. These young people, with no life experience got the gun and money, and came out to pressure people so they can feel like powerful commanders who can control whatever they want. Our marriage ceremonies have been totally changed.

People only invite close relatives on special occasions and prefer to finish everything as soon as possible. Young people don't respect elders anymore. They don't obey their elders and don't respect them in general. The senior citizens still carry the Pakhtunwali tradition but the young people are not interested in it anymore. Young people think they are smarter and more educated than their elders. The modernization also played a big role in changing their behavior or in other words a social change. In the past, the elders/Maliks of the five clans of Dara were always united on any issue and were deciding together in communal interest.

The Taliban killed those Maliks or elders who got the wisdom to solve any kind of issue between the government in Dara who were well aware of the local conditions, custom and tradition. They were talking logically and always put community interests first before making any decision or coming to a conclusion with the government or with the Political Agent. They were the kind of people; that were heard on any kind of platform. Our Jirga system is far better than that court ruling because the Jirga usually is based on collective interest instead of personal gains. They listen to both the parties first and then come up with a creative solution which is happily accepted to both the parties.

On the other side, the government courts and ruling are a mess. They can't solve a simple issue easily; it takes ages for them to decide a simple case. That's one of the reasons that people prefer local Jirga then having civil court for conflict resolution. The best system in our Jirga is the *Kanrey/Teegaa* "the ceasefire". When Maliks enter a clash or an ongoing conflict the two parties suddenly stops firing or fight and sit together in a neutral place to solve the conflict. We can't see this system in the civil areas of KP or anywhere else in Pakistan. There is nothing has been done so far from the Assistant political office or from the government for the victims of the militancy. We helped whatever we could through my National Assembly funding and Afridi Welfare Trust but because we are in opposition party that's why the government is not interested or serious in any kind of developmental work regarding this area.

We really have many plans to develop this area but the central government stops funding time to time so it's been hard for us to carry on the projects. Our schools are 100 percent destroyed by militants and need to rebuild on the priority basis. We are trying to allocate funds for school and literacy in FATA area and to rebuild the schools as soon as possible. Before there was the army in Dara College but I had successful negotiations with the army and moved them to the east side of the college so the students can resume their educational activities. We allocate funds for the rebuilding and recovery of the college and it's under process now. The college is partially open for student and they are going to study their but still there are a lot of work to do. We also rebuilt a few high school and middle schools. Some schools are still under construction and will open soon.

I also approved a government girl's college from the government and it is also under construction. The girl's college will be functional next year 2019. With my personal interest and efforts, I also approved the only FATA University in Dara. The funds for the university are allocated and soon the construction work would start. So, we are doing our best to bring back that peace and harmony in FATA areas as it was in the past to give some relief to the people affected by this war on terror.

This area needs great attention and its infrastructure had been massively destroyed so it's going to take some time to recover from this big disaster. In the past asylum seekers were coming to take a refuge in the tribal areas after having a dispute back home in the settle areas to protect themselves from the government law enforcement agencies. It was easy for them to just move to the tribal area and start a living here. Because of the army and strict check by the office of the assistant political agent it is very hard to give asylum to strangers or even to those you know somehow, incase, if they are involved in some kind of criminal activities. People even don't let's their guest or any traveler stay for the night if it's not very important. Those religious people who think Taliban are fighting for religion and they are doing Jihad which is totally misleading. This is all a political game and there is no religious affiliation because if they were really fighting for the religion they would never think of blowing up a mosque packed with worshippers while praying.

My mind never accepts that these people are Muslims or have any religion just they have a mission to obtain certain goals. Religious people may go to Taliban for a conflict resolution but majority of people in Dara prefer to solve their disputes through Jirga by negotiations. If Jirga fails to solve their problem, then they can take their case to the office of the assistant political agent and he would further arrange a governmental Jirga and appoint Maliks to solve the problem. Personally, I would prefer my relatives, friends or elders to be mediators in a conflict. I can also go for a local Jirga in case I have a dispute with some one or the most I can ask the APA to help solve the issue. When you resolve any conflicts through family and friends the results 95% are positive in terms of accepting the decision and solving the issue between two parties.

Interview 25

Name: Haleem Khan

Occupation: Malik/Social Worker

Gender: Male

Education: MA

Pakhtunwali is our daily life activities where our relationship with other community members and collectively performing actions that support each other. It was culture where we participate in other Pakhtun happiness and sorrow and help them in need. In my view militancy is fighting against the government for personal rights. When the government is not giving the basic rights and people feel discrimination in all field due to a specific geography or race and here comes a time when people feel like it's not going to work without taking up arms against the corrupt government is called militancy. But this militancy has a really drastic impact on our culture, custom and tradition. It totally distorted our marriage and death ceremonies and people's behavior. The live music concert in marriage ceremonies was totally banned by Taliban and in case of disobeying the family should get ready for the consequences. They usually took the bridegroom if someone plays music or had some sort of activities that were against the doctrine of Taliban.

People of Dara stopped inviting people to the marriage ceremonies because of the sick behavior of Taliban. Now after the military presence in Dara area the militants are disappearing and the situation is getting back to normal but things are not like they were in the past. Of course, it's getting better but it will take some time to come back to normal. Because of the army people are not letting travelers or strangers stay at their Hujras. Also, it's pretty hard for people to give asylum to anyone involved in criminal activities.

Even it's impossible because the assistant political office has people in each village to give information about strangers living with someone. In that case they would be called by the APA to give explanation or take out the person who's living with the locals. The political administration helped those who died or got injured during militancy in any incident but not the ones who got property damage or business lost.

The political administration is getting ransom from the coalminers and paying that back to the victims of militancy and other developmental works. Jirga in the past was purely for social welfare and peace in the society. The Maliks were great leaders full of wisdom and sincerity. Maliks these days are all thieves and looking for methods how to loot people who are looking to solve their conflicts. Lots of people just don't want to use Jirga anymore just because of these kinds of incompetent and corrupt mediators. They just keep the cases pending until the opponents get tired of these Maliks and withdraw from the case and try to go somewhere else for their conflict resolution. We don't have those leaders left who were seasoned in the community issues and knew how to talk with the political agent and other governmental authorities on specific issues.

The leaders these days are just self-made leaders. No one appointed them, they just calling their selves leaders but they don't have that leadership qualities. They don't have that wisdom or experience that can help solve the problems of the people. They are not that creative to lead this community. People usually solve their conflict through Jirga, APA, DCO, commissioner, tribunal and army. The assistant political agent is only interested to solve the issues of rich people; he is not interested in poor people's cases. Usually the rich come with some expensive gifts or help the APA somehow.

In return, the APA helps that person as much as he can and supports him everywhere. There is no example of APA proceeded the case of any poor person and resolve his conflict. I would like to solve my dispute through my relatives and elders through local Jirga. Majority of our leaders had been target killed so there are no sincere leadership left. They were forced to pay ransom or get ready for the consequences by Taliban. I had never faced the militants neither my family members have any disagreement with them.

Interview 26

Name: Irfan Khan

Occupation: Researcher/Social Worker

Gender: Male

Education: High School

According to Irfan a PhD Scholar, this militancy gives us much sorrow and pain with great lose but at the same time it taught us to fight against the oppressor and fight through not only guns but education. If we would have educated youth, we won't have this militancy problem in this area. Because of the illiteracy, many young boys were joining the so called extremist group with knowing good and bad and right or wrong.

This militancy taught us to get education and learn how to distinguish between good and bad and make planning for a peaceful future. It attracted us towards the light of education. Everyone single person wants to send their kids to school before the join extremists group and also the treasure of knowledge is in education. In the past the people of Dara were spending their money in Arms or other businesses but these they want to invest on their kids and give them good education for their bright future. This is one of the positive things that we got from this decade long militancy.

Interview 27

Name: Naseer Ahmad

Occupation: Malik/Social Worker

Gender: Male

Education: M.A.

Naseer Ahmad a Medical student views about militancy, if we really want to know the meaning and the reason of militancy in Pakistan and specialty in FATA area, we should go back a few decades in Soviet era. It actually happened when the U.S came to support Mujahedeen by all means, financially supported them, and gave those advanced technological sophisticated arms as well as special gorilla trainings to combat Russians. Actually militancy is a gift from the United States, which they left for us while fighting the Russians in Afghanistan. America told us that we should fight Soviets in Afghanistan and they will fully support us. We fought them with the Soviets with the American support, we defeated them but we didn't change our policy after the back up of Soviets from Afghanistan.

