

Spreading Terrorism, Militancy, and Radicalization in Malakand Division Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Pakistan: An Analysis of the Economic Factors

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Abstract:

The current study is to analyze the causes of militancy, terrorism, and radicalization where multifarious factors are contributing towards spreading such behavior. However, the study is delimited to focus on the economic factors, including poverty, unemployment and other such factors that lead towards militancy, terrorism, and radical behavior in society. The field information was collected from 200 respondents using purposive sampling technique with stratified approach from 3 strata of the society including businessmen, teachers and clergy

or religious class of age 20 and above. The data was collected through a structured interview schedule, and the analysis was made in the form of tables, discussion and the findings have been verified through chi-square test. The findings show that militancy, terrorism, and radicalization have their roots in deep rooted poverty, unemployment, and lack of other life facilities in the area. The study suggests proper planning for provision of jobs, equal distribution of resources among people and provision of life facilities to the masses.

The Study Background

The spread of militancy, radical behavior and terrorism can be linked to the incident of January 13, 2006, when the CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) fired various missiles on *Damadola, a village in the Bajawar Agency, killing 82 innocent students* (Gul, S. & Royal, Katherine M., 2006). Since then, Pakistan witnesses a rise in the religious extremism, cross boarder terrorism, and militant attacks with gradual increase towards radicalization accompanied by multiple forms of political violence, brutality, occurrence of suicide bombings across country (Bari, 2009). Similarly, change in occurrence of terroristic incidents perpetrated through some organizations and bombings at government installations, places of public interests, worship, and even kidnapping for ransom has been found at large (Abbas, 2007) which also threatened the state machinery through organized mechanism and challenged the government's writ in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province (Aftab, 2008). Militancy, terrorism, and cross border attacks have added greatly to the destruction of the socio-economic and political stability of the country whereas its foundation can be traced back to the Soviet-Afghan War (1979-1989). Further, being an Islamic and neighboring country to Afghanistan, a continuous tension exists on the Pakistani side of the border due to the Afghan *Jihad* since the 1980s and then the US led war in Afghanistan against Al-Qaeda sine 9/11 (Abbas, 2011).

Studies have shown that Militancy, terrorism, and radicalization in Pakistan is due to the Afghanistan War (Michael, 2007) however, the seed of militancy and extremism had been there due the fragile social condition, poverty, illiteracy of the masses, economic deprivation, religious extremism, unemployment, ignorance, lack of good governance, and social injustice in the society (Ali, 2010). Similarly, the study of Khan

(2009) has linked terrorism with easy access to arms, ammunition, marginalization of rurality, social injustice, and governance issues at large in the country. Accordingly, the volatile geopolitical situation and the poverty of the nation has contributed to the occurrence of terrorism in the country (Nasir & Hyder, 1988) while the mass deprivation from modern facilities, access to education, health, technology, communication and even access to food has thus created a sense of inferiority among the population (Ali, 2010). Further, the international agenda and some interventions cannot be excluded for creating uncertainty in the region, however the inside domestic socio-economic structures and other issues must be examined carefully in effective way for combating terrorism, extremism, and insurgency in Pakistan (Murphy & Malik, 2009). The current study is thus an attempt cover the economic forces that practically turned into havoc as has been witnessed during the past a few years and which cause or at least contribute to the present wave of terrorism, militancy, and radicalization scenario of the country.

Study Purpose and Rationale

Pakistan has been confronted with several challenges for its survival during the last few years. The increasing poverty, economic degradation, and the cross-border attacks, suicide bombing, militancy etc. have made people's lives miserable. Pakistan's Economic Survey (2010) reported that 24% of people are living below the line of poverty. And the country will be facing a rise of population from 180 million to 256 million by 2030. Currently, the economic unrest has been on the rise while 55% of the population have no access to education, food, standard of life, health, and the country has been 125th on the World Index of Human Development (UNDP's Report, 2010). Corruption, economic stagnation,

political instability, and inflation have rotted down the country's economic and political base (Pakistan Economic Survey 2010).