Once we defeat Russians, we should have change our policies and work towards development and peace in the area but instead we stock into the same thing, Taliban, extremist, violence, funding from the U.S, requesting international aids and looking for all possible means to get attention from the international community. Actually we started relying on the international aid. Our intelligence agencies are so used to these Dollars and international aid that they don't want to just close this chapter and rely on their own resources or work hard for the future of the country. They are opening new episodes of the old drama. Another reason is that Saudi Arabia played a biggest role in bringing militancy through their Wahhabi brand of Islam. Whenever this Wahhabi brand of Islam goes somewhere there is always violence and ferociousness. Wahhabism is that brand of religion that is extreme to the core.

Interview 28

Name: Hassan Khan

Occupation: Malik/Social Worker

Gender: Male

Education: High School

According to Malik Hussain Khan, Government of Pakistan didn't do anything special regarding rehabilitation or developmental activities. They didn't help those people whose houses were destroyed by Taliban or the ones who lost their business and family members. The biggest example was the barbershops, the music and the movie stores, which Taliban forbid to operate in FATA and Dara area.

A barber can only have a haircut but cannot shave, if he shaves someone's beard the Taliban would blow up his shop the next day that's how they lost their only business. That was their only way to earn the bread and butter for their family. Similarly, a music shop or a movie, audio video center was treated the same way.

According to the Taliban, the barber was not following the guidelines of the Islam by shaving people's beards and the movie or music shop owner were brining vulgarity in the area. That were the main reasons Taliban ban these two businesses. Pakhtun people as a whole are Muslims and there is no other religion unlike in other races of Pakistan, for example there is the Punjabi Muslim, Punjabi Hindu and Punjabi Sikh. Pakhtunwali is closer to Islamic doctrine and that is one of the reasons that Pakhtun people are more religious than the other races in Pakistan. There is no doubt that they are the most amazing brave, honest, hospitable, faithful and peaceful people.

Interview 29

Name: Shafiq Khan
Occupation: High School Teacher
Gender: Male
Education: MA

Shafiq Khan High School Teacher, before militancy majority of people were happy with the decision of Jirga and they were respecting the elders but these days the status of Jirga is not that it used to be in the past. Many people ignore Jirga and preferred to take their cases to the assistant political agent court for conflict resolution. There can be some reason for that as people think the Maliks or elders are not that wise that they used to be in the past and the majority of the Maliks were experienced and got a lot of wisdom in conflict resolution mechanism. They were well aware of the Jirga rules and knew how to solve a conflict. Those Maliks have been killed by the Taliban, that why people now a day prefer to go to the office of the assistant political agent for conflict resolution. Some people go to the army and request to solve their problems. There is no one who can reject the order or decision of the army but it depends on how you contact the army Major or other responsible officer in this matter. There should be someone who is in touch with the army who can arrange a meeting for to discuss the problem and they can find a way to solve it.

That's true they love guns as a part of their culture. They are not that stylish or fashionable but they are naturally beautiful peace-loving people, with love, care and more patriot than citizens of the other cities of Pakistan. They were the ones called to be the unpaid soldiers on the border and the people of FATA fought the war in Kashmir as well. When they see all this injustice while showing their love care and support for Pakistan, they feel like they are not Pakistani but some outsiders who enter in a foreign country. They feel outsiders in their home because of the treatment by the security agencies and law enforcement agencies of the country. They have to show their identities at many places on the way back home even when they are coming from a local market or coming from the nearby cities like Peshawar or Kohat. People of FATA are the most intelligent people in the world. They are not only experts in making handmade guns but they also show their talents in all other fields like Medical sciences, Engineering, Technology, Sports and politics.

Interview 30

Name: Mary Jane

Gender: (Female)

Age: 50 Years old a House Maker

According to Mary Jane a local residence and influential lady among the females of Dara, militancy is a kind of unlawful force that appears like a disaster for the people of a community where they have nowhere to go but to face their cruel regime and tyranny. Pakhtunwali is the respect, love, care and support for each other in Pakhtun community, our Hujra, guest and hospitality. The bravery of a man and the modesty, honor and respect of a woman is the beauty of Pakhtunwali. Militancy has hugely impacted the Pakhtunwali ethical code. People have been changed and they don't follow Pakhtunwali the way they used to be in the past. Some changes have been brought by modernization and education like not carrying gun so often without any reason unlike in the past, every young man has a gun and they would happily carry it especially at night for safety and self-protection but these days people are focusing more on education and turning back to the gun culture which is also due to the awareness and modernization. The new generation is more interested in education, business and technology then carrying again.

The main changes that have been brought by militancy are the trust between people, respecting others. People don't tolerate anymore. They are exhausted. Kids don't respect their elders even their own parents in many cases. When they went to join the Taliban extremist, their parents tried hard to stop them. People were poor and they don't have any other resources so some of them families deliberately let their kids join the extremist because they were bringing income to the home which was helping them with their bread and butter. The Taliban knew that the only thing the youth need is money, power and authority and they will do for them whatever they want. In some cases, some mothers locked their kids in room to keep them away from joining Taliban but they would break the windows and runaway from homes to join the extremist group because they showed them the imaginary Heaven and an afterlife. That's why they were just running to kill themselves and not listening to anyone.

The government didn't do any such kind of rehabilitation work but help those who got authorities and approach in the higher authorities who can forward their cases on priority basis but nothing for common people. For instance, a mortar built shot by the Army or Taliban, we don't know actually hit my house and my two milk cows worth \$1200 died spot which were hit directly by the built and three goats as well. I lost my cattle and didn't get any compensation. Still I thank God that it didn't hit any of my children because my grandkids were playing around when the mortar built hit the house. There was a very poor family whose house was also hit by a mortar built one of the woman died and the man sustained serious injuries and remained hospitalized for month to cure his burns. There are many cases like this who are never been asked by anyone for help or compensation.

Many times the army helicopters were flying over the houses and shooting targets in the nearby mountains the shells of the bullets were falling down on people's houses which were seriously damaging and hurting people. People don't give asylum these days because the situation is really bad and the government and the army think that giving asylum to criminals and wanted people are making the situation worst in Dara which was advised to local people not to let any criminal or wanted person in the area. In the past there were many cases where asylum seekers would come and stay for years in Dara until their situation settles down but these days it's hard to imagine an asylum seeker getting permission to stay in Dara. Jirga is still practicing on daily basis and people do respect the Jirga members. Jirga is the main component of our culture which helps everyone in the society. If local Jirga hasn't been accepted by one party, then the most influential people would come and try to solve the issue or political agent would be the last option. I would personally ask my family members to solve my issues if I have one. I would never ask Taliban for mediation. I cannot deny the decision of Taliban thought because they are cruel people and insult respecting people of the community. People always prefer to have respected then disrespected by someone in the tribal society. I have never faced or none of my family member faced any trial by Taliban extremists. APA is the chief of the area. He makes law and assigns Maliks to keep the law and order situation the area. His job is to bring peace and keep the situation calm and harmonious in Dara. In fact, he is the judge of the tribal areas.

Interview 31

Name: Zarmina Khan (Female)

Gender: Female

Occupation: House Maker

Pakhtunwali is a combination of cultures, traditions, love, and hospitality etc. militancy is violation of state rules and regulations, to destroy peace and spread fear among people of a specific community. It has a significant effect not only on socio-cultural setup, but on the economic values as well. Militancy does not allow the free movement of all these. There are few projects the government for the people of the tribal areas like Cricket Stadium, markets and sports events etc. People don't give asylum to strangers these days, as people have come to know all the consequences of doing so. And also they have suffered a lot for it. So they avoid such things now!! People of FATA accept the decision of the council of elders.

This system has been followed for decades of years. Maliks (representatives of tribes) and Jirga systems are the highlighted parts of Pakhtun culture. Depends on the group of people, some people prefer to solve their issues through APA or by Army. Before the Pak Armed Forces operations in FATA denying them was not possible, as their terror and fear in the people hearts and mind was so strong that it was impossible to think of denying their decisions. I didn't face any trial by them but one of my family members did face them. He was asked to visit their office for some investigation to clear an issue. APA is an assistant administrator of a particular Agency in FATA. PA (political agent) chairs an agency development sub-committee. It has all the developmental projects, issues regarding the agency. So, it plays a significant role.

I would prefer Jirga because Jirga system has been followed up for many years (part of Pakhtun culture) and almost all the people of FATA are happy with it. Well some of the people also want to expand the jurisdiction of court and law to FATA. Jirga has some of its own plus points and negative as well. The big plus point is that if two parties have conflicts, they can select Jirga members of their own choice collectively.

Interview 32

Name: Imran Khan

Occupation Social Worker

Education: Masters

According to Khan, to understand the existence of terrorism nowadays in the Pakistani society particularly in the tribal belt, need to go back in history and study the reasons behind it. Why the governments needed to bring security issues to the states? Modern international terrorism could be traced back to World War I and World War II. There are many different events of terrorisms from ancient time what we call it barbarism but it got a modern name of terrorism especially after 9/11. There are different strategies and reasons of terrorism that need to be explained. Actual terrorism where a person or a group want to terrorize another person, or a group, a community or a race for different reasons.

There is the self-made terrorism. The terrorism which benefits specific businesses and a group of people and another kind that benefit countries and specific groups. Some sort of terrorism that could use for strategic gains or get influence in a region for instance, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan to show their power in the region. To stop the influence of the Soviets in Afghanistan the United States shakes hands with the Pakistani army and creates Taliban, training them, funding, arming and deploying them against the Soviets in Afghanistan. It is terrorism but nobody would call it terrorist or terrorism because it is not a right time for the term “terrorism” to use. At the time when Taliban and Al-Qaeda were fighting the war of the United States were called “Mujahedeen” the holy fighters. It was in the American interest so that was fine. There is another kind of terrorism that could be used against their own people, in that terrorism, a terrorist kills and terrorize its own people. This terrorism would need a special strategy. Through that strategy, the terrorist would give power and authority and a free hand to kill anyone who opposes their ideology just to keep the game going. This kind of strategy could be used for both strategic and economic gain. To show to the funder or financiers that these tribal areas are the most backward areas in terms of social and economic development as well in education that lead the people towards terrorism.

The other gain could be to crush a movement of separate State of “Pakhtunistan” by Pakhtun population of the area, mainly supported by neighbor Afghanistan and India in the past. To bypass that movement, revenge the past hostility, it’s a good time to start this game exactly where Pakhtun people live at the both sides of the border in Afghanistan and Pakistan. Pakhtun people are in majority in Afghanistan and dominating provinces in Pakistan specially Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, the FATA areas and Baluchistan. The Pakhtunistan movement was a huge separation movement by Pakhtun people in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, The Tribal areas and some parts of Baluchistan in the 1960s that was supported by all the governments of Afghanistan at the time. The State of Pakistan was not happy with this movement and with the Afghanistan government by supporting this cause openly and internationally. Kabul was always demanding the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and was not accepting the Durand line demarcated by British India during the separation of subcontinent.

Afghanistan was at the claim that Pakhtunistan areas belong to Pakhtun people and it should be with Afghanistan or leave it as independent areas as it were during the British Raj. As Peshawar was the winter capital of Afghanistan Empire in the past and Kabul in summer, they were at the claim of getting it back until (Attock by river Kabul) bordering the Punjab province of Pakistan. On the other hand, Pakistan was not happy with the claim of Afghanistan and relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan were getting worst. On many occasions at the UN generally assemblies the Afghanistan presidents and foreign ministers had supported the Pakhtunistan movement and accused Pakistan of miss conduct in the Pakhtun dominant areas. Pakistan was not happy with the Afghanistan behavior and was trying hard to settle down situation with its neighbor. The Afghanistan president being Pakhtun itself would support cooperation with Pakistan but the prime minister would be usually from the minority of Hazara tribe who was supported by the Soviets could oppose the decision by the president. The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan was with the support of the Hazara community members of the government to control some movements that could be threat to the Royal Government of Afghanistan. When Soviets invaded Afghanistan to show its influence in the central and South Asia became a nightmare for the United States.

The U.S. never wanted the Soviets to have influence over the Central and South Asia so they invited all the leaders of the Muslim countries like Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Egypt, UAE etc. to the United States to discuss the Afghanistan issue. That was the time that the United States became the friendliest nation with the Muslim world. They started donations and charities from all over the Islamic world to fight a war against the Soviets in Afghanistan. The United States together with the Pakistan Army started lobbying against the Soviets. Soon, the flow of weapons and dollars started from the U.S to Pakistan. The CIA and the ISI (the secret intelligence service) of Pakistan started training young boys from madrassas in the Tribal areas of Pakistan. The madrassas were established and funded by Saudi Arabia and other Gulf countries. Soon the notorious Wahhabi brand of Islamic extremists started to gather in those madrassas from all over the world and started planning their activities. Majority of the recruiters were Pakhtun youth from the tribal areas who were trained on the name Jihad “the Holy War” against the foreigner invaders (the Soviets).

Pakistan was worried for its own security; if the Soviets fully control Afghanistan then the next target would be Pakistan. That was one of the reasons that Pakistan fully supported this war against the Soviets and also crushed the Pakhtunistan movement. The recruitments process of young tribal youth to fight against the soviet started from Waziristan to Khyber agency and Dara Adam Khel. Young people were recruited trained and sent to Afghanistan. American dollars and missiles, arms, ammunition and Pakhtun youth were used in this war. Finally, the Soviets were defeated and went back home resulting the collapse of the Soviet Union and billions of dollars lost to the economy. Afghanistan falls under the Taliban government which was supported by Pakistan. Majority of the Taliban leaders were trained by Pakistan ISI and were loyal to Pakistani establishment. That what Pakistan wanted to have a Pakistan friendly government in Afghanistan so they can focus on eastern border with India. Taliban were accused of the 9/11 terrorist attack on the United States and their invasion of Afghanistan which toppled the Taliban government. The government of Pakistan didn't wanted Taliban to surrender to the US forces but pressured by the Bush administration, the Pakistani government also turned against the Taliban. Taliban who were the heroes and Mujahedeen in the Soviet war suddenly pronounced terrorists by the United States.

It seems like the United States got the right to name and blame whoever they want. Pakistani government gave aerial and land space to the US forces. The US forces started attacking Taliban positions in Afghanistan. The Taliban fled to the nearby mountainous tribal areas of Pakistan bordering Afghanistan. They were already familiar to the area because this was the place where they got trained and sent to Afghanistan during Soviet era. The Taliban have relationship with locals and they were welcomed by the tribal people. The Taliban started lobbying the local people against the US invasion of Afghanistan and moved to the other part of the region. Soon they spread to the whole tribal belt and made their local branch of Pakistani Taliban with the name Tehrik Taliban Pakistan (TTP). They started hiring people from all over the tribal area showing their influence in different walks of life. At the same time the US pressured Pakistani government to take action against the Taliban in the Tribal areas. Pakistan didn't want to attack its own people but under the pressure by the Bush administration that time Army general and president of Pakistan general Musharraf sent the army to the tribal areas to fight Taliban. As the army attacked the Taliban in Waziristan they spread in the whole tribal region and started attacking back the Pakistan army and all the government facilities as a clash back. They started bombing cities, hospitals, schools, public and private places and openly challenged the Pakistani government writ. The army started bombing the FATA areas through the F-16 jets and with the help of the US drone attacks. In these aerial attacks majority of the casualties were of the local people who have nothing to do with the Taliban or extremism. This situation made more Taliban and the situation got worst for Pakistan government.

Pakistan army deployed more troops into the tribal region and started search operations. The Taliban moved to different cities of Pakistan and started suicide attacks in almost all the cities but mainly targeted Peshawar city. There was no single standing government building left in Peshawar city, they attacked all the main center of the city and turned the city into wrecks. They attacked the provincial high court building, majority of the police stations in the KP province and Peshawar, Hospitals, schools, universities, army check posts, army convoys, airport, aircrafts, bus stations and supermarkets. In fact, there was no single place left in the city that was not hit by Taliban. They even attacked the funerals, marriage ceremonies, Friday prayer gatherings and sports players during live games.

The main target for the terrorist was the Peshawar city, though there were a few attacks on the other cities like Lahore, Karachi, Rawalpindi and Islamabad as well but Peshawar was then main target. 90% of Peshawar city was destroyed by these terrorist attacks between 2003 to 2015. Pakistani army and government are usually dominated by the Punjab influence due to their highest number of representatives in the National Assembly and in the Senate of Pakistan. There is a special lobby in Pakistan establishment who are naturally biased towards Pakhtun people. It looks great from outside to show it to the world that we are all together and one Pakistani but inside Punjabi, Baluchi, Sindhi and Pakhtun are dealt according to their geographical location and status. That was one of the reasons that today; there is the Free Baluchistan movement all over the world. People of Baluchistan think that they have been treated as second class citizen and the government of Pakistan is exploiting their natural resources. That's why they are saying that the natural Gas that comes from "Sui" an area in Baluchistan to the big cities of Punjab like Lahore, Faisalabad, Multan, and Gujranwala but the local people of Sui don't have their natural gas to light up their stove. Similarly, the Tarbela dam is the biggest dam in Pakistan and its situated in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province which produce 50% of the country's electricity, which is mostly used by the center Islamabad and to all the cities of Punjab which help run their fabric, cotton, sugar mills and other industries in Faisalabad and Lahore but there is not enough electricity in the major cities of KP.