Pakistan is dependent on foreign aid, and thus foreign public debt has risen to more than \$9.743 trillion (The Daily Dawn, May 2011). A large segment, particularly the poor, and neglected strata of society have become exhausted and frustrated with their lives within the country leading to a sense of relative deprivation, exploitation, and oppression, resulting in the emergence of anti-state sentiments. Similarly, the intense wave of foreign aggression in the neighborhood in the 21st century, has been another factor that added to the country's existence and perpetuation. The Global War on Terror (GWOT), and the incident of 9/11 disastrously impacted Pakistan's strategic and security scenarios. Several intense military operations were initiated against militants in FATA and Swat Districts and still the scenarios must wait to come to an end (PIPS, 2011). The politically motivated targeted killings and sectarian violence punctuated the security landscape not only in tribal areas and Malakand Division but have also spread to other parts of the country. According to Government of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (2009) report which mainly demonstrates the post-military operation scenario, presents a very bleak socio-economic picture of Malakand Division. Similarly, the Center for Public Policy Research (2010) in its report *District Swat; Socio-economic Baseline and Displacement Impact*, also depicts Swat as being in a state of continuous socio-economic and political decline. In this context, the current study has been organized to look into the problem from certain fresh angles by exploring the possible linkage between militancy, terrorism and radicalization and the socio-economic situation haunting the area in particular and the whole society in general.

Purpose of the Study

The main purpose of the current study is to know the role of economic factors, community deprivation, poverty of the masses in spreading militancy, terrorism, and radical behavior i.e. extremism in Swat District.

Study Hypothesis

H0: There is no association between poverty, unemployment, and economic deprivation with

the spread of militancy, terrorism, and radicalization in the region

Plan of Work and Procedure

This study has both qualitative (descriptive) and quantitative (explanatory) approaches as per the requirements of the collected data; its analysis; relation with secondary data. This study has been conducted in *Mingora (Swat)*. However, the population of the region is unknown and only male population has been made the jurisdiction of the study. The population has been divided into 3 feasible strata and through stratified random sampling 200 respondents was collected from the strata of 'occupation': business, teacher and clergy classes through purposive sampling procedure i.e., 118 from business class; 45 from teacher class; 36 from religious or clergy class. An Interview Schedule has been utilized in the current study as a tool of data collection which describes as a name of a survey research questionnaire when a telephone or face to face interview is used. The structured interview schedule comprises close ended questions including optional answers that provide an adequate range of options to the respondents for easy selection of the factors mentioned. A total of 200 interview schedules were filled from the selected categories and further analyzed in the form of tabulation, discussion/explanation and presentation with statistical test i.e. the chi-square test has also been applied on the collected information for the purpose of authenticity and accuracy. To test the validity of the data, the hypothesis given was operationalized and the association of the poverty, unemployment, economic distribution etc. verified with the spread of militancy, terrorism, and radicalization in the region.

Data Presentation, Results and Discussion

Age and Gender related Information

Only the age and gender of the respondents have been analyzed in the current study to show the level of maturity, age limit of the population, physical, psychological, and social processes associated with the data processing. The table below, illustrates categories of various age groups, i.e., C1, C2, C3, C4 and C5 which signify age limits of 20-24, 25-29, 30-34, 35-39 and 40

and above respectively whereas 51 respondents being (25%) belong to the age category C1, i.e. 20-24 years which is also the second major age group within the population sample; 26 respon-

dents being (13%) belong to C2, i.e. 25-29 years; 15 respondents (7.5%) were of the age group C3, i.e. 30-34 year (See table-1).

Table 1 Age and Gender of Respondents

Categorie	Age Limits	Gender		F	%	C.P	Mean	Median	Mode
		Male	Female						
C1	20-24		-	51	25.0	25.0	3.07	4.00	4
C2	25-29		-	26	13.0	38.0			
C3	30-34		-	15	7.5	45.5			
C4	35-39		-	77	38.5	84.5			
C5	40 & above		-	31	15.5	100			
CT	Total	200		200	100				

The table further demonstrates the majority of the age group, which is C4, i.e. 35-39 years within the population sample and which accounts 77 (38.5%) out of the total sample size. Moreover, 31 (15.5%) belong to the age category C5, i.e. 40 years and above, and which stood to be the second major age category within the whole sample population. Furthermore, the table also shows Gender which exempt the female gender from the study through cultural justification and access to the respondents. Consequently, all the respondents, i.e. (100%) in the study are male and no female has been accessed to be interviewed or questioned in this regard