The Pakhtun culture being different than other societies living Pakistan is one of the sources of the conflict. There is a big social, cultural and economic factors involved between these societies and its people. Pakistani army is mainly comprised of the officers from that special lobby who got the high positions. They mobilize the whole army towards a direction that is the demand of the time and interest. For instance, joining hands with the Russian army and governments who were defeated by them and given billions of dollars lost to their economy in Afghanistan war, just to help the United States. The Pakistani establishment moved the Taliban and extremist's strategy to the tribal areas which is a mountainous area and majority of the local residence are Pakhtun. The army trained young Pakhtun youth in the tribal areas and sent them to Afghanistan to attack Pakhtun in Afghanistan. Who's the winner? On both side Pakhtun people were/are dying.

It seems like this game was played to kill Afghan through Afghan and Pakhtun through Pakhtun. Giving gun in the hands of the youth of the tribal Pakhtun instead of pen and book was a clear discrimination. Other cities of Pakistan like Lahore, Rawalpindi and Islamabad were developing with new projects but Peshawar and other parts of the Pakhtun region went back to the Stone Age. There was not even a single school functional in Dara between 2003 and 2013. It seems like the main strategy was to stop the youth of the Pakhtun community from getting education and give them a gun to make them extremists.

Introduction of the extremist Mullahs in the Madrasas and local mosques were to blackmail people emotionally and change their mind towards jihad. The Friday prayer sermon by the Mullah was usually about provoking people against the US army, NGOs, Western Supremacy and in a few cases against the Pakistan army. It looks like to earn a big chunk, its ok if you lose a little. At one side killing their own people by the Pakistan army in the tribal areas and by the US drone attacks and at the same time asking for the developments of these areas from the US and other western countries including Europe. The money was coming on the name of the development of the FATA's area but it was not reaching to the people of FATA neither they could see any developments project with that money. The money that came for FATA's development was used somewhere else. Mainly went to the bank accounts of the bureaucrats and to the army. The budget of the FATA could only be seen in papers the rest cities in Punjab province were getting develop in all aspects.

Somehow this terrorism was benefiting the State and it should go on for a while, yes of course there were people dying but that's fine, it doesn't matter if a few thousand Pakhtun die in a population of 180 million. For the people of FATA, it was strange to see the Taliban extremist brutality because they were acting like they are not against the Pakistani government or its army but Pakhtun people. Pakhtun people were dying all over Pakistan and Afghanistan. Taliban were attacking and killing them all over in Tribal areas and KP province. The army were attacking and shelling the houses of locals remaining residence because majority of them left the area and became IDPs (internally displaced persons). The big question for the local Pakhtun people was that why the Taliban are destroying the schools and colleges?

Even though people of FATA supported them when they started their Sharia law in the tribal area by banning music, praying five times a day, telling the truth, not to lie, helping each other and not stealing. People were really happy with them and they supported their cause. But later when they started destroying the school, colleges, hospitals, the local people knew that it's a game. It's a game specially designed to keep the Pakhtun youth away from getting education. Whenever someone from the US government announced to visit Pakistan, the army should hop on the jets and started bombing villages in Waziristan and kill innocent people and show it to the US that we killed extremist to get financial support from them.

This terrorism was benefiting a lobby in the government that wanted this terrorism to carry on until it works. Due to the Taliban influence and power change from the traditional Pakhtunwali to the Taliban Sharia law or their own kind of justice system, the local people of the tribal areas, totally ignored their own way of life (Pakhtunwali). They stopped giving asylum to people because majority of the time they didn't know if the person is Taliban spy, a stranger or a guest? Taliban opened their own court of justice system and made their own rule of law, where they were making decisions on spot. People liked that swift justice system. Some people were happy with this system but those who don't have a choice to object their decisions weren't happy. They have to accept the decision of Taliban because there was no other option. The Taliban extremist killed the local elders, Maliks and Jirga members who were professional in mediation and got a lot of information of the area and knew the local conditions.

Jirga was the most powerful component of Pakhtunwali which was practiced almost on daily basis in Pakhtun community. The Jirga members were respected all over in the Pakhtun society but due to Taliban interference the Jirga was abolished and Taliban started their own system of ruling. The Jirga members and Maliks were disrespected by Taliban and many times threaten to death. Many Maliks and elders left the area and moved to other safe cities or went underground until situation calm down. The Taliban prohibited the live music concert in marriage ceremonies which was an essential part of the culture.

People stopped inviting their relatives, guests and friends to the marriage ceremonies due to growing security threats by Taliban's attacks on gatherings and crowds. Pakhtun youth who join Taliban extremist, were given a red jewel embroidered hat a sign of Taliban membership, a big long knife, an AK-47, a 30 bore pistol a scarf and a pair of *service* sports shoes and to the commanders a bike or Pickup truck.

The state of Pakistan was always saying that all these army actions are in the best interest of Pakistan but the problem was that only Pakhtun people were suffering. They lost their houses, properties, loved ones, land, businesses, dignity, respect, culture, values, custom and tradition and most important, the name Pakhtun was libeled as a terrorist not only in the western world but inside in Pakistan by their own people from different cities as well.

They lost everything and they didn't have a right to ask any question because nobody was interested to listen to them. Because of this imported terrorism which was imposed on these people by others for some specific goals. Pakhtun people will always suffer until they get united under the leadership of one of their leader and learn to get their rights. They need a leader who can unite them on a single platform and make strategies to be able to hear their voice and pressure authorities and establishment to stop the genocide of Pakhtun youth and future generation from these kinds of activities.

The table shows overall result of the interviews and case studies.

Questions	Agree	Disagree	Comments
Militancy effected Pakhtunwali	32	0	Greatly effected
People support militancy	0	32	Religion has been used
Socio-cultural setup effect	32	0	People don't follow Pakhtunwali as before
Jirga Decision	27	5	Jirga is getting back
Obeying Militants	22	10	Due to army presence
Decision of Militants	5	27	Won't ask militants
Government support	12	20	No major support
NGO support	5	27	Sensitive area for NGO
Rehabilitation work	25	7	Rebuilt government infrastructure
People don't follow Pakhtunwali	27	5	Culture change
People trust each other	4	28	No trust
People give asylum	0	32	No one give asylum
Jirga has been abolished	6	26	People trust Jirga
Pakhtunwali code should be restored	32	0	People want their Pakhtunwali code

Total 32 respondents' views have been recorded in the table above

5.7 Conclusion/Analysis

The results of the case studies and interviews shows that the Pakhtunwali code has been hugely affected by the militancy and it has disturb the everyday life of the local people. Militancy spread like a cancer in the Pakhtun society due to lack of education, awareness, poverty, government negligence but at the same time no proper security plan from the government added fuel to terrorism which took thousands of precious lives. The life style of Pakhtun people and the way they do things in their daily life while following these social norms and values of Pakhtun society Pakhtunwali was the basic principle of life and majority of the respondents were at the view that the missed the culture and want it back in their life but there were a number of respondent that stated that some of the Pakhtunwali components were not portraying a positive face of Pakhtun culture. For example, Panah (giving asylum) to anyone who ask for refuge was somewhat ambiguous through which many extremists got asylum and started to mobilize local people against the government.

The *Swara* (marrying daughter or a female in enemy's family) was to help end the feud but at the same time the life of that girl got worst due to daily life abuse by the rivals. The supportive components that includes their marriage and death ceremonies where they show their love, support and care through all this time of joy and sorrow. Helping poor people of the community in different ways and defend the weak ones in the society who are unable to protect themselves from the oppressor. They stand against the bully and support the truth in all conditions. They still can help poor people or defend the weak member of society against the bully but modernization, mass media and communication made people slave to the advance technology. The young generation of Pakhtun people doesn't care about the old Pakhtunwali code and it's not only because of the terrorism and extremism but the challenges mentioned above also played a vital role in molding some of the Pakhtunwali principles. Militancy is a form of bullying or misuse of power against a weak person or a community who are unable to defend themselves against that specific group that is challenging the rule of law and involved in illegal activities. It cannot only connect with the religious school of thoughts in extreme teaching of Jihad but can be found in the other religions and communities of the world as well. Many people believe that the Taliban were working under Army for specific reason or in the best interest of the nation.

It is hard to find out the truth behind Taliban being supported by the Pakistani army during militancy in the FATA region but there were some evidences where the army and the Taliban were on the same page. For instance, many respondents add that due to the Pakistani army the situation is getting better in FATA areas and they are crushing Taliban and other extremist groups. They think the Taliban are supported by the Indian RAW and by CIA to destroy Pakistan's image in the international community. Meanwhile, some respondents believe that the army and Taliban are the same. Both are working for the best interest of the nation to protect the country against the enemies who wanted to destabilize Pakistan mainly, CIA, RAW, KGB and Mossad. Meanwhile, there were good Taliban and bad Taliban or the main reason could be to end the status of FATA as autonomous areas and bring it in the government jurisdiction. So, they were showing FATA to the world as a safe-heaven for terrorist to get international attention so they can get more international aid to develop this area. Even though the people of FATA are the most peace loving, smart and intelligent, hardworking, hospitable people but still they brought this war to the area which negatively impacted their way of life and their local culture. Majority of the Taliban militants in Dara who joined this group were from a poor backward, uneducated people. They were jobless young energetic youth with no social or technical skills who were looking for easy power and wealth. Their only way for them to get power and money was to join the militant group (Taliban). The FATA areas didn't get any sort of specific advantages from the international aid as the infrastructure of the area is still in worst shape that shows that the rehabilitation and development work is not very active.

The developmental process of the FATA areas and Dara has been severely damaged and people are facing many problems like health, environmental issues as well as lack of basic human needs, clean water, education, health facilities and jobs opportunities. Poverty and lack of education lead the youth of tribal areas to join the extremist groups. The advantages of joining this group were to keep people under control and make them obey their orders by force. They got cars, guns, influence and targeted those who they thought could be threat for their existence in the area. They were also attention seekers who don't have any values and special skills that can distinguish them from others or show performance in education, sports and any other field that can make them special.

The youth stopped respecting their elders and insulted them at many occasions. They wanted people to remember them, doesn't matter good or bad but there should be their name so people can tell their stories. Some parents in the community don't want their kids to stay in this environment. To get good education and have a bright future their children show good to other big cities where there are better educational institute and the environment is much better than Dara in terms of education and social awareness. In the parents' view if their kids stay here in Dara, they won't be able to continue the level of education that they can get in other big cities of Pakistan. For example, the Wah Cantt city near Islamabad is on top in the country regarding education ratio. Their literacy rate is 100-percanet in the country. The parents who sent their kids to study in Wah Cantt are behaving differently than the ones who are studying in Dara because the literacy rate and education system of Dara is not as good other cities of Pakistan. That is one of the reason that parents from Dara are spending money on their children's education and send them to bigger cities so they can get proper education. The way the militancy spread in the FATA area was also because of the injustice by the central government, ignoring this area in educational and industrial sector. Billions of dollars were coming from the west to develop and promote the tribal people and make their daily life better but instead of spending the money on the people of FATA that has been used somewhere else or went to the bank accounts of the bureaucrats or the army used it for their defense budget. Whatever the cause might be but the people of FATA had always been treated as second-class citizen.

They used to call FATA *Elaka Ghair* (Out or inapplicable Area), that means FATA was not even considered to be the part of Pakistan. There was no university until they establish one in 2016 for the 5.2 million inhabitants of FATA. They were treated as criminals in Punjab and other parts of Pakistan without knowing their culture. Sometimes people of FATA think that they have deliberately kept illiterate because of the jealousy and competition. Still there is something happening on ground to demoralize and keep them uneducated so it would be easy for the national and international powers to play around this area and their people. Jirga has been severely affected by militancy and but luckily, it's getting back on track and people started to use Jirga again in their everyday life.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

6.1 Summary

There is a great impact of Militancy on Pakhtunwali social code and it's hugely devastated the whole Pakhtun society. The social life of the residents of FATA has been totally disrupted. People are in huge trauma and shock situation. They still can't believe that everything happened so fast resulting in loss of precious Pakhtun people lives, properties, lands, houses, businesses, respect, dignity and the most important their name Pakhtun which was their pride. Melmastia which was a great element of Pakhtun social code, through which a guest was welcomed and got profound respect. They are grieving their Hujra which was a common guest house and school of learning for the new generation. The elders and youth were all getting together in a Hujra and sharing their daily life activities which were a regular process and the transformation of Pakhtunwali code into the new Pakhtun generation. Because of the Hujra people don't have to worry about their guest, the guests can stay there as long as they want and there will be local community members who can entertain them and provide them with different kinds of foods and hot and cool drinks.

There was the Jirga which was the daily life process for Malik's and elders of Pakhtun community for conflict resolution. Jirga was loved, cared and respected by all the members of the community and even some non Pakhtun communities were interested in this kind of justice system which they applied in their own communities. Jirga was severely damaged or abolished by Taliban militants and they started their own justice system Shura which was neither religious nor social, it was just a creation of their own mind and they were forcing people to obey their decisions. The militants did their best in terms of damaging and degrading Jirga but Pakhtun community loves their Pakhtunwali and its elements and they would never let Jirga go and use some other means for conflict resolutions. Majority of the respondents said that Jirga has bounced back strongly and it's getting back its momentum but the killing of the prominent and experienced Jirga members, it is going to take some time to come back to its old place where Jirga decision was the final one and nobody could deny its decisions.

The Jirga members these days are young people from none Jirga families which is a bit hard for them to decide complicated issues easily but they will learn and would be better mediators in near future. People to people Relations have been severely damaged and the trust culture has been vanished. People in FATA don't trust anyone even the blood Relations are not getting that values that used to be in the past. People don't give asylum anymore not even for a single night. They even don't want say hello to strangers because they think it may be a trap by the militants or from the intelligence agencies. There are many cases of force disappearances have been recorded in FATA areas and people are worried that they may be the next victim if they say something about the Taliban or the Pakistani government. Panah the asylum element is totally rooted out and nobody wants to let someone stay in their place.

According to Malik Taj Khan "giving asylum to a stranger is impossible, even if it's our own relative involved in any kind of criminal or illegal activity, we would never let anyone stay at our place or support that person on any platform". No matter what, these days supporting a wanted person is making us his friends, his team or his companion, that means we destroy our life and career as well just because that person. The law enforcement agencies or army could after him and call the facilitator as well, that means creating problems for ourselves by giving asylum to a stranger or criminal. The APA role in the development and rehabilitation of the area is not satisfactory, even though he's the most authoritative person and got hold of the region. He should have played a better positive role than just being a dictator. The APAs in the entire FATA region act more like autocrats. They must use their position and power for the betterment of the area instead of pressurizing the local people through their authorities to keep them depressed. Majority of the responded said that the APA is the most powerful person of the area and he can do whatever he wants, to decide a case in a day or leave it pending for years. It depends on his personal interest and willing in a specific case. The lower staff of the assistant political agent office is very unfriendly and uncooperative. Their ego is bigger than the APA itself. They are used to a specific style of communication which some people understands for example, offering them a cup of tea or a soft drink before asking to process an application.

The new generation specially the educated class doesn't understand this language and it's very hard for them even get attested a single paper from the APA or Tehseeldar office because the lower staff is expecting every single person to act that way. There is no doubt that today Militancy in FATA is the result of the US proxy war in Afghanistan against Soviets but lack of education, opportunities, poverty and neglected by the government force the youth of the FATA areas to join militant groups. The CIA finical support of Taliban Mujahedeen and the Pakistani ISI military training provided a breeding ground for extremists in FATA. The US and Pakistan got the short term advantages like defeating the Soviets for the US and crushing the Pakhtunistan moment for Pakistan but the long term impact is a nightmare for both the countries. The US joint together with its ally NATO with its 140,000 military strength and latest ethnological weapons are fighting this war in Afghanistan for almost 17 years now. There is no chance of winning this war and 70 percent of Afghanistan is still in the control of Taliban.

Majority of FATA people think that Pakistani army is against this terrorism and they are supporting Taliban for its strategy against the US. They are at the view that has to play this game otherwise the United States is going to attack Pakistan. A number of people think that the CIA, Indian RAW and Israel's MOSSAD is against this Militancy to destabilize Pakistan. For both the US and India the Pakistan China economic coordinator is in unacceptable. The US can't see China dominating the south and Central Asia through this corridor. Similarly, India is not a friendly neighbor with both China and Pakistan and they have fought many wars in the past. Pakistan diplomatic support to the Kashmir freedom moment cause is a nightmare for Indian. That is one of the reasons that Indian RAW is hugely involved not Free Baluchistan moment, Pakhtunistan moment jointly supported by Afghanistan and India and the support of Taliban militants against the state of Pakistan. Regarding cultural impact, the new generation is not that involved in the local culture the way they used to be in the past. The respect for elders in society has been declined for many reasons. Militancy cannot be blamed for all the changes in society but its effect can be felt in all other walks of life. The mass media and communication, advance technology, smart phones in the palm of everybody's hands, modernization and social networking could share to this social change in the Pakhtun society.