Socio-Economic Dimensions of Militancy

In the study, a glimpse of the economic condition of the area has carefully been taken and which supposedly has a cause-effect relationship with the militancy, terrorism and radicalization menace. The table statistically highlights mandates from the respondents for each of the supposed economic aspects of the mainstream economy of the area and has been examined and which is found considerably unsatisfactory. In the larger whole of the respondents' views regarding the deteriorated economic condition of the area, 31 respondents, 15.5% agreed to the notion that average income/household ranges below Rs.5000/= in the area. In addition, investigation into the sources of income of people in the area

has also been done in terms of conceptualizing it as a separate and independent variable/aspect of the economy. Society struggles to offer many and diverse sources of income to its members (Nasir & Hyder, 2003). Pertaining to the sources of income in the area, the study does not provide encouraging results, again (13%). Another aspect of the economy and which was conceptualized in terms of an independent variable i.e. employment opportunities. The data obtained 40 (20%) more or less corresponds with Ali (2010) findings which conveyed a very sad picture of the employment situation of the country in general and the area in particular. Moreover, the study assessed the prevalent economic condition in the area in terms of the budgetary allocation to it, the extent of which necessarily determines the overall development of any area. Pakistan's growth rate, according to official analysis has spiraled up (Pakistan Economic Survey, 2009-10), yet it's still not up to the mark, the national assembly passed 3259 billion budgets on June, 2010. Some provinces' share, mainly Sindh, Baluchistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, is too meager, for instance, the total Share of Khyber *Pakhtunkhwa*, from 1974 to 2009, according to Revenue Sharing Formula, NFC award (2009) is 14.62%. This budgetary allocation to KP is further devastating when it comes to consider the intense wave of Militancy and social disruption from 2007 to 2010, and probably until now. The federal

budget, announced on June 5, 2010, did not surprise anyone. No one expected that it would provide any significant economic relief to ordinary people, although official circles maintain that it is the best possible budget under the current difficult economic situation (Haq, 2010-11:67). The

data collected in this study also conveys the very same situation in terms of severe budgetary discrimination with the area in particular. 23 (11.5%) of the respondents are of the view that the area is discriminated in terms of budgetary allocation. (See Table-2)

Table 2 Economic Profile of the Region

Category	Statements	F	%	C.P	Mean	Median	Mode
C1	Income ranges below 5000 per month	31	15.5	15.5	4.05	4	3
C2	No or less avenues of income	26	13	28.5			
C3	No or less employment opportunities	40	20	48.5			
C4	Meager budgetary allocation	23	11.5	60			
C5	State's negligence of the region	18	9.0	69			
C6	Unrestrained population growth based on culture and religion	23	11.5	80.5			
C7	Discouragement of women employment	25	12.5	93			
C8	Agricultural adversity	14	7.0	100			
CT	Total	200	100.				

Another dimension of the economy which has been assessed and quantified in the current study is the "State's Negligence of area", one aspect of which has been discussed in monetary terms i.e. budgetary allocation. In addition to the budgetary discrimination or meager allocation, the area, according to the data being collected (9%, see the table above), has considerably been deprived of the state's attention in terms of holistic and sustainable socio-economic developmental strategies and policies for it. Population growth, if it exceeds the real national income increase, hinders a national development (Nasir & Hyder, 2003), is yet another problem (verified by 11.5%), which adds to the already existing misfortune and economic adversity of the area. Another key dimension of the economy of the area being assessed in the study is the situation of women's employment. Women constitute almost half of the population of any area, and have strong intervention in socio-economic and communal life (Naz, 2009). Most recent studies i.e. (Naz *et.al.*, 2011) offer calculated insights regard-

ing women's participation in recognized and paid economic chores of the region. A number of factors i.e. patriarchy, long standing tradition like Purdah, *Pakhtun* code of conduct, Family honor and male dominance are responsible for the lack of women's employment (Naz, & Khan, 2011). The current study more or less corresponds findings of the previous studies being done in the area as 25 (12%) of respondents opine that women employment is harshly discouraged in the region. Moreover, Pakistan in general and the region in particular are agriculture dependent, yet the situation of agriculture is disappointing too. For instance, 14 (7%) maintain that the region is faced