In the past, radio and elders were the only source of information sharing but these days everyone has a smartphone and they can search for any information they need. In fact, sometimes, they are more aware of the world issues than their elders due to the advance social media and smartphone technology. The new generation like to spend more time on their smartphone while participating in social networking then staying in Hujra and learning the basic norms and values of Pakhtun culture that lead to the decline of Pakhtunwali social code. Parents being busy in their jobs and businesses and not teaching the basic traits of Pakhtunwali is also one of the reason this trend.

The government involvement in the tribal matters especially the establishment that brings regular changes to FATA is shaping the local environment. According to one of the responded Haji Mehboob, the government forces like army, or police were not allowed to enter Dara without prior permission or if they have to go through Dara by road to other cities of the country, they could only do that by remain seated inside their vehicles. They were not allowed step on the FATA land but these days the army is all over the FATA region and the police is also violating the rules of the tribal areas by entering in tribal territory. There was a clash recorded between the Dara college students the *Matani* police who allegedly entered in the Dara area. The police car was held by the students and after the APA involvement the situation was settled down and the settle police were advised not to enter the tribal territory.

This study discovered a positive point about the militancy which was mentioned by the local people of FATA was the thirst for education. They accept that the main reason behind the tribal youth joining the militant group was the lack of education. They were not educated enough to distinguish between good and bad. In the past the tribal people were investing more in businesses but these days they are trying investing in their children education. No matter what it cost but they try to send their kids to a good school and give them a good education which can help them in future. In the past, the local people won't care about their children's education but the militancy taught them a great lesson that if you have an educated community then it would be hard for any group to use the youth for disruption and that could be one of the reason that the Taliban militants were destroying all the school to stop the tribal kids from going to school.

6.2 Summary of the Key Findings Survey Analysis

The finding of this research shows that people of the FATA areas especially Dara Adam Khel were very happy with the Pakhtunwali social code. It was hard to imagine a Pakhtun society without Pakhtunwali code of principles, they were using in their daily life. This code was their basic element of life which is a complete system for them while living in tribal society. The beauty of the Hospitality, Jirga, Hujra, Nanawaty and bravery were the basic traits of this code which they followed through their life. There were some elements which were even not accepted to their own people but just used it on the need basis to bring peace in the area. They used those elements like Swara for instance, where they marry a girl in the enemy family is a kind of selfish thing element. But they were using this trait to save the whole community from warfare and feuds for the next generation to live peacefully. At the same time permitting a criminal and government wanted person to stay in the area as the rule of Panah asylum was one of the reason that flourished militancy in the FATA.

Majority of the responded think that Pakhtunwali has been severely damaged due to militancy and many people don't follow Pakhtunwali code anymore, except the Jirga and hospitality. Jirga was also banished by this violence as majority of the prominent Maliks and mediators were killed by militants which shattered the whole mediation system. The elders (Maliks) of the Tribal Areas were the leaders and representatives of each community who were working as mediators and a bridge between the assistant Political agent (APA) and the people of Tribal community.

Jirga was processed on daily basic in Pakhtun culture and majority of the people were happy with its proceeding. They were getting quick, less costly and justified decisions at door step instead of going to the political office or other government justice systems which takes ages to resolve a simple issue and cost more money. The Jirga process was very interesting observing a group of Jirga members listening to one party and going to the Hujra of the other group in conflict and listening to their point of view so they can explain their position.

After listening to both the parties the Jirga members would ask both the parties rights to announce the decision. The Jirga members would announce the decision and it should be accepted to both the parties. The amazing thing about Jirga was that it could take place anywhere, for instance, in Hujra, in a Mosque, in a shop or in an open field while sitting on the ground. Hujra (the common guest) has an important role in Pakhtunwali culture. It's a school of learning and a place of socialization where Pakhtunwali transfers from one generation to another.

Majority of the respondents said that Hujra culture was severely impacted by militancy and people were not inviting their guests or friends to their Hujras for special events anymore. They can't allow a stranger to even enter the Hujra for a short time without a reason. Letting traveler and strangers stay in a Hujra for the night and treating them with different kinds of delicious food was the custom of Pakhtun community but due to militancy this system was abandoned. They still want to help poor people and passengers, especially those who are travelling at night and don't have anywhere else to stay but the situation is not allowing them to do so. Many responded believe that this layer of militancy was the result of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan where the CIA and the Pakistani ISI trained the local tribal to fight the Russians in Afghanistan. They think the US and Pakistani government sow the seed of militancy and extremism and we the new generation is reaping the fruit of that tree.

The United States succeeded in its mission by defeating the Soviets and limiting them in their own region but at the same time they destroyed Pakhtun society with the introduction of the Kalashnikov AK-47-gun culture. Some respondents think the sectarian groups and racial discrimination in Pakistani establishment played a vital role by bringing this war to the Tribal areas. They are at the view that the Pakistani establishment didn't like the Pakhtun culture or the autonomous FATA areas and they wanted to bring these areas in the Pakistani law and government control so they started to play this game. The Case studies result shows that Taliban extremists were targeting the school educational institutes so frequently that it was clear that they didn't wanted the local youth to go to school or have proper education.

Their main target was to mobilize and brain wash young people so they can use them for further strategies. Majority of the suicide bombers were as young as age between 13 to 17 years old. Majority of the militants in Dara were from poor family background who don't have enough resources to go to a good school or take care of their families. They also wanted to have a good life style with respect but unavailability of proper educations and opportunity they turned to Taliban for power and authority. Taliban knew their mindset, as young generation they only want money and power which were hugely provided. It was for them to kill anyone they were ordered to do so, that was one of the reason that some well-known people were killed by their own youth who joined Taliban militants.

Taliban organization played a double game; they killed people by their own community members and in some cases by their own family members. Now they are gone but they created feuds inside their own families because all of those people whose family members were targeted and killed by militants during Taliban era are now waiting for the revenge. They will take revenge from the same guy or his family so it's another issue to address later in a different study. Joining the so called war on terror of the United States by Pakistani government was a biggest mistake. This shaped the whole Pakistani society specially the FATA and KP region. The consequences of this war turned Pakistan into a fragile state and degrade the national integrity globally.

Pakistan was fighting the war of the United States but the same country and its mainstream media labeled them dishonest and terrorist. The US put down Pakistan on every forum in the world and tried its best to keep Pakistan under pressure by its do more policy. According to Webster Tarpley and many other defense analysts think that the terrorist activities in Pakistan is done by the CIA's private army the "Black Water" their mission was to kill the prominent patriot Pakistanis and start a civil war inside Pakistan which has already been seen in the shape of the "Free Baluchistan" movement by Baloch separatists who are mainly funded by the CIA and RAW of India. Another movement just recently started by the Pakhtun community under the leadership of the young "Manzoor Pashtun". He's a local of Waziristan agency and demanding for the investigation of the Human Rights violation in the tribal region.

The Human Rights violation that took place during the war on terror which resulted the demolition of almost all FATA region including Dara Adam Khel. He's asking for the government agencies to free or brings the people of force disappearances in the court if they are involved in any kind of state against activities. There are a huge number of people who are disappeared during the decade long Militancy mainly by the government agencies like ISI and IB. The family members and the relatives of the victims of force disappearances joint hands together with Manzoor Pashtun and started "Pakhtun Tahfuz Movement" (PTM). In the biggest city and business of Pakistani city Karachi, there were a number of people, especially the Tribal Pakhtun people from FATA and other parts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province were killed in fake police encounter by Sindh Police and pronounced them Taliban militants or terrorists. Many of the innocent Pakhtun people who left the FATA region and KP during Militancy in search of a safe peaceful place and moved to other biggest cities like Karachi and Lahore were usually abused by the locals and mostly by the law enforcement agencies especially by the local police.

They were suspected them as terrorists and never missed a chance to undermine them anywhere in the city. According to the Friday times news report (Jan 2018) around 300 people, mostly Pakhtun have been killed in 150 fake encounters by Senior Superintendent Police (SSP) Malir Karachi Rao Anwar. Those who were labeled terrorists and got killed during police encounters. In fact, those Pakhtun people who were called terrorist has been detain by the police first, torched in the police cells and shot later in the suburb of Karachi city. Rao Anwar the SSP Karachi police would order to kill and watch the encounter of the Pakhtun people and most of the time he would shoot them with his own personal gun.

The PTM main demands from the government are to stop the military operation in FATA region, compensate the victims of this war on terror, freed the missing people or appear them in the court and arrest SSP Rao Anwar for killing innocent Pakhtun people in Karachi.¹

1. <http://www.thefridaytimes.com/tft/a-hot-and-dirty-list-of-ssp-malir-rao-anwar-encounters/> Retrieved 2017-05-27

Pakistan is a battle field for super powers, first the United States came with its agenda to defeat the USSR in Afghanistan with the introduction of extremism in Pakistani society by Wahhabism from Saudi Arabia. Joining hands with the US by ex-President of Pakistan general Zia-ul-Haq who moved Pakistani society from secularism to conservatism.

Majority of the liberal have been forced to leave the country and got killed. They built many madrasas with financial support of Saudi Arabia and introduces the Wahhabi brand of Islam. Like Syria Pakistan is also the battle field between Saudi Arabia and Iran because Pakistan is the second country in the world with a huge number of Shiite Muslim population. To keep the country dominated Saudi Arabia started funded these Madrasas to have influence in the Muslim world. Fighting war against the Soviets may help Pakistan in a few sections but they should have changed their policy after the defeat of the Russian.

The state of Pakistan continues the same policy which made the whole Pakistani society radicalized which we can see today in a result of secretariat clashes, intolerance in the society that made the country fragile and it's a big threat for the nationhood of Pakistan and its survival. The free ultimatum by ex-President to Pakistan "Either you are with us or with the terrorists" Pakistan joined the US led war against the Taliban regime in Afghanistan. In fact, Pakistan didn't want to join this war but it was pushed into this was and there was no other option left after the announcement by Bush administration. Since then the Pakistani nation is in great chaos. The US supported Pakistan with the army fund worth \$35 billion but in return Pakistan got suffered a lot in all fields of life.

Pakistan had over \$100 billion lost to the economy and 70,000 people dead and scores injured and degradation in the International community. Pakistan suffered a lot while fighting the war of the United States. Pakistan was blamed as a supporter of the terrorist state by the same ally United States and put ban on their citizen on travelling to Pakistan and was announced the most dangerous country for foreigners in the world. Because of all this misfortune, the tourism industry of Pakistan went down and Pakistani passport was ranked the second last after Afghanistan in the world passport index survey 2017.

6.3 Theoretical Implications

Importance of Theoretical Applications/Consequences and effect

Theories are essential mechanisms for us to thoroughly observe, understand, provide significance or reenter, reinterpret and systematically recognize the occasions that are happening in our lives. Especially after September 11, 2001 incidents, terrorism became an intimate fragment of people's lives around the world. It is the scholar's own view that when struggling to well recognize why some folks could ever compel such deeds generally, academics and specialists must to go outside coherent, individual opinions and prejudices, and should try theoretical and logical means to understand terrorism. It is particularly commanding for experts to fulfill this rule since they also have the obligation of altering the rules to deal well living values to the people whom they are thought to assist.

Further study and theory addition and new areas of research found during the theory and the research. The religion and terrorism theory has a lot of explanation of connection between religion and violence. It clearly shows that how the religious scholars use religion to achieve political goals and keep the masses under control. This act was observed in almost all the religion Christianity, Islam, Judaism, Hinduism and Buddhism. As it was mentioned above no major religion on earth support violence but the religious culprits use the holy text for their own personal agendas. There wasn't any related theory which could back Pakhtunwali ethical code involvement and making way to terrorism. It could be interesting to see some scholars do their further research on a theory which can see the connection of Pakhtunwali ethical code and terrorism.

Some American scholars had worked on the reconciliation process and Pakhtunwali in Afghanistan's point of view where they found that it was hard to handle Pakhtun tribes in comparison with other tribes of Afghanistan like Uzbek, Tajik and Hazara. They blamed the Pakhtun culture "Pakhtunwali"

6.4 Policy Implications

People of the Tribal areas are peace loving and very hospitable people. They have their norms and values and their way of life. They are happy in their own surrounding while applying Pakhtunwali in their daily lives. The government of Pakistan should do more for the development and rehabilitation of victims of militancy. Majority of the people in tribal areas scarified for this country and until today in the shape of the terrorism. Whatever the reason of this terrorism could be but government should treat the people accordingly and try to help these areas in all possible means especially in education sector. They should build more schools, colleges and universities for the bright future of the tribal people. They should create recreational activities and built sports gymnasiums so people of the tribal area can participate in healthy activities. Instead of making handmade guns the government should come up with proper planning and establish vocational center and other training facilities which can help these people start a new business and contribute to the national economy. Unlike the people of Punjab, people of the tribal areas more talented and hardworking in terms of working with hands and making things. They should arrange cultural events at the center and let the people of Pakistan share their culture with each other. They should arrange monthly workshops to inform the youth towards new developments and how can they participate in that activities. The army should treat the tribal people with dignity and respect so they can regain their respect from the tribal people.

There is a big gap between the local people and the governmental agencies. Some serious action should be taken to bridge the gap between the government and the tribal people. The policy maker should let the local people practice their social code Pakhtunwali if it's not hurting others. In fact, it's a great source of communal understanding and bringing people together. Majority of the respondent appreciated Jirga without the assistant political agent interference. They were at the view that Jirga in the past was very strong and respected but sure due to the political interference, the Jirga process has been declining and the elders and Malik's of the area don't get that much respect the way they were in the past before Militancy. People of the tribal area trust their elders and majority of them want to resolve their conflicts through local elders, family members or Maliks.

The Taliban militant tried their best to abolish Pakhtunwali and especially Jirga to replace it with their Shura the Sharia law but it was one sided procedure. The Shura was supported only by those who were close to the militants or they knew that the Taliban will decide the verdict in their favor. In Taliban justice system, there was no chance of reconsideration regarding a decision and the people in the conflict have no right to appeal. Some people liked that system because of the prompt proceedings or force application in other worlds but the overall process was not democratic, even in real Islamic Sharia law people are fully protected and have right to appeal. Many people were at the view that in marriage ceremonies the youth of the family arranges musical concert and display fireworks.

According to the army they should inform the army beforehand while conducting any kind of recreational and entertainment event so it can be taken in notice but if a family didn't inform the army while arranges an entertainment event like fireworks or musical concert should be charged by the army and the bridegroom should be taken in custody from the marriage ceremony. It's fine if it concerns the security but it is too much taking the bridegroom in custody just because they have fireworks and didn't inform them. Once they knew that is a marriage ceremony that should just avoid the scene and go back to their barracks instead of doing inhuman actions by taking people in custody from the marriage ceremony. The other thing this study found during the research was that the army personnel was usually from the Punjab areas that don't have enough information about local Pakhtun culture, like how to deal with the women and senior citizen of FATA area. People of FATA and especially from Dara really respect their elders and women are highly respected and protected in Pakhtun society, no matter whom she is, she will be protected and respected at all costs. The army soldiers were usually unethical while dealing with elders and women. Most of the time they were rude to the local influential people and that is common in army because the soldier has been taught to fight the enemy but didn't give cultural education how to deal with locals. For the Army, the people of FATA were like enemies and they were treating those worst which was unacceptable to the local people. The army high rank officers were doing fine but the regular soldier didn't have enough cultural education while dealing with a special community, for instance, according to a professor Mr. Irfan, "I was going to Peshawar with my family.

My mom and my kids were at the back seat of the car and I was driving the car when we were passing the army check post, the soldier who was checking the ID cards was in the army uniform looked at me I showed him my ID card. He was wearing a mask, looking into my eyes and pointed with his hand to go, when I started driving, he suddenly whistled at me in an angry way and yell at me that why did I moved the car. I told him that you told me with your hand gesture to go that's why; he said I didn't say anything. I said I'm a professor and I know and obey the rule of law but he became more aggressive and started yelling at me that so you want me to lock you up for a few nights in the lockup, and they went on saying, if you were not with your mom then I would have taught you a lesson and locked you for a couple of days. I parked the car on the side of the road and came down the car, his senior officer came. I told him the whole story and told him that these kinds of people in the army are degrading your image. You should give them proper cultural education before dispatching them to a sensitive area and he apologizes and promised that he will discuss this issue with the higher authorities. I clearly assumed that that soldier was from a very low family and he wanted attention and to have power and authority just exactly like the Taliban militants did, to pressurize people to feel like a king". They are many stories like this in different part of FATA that is done by the army.

The other main point that the Pakistani army and establishment had used that area and the tribal people for the American proxy war in the past. Where they were establishing Madarasas with help of Saudi Arabia and regularly appointing extremist Mullah Who were giving the Jihad sermon in each Friday prayer which has extremely negative impact of the local people specially the youth of FATA. When a Mullah in his Friday sermons says to get ready for Jihad, it's time to go for it and the foreign invader Soviets (in the past) and the United States and NATO forces (now) are also one of the biggest issue behind this extremism. Lack of developmental support by the government of Pakistan in all fields like education, science, technology, health and hygiene, mass media and communications and the most important one is, treating the people of FATA as second-class citizens or terrorist is the basic reasons which are turning tribal people against the government. People of the tribal areas feel they have been treated as outsiders and the government is using them for special mission.

They are showing Pakhtun to the world as bad people with bad culture and Pakhtunwali is the reason behind all this terrorism and extremism in Pakistan and Afghanistan. In reflection, the Jirga tradition could have been applied further innovatively. General Musharraf admitted that people in FATA area are becoming Taliban's supporters and religious radicalism and its going deep in that region and it's becoming a people's movement. It is possible to democratize the tribal society and work for its development but it may take some time depending on the states interests and policies. The government and politician may have a soft corner for the people of the tribal areas and they may want to see them prospers but it is going to take some time when this entire situation comes back to normal. Government should play their role in the development of the FATA area and give them their basic Human rights of education, Justice, Prosperity, Dignity, Peace, Freedom, Equality to bring the FATA areas in progressing regions of the world.

6.5 Limitations of the Study

Although there is a considerable effort to be done, this research work generates important findings in the field sociology, international relations and politics' and doing research work in the Federally Administered Tribal Ares (FATA) Dara Adam Khel, Pakistan wasn't an easy task to be done. In other words, having accredited the limitations of data managing, we can nonetheless verify that there are some limitations of this research work. While the current study has produced some initial findings, its design is not deprived of errors. A number of stipulations required to be noted concerning the current research work. Although the research has touched its objectives, yet there were several necessary limitations. First, because of the lack of female respondents due to cultural restrictions, the research was conducted on a small number of female participants who were attending the interview and group discussion process in the FATA's Dara Adam Khel. Therefore, to generalize the results of larger groups, the study should have involved more female participants at different levels and backgrounds. Secondly, the assistant political agents (APA) unwillingness to interview as an authoritarian power of Dara area and information regarding the militancy in Dara and rehabilitation work, might affect the accurate result of the correlation between the rehabilitation work done by the government,

upcoming developmental projects, the fate of the people of Dara regarding future planning and business activities. The non-governmental organizations (NGOs) works can also be in doubts because some areas they were allowed to work but some places people still doubted them as foreign agents who came to bring their western culture and change the local culture which was already stroked by militancy and its effect on Pakhtunwali social ethical code. The risk of being expose to the extremist group if they say something against Taliban was one of the challenging task to do. Participants were very careful while expressing their views regarding militants' actions and their role in the conflict resolution mechanism. The fear and the trauma that they felt during Taliban rule was still on their mind and one could clearly see that they were still in tremor state and were not fully prepare to talk frankly about the whole situation as they were not sure that, the peace in Dara totally prevails or the militants are going to comeback.

In this kind of situation, it's hard to get the exact results from the participants; even some participants were not interested to talk about Taliban militants. At some points, their answers were just "yes and no" because they didn't want to create a problem even they were told that their names and area will be confidential according to the research rules and security reasons. Third, there were favoritism regarding getting aid from the government in rehabilitations work.

Some participants express their deep disappointment with the government and law and enforcement agencies as well as with the political administration being not able to compensate them regarding their losses both social and economic but some of them got a huge amount of money like a guy named Khalid who got injured in a suicide blast in a mosque. His backbone was damaged and his legs and body stopped functioning. His sexual organ got spoiled and he's unable to marry and have a family. He got a huge amount of money around \$50,000 from the government. In that kind of situation, it's pretty hard to get correct result when dead person's family gets \$3000 and an injured one \$50,000 that was one of the reasons that people were not happy with the government response to the victims of militancy.

6.6 Suggestion for further Study Research

Does Pakhtunwali social code really promote terrorism and extremism?

During the literature review, I came across some research work done by American scholars and some of the students in American universities; they blamed Pakhtunwali to be the main obstacle in bringing peace in Afghanistan. If Pakhtunwali, really is the reason then I would strongly recommend to the future researchers to study Pakhtunwali in Afghanistan and its effect on peace process. We should remember that there were around 140,000 NATO forces in 2011 (BBC, October 15th 2015) and they were unable to bring peace in Afghanistan.

Are there really international agencies involving in the militancy in FATA area because according to some of the well-educated respondents in this, international powers are not willing to see Pakistan is a developed nation and they are trying to bring down Pakistan through their proxy war tactics?

They think that they people involved in suicide bombing, attacks on security forces and bomb blasts in public places are international agents especially CIA, RAW and MOSAD and their main mission is to destabilize Pakistan. They think western world specially the US doesn't want Pakistan to be an atomic power and a close ally to China that is one of the reasons that America is getting closer to India and investing in different sectors and running away from Pakistan. Pakistan used to be the main none NATO ally of the western world. It is recommended to research the main causes between the US, Pakistan detachment and the US relations and policies towards Pakistan and India. Was this war really imposed on tribal belt of Pakistan to change the Pakhtun people's cultural value?

Some people think that a special lobby in the government and law enforcement agencies have grudges against Pakhtun people so that could be one of the reason that this war is mainly playing on the Pakhtun land in Afghanistan and the tribal areas of Pakistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Compare to the Punjab province of Pakistan Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) province looks like wreckage due to the war on militancy and the terrorists made this place for their basic hunts.

Peshawar and other cities of KP province were the most affected areas and there was a time that all the business activities were totally abandon due to the severe threats by terrorists but cities specially in Punjab were having their normal daily life.

Did the international community really threaten by this phase of militancy in the tribal area and Pakhtunwali?

Is Pakhtunwali really the cause of the extremism in the Tribal belt and in Pakistan and Afghanistan?

Is America really threatened by the Pakhtunwali ethical code and that could be one of the reason that the US alongside with the NATO forces are not succeeding its war against Taliban in Afghanistan?

Does the Pakistan army playing a double agent role by creating Taliban and getting aid from the US and international community to fight against the extremist and Taliban in the tribal areas of Pakistan?

What could be the reasons of bringing this war to FATA and not anywhere else in Pakistan?

Was this so-called War on terror on Pakhtun area of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and FATA was a planned game to keep the Pakhtun population uneducated and undeveloped to put them down on the international platform by special lobby in Pakistani establishment?

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61. insurgent – an armed rebellion by any irregular armed force that rises up against an established authority, government, administration or occupation.
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Annex

Questionnaire 1:

Qualitative Section

1. How do you define Pakhtunwali?
2. What is militancy?
3. Is there any impact of militancy on socio-cultural setup of Pakhtunwali?
4. Is there any rehabilitation or developmental work started by the government of Pakistan?
5. Do people still give asylum to strangers? In no, why? (Reason)
6. Do people of FATA accept the decision of the council of elders, *Jirga*?
7. If no, what are the other sources of mediation?
8. Can you deny the decision of militants? If no, why?
9. Did you ever face any trial by militants?
10. Did anyone in your family face trial by militants?
11. What is the role of Assistant Political Agent (APA) in conflict resolution?
12. Who do you prefer in conflict resolution, *Jirga*/APA, Army or militants and why?

Questionnaire 2:

Quantitative Section

1. Pakhtunwali code is helpful?
1. (Yes) 2. (No) 3. (Don't Know)
2. Do you support militants?
1. (Yes) why? 2. (No) why? 3. (Don't Know)
3. Does militancy affect the socio-cultural setup?
1. (Yes) 2. (No) 3. (Don't Know)
4. Is tribal community effect by militancy?
1. (Yes) 2. (No) 3. (Don't Know)
5. Is there any rehabilitation work started by the government?
1. (Yes) 2. (No) 3. (Don't Know)
6. Do people still give asylum to strangers?
1. (Yes) 2. (No) 3. (Don't Know)
7. Do people accept the decision of *Jirga* (The council of elders)?
1. (Yes) 2. (No) 3. (Don't Know)
8. Can you deny the decision of militants?
1. (Yes) 2. (No) 3. (Don't Know)
9. Did you ever face any trial by militants?
1. (Yes) 2. (No)
10. Did anyone in your family face any trial by militants?
1. (Yes) 2. (No)
11. Is Assistant political agent helpful in conflict resolution?
1. (Yes) 2. (No) 3. (Don't Know)
12. Who do you prefer in conflict resolution?
1. (Jirga/APA) 2. (Army) 3. (Militants) 4. (No one is helpful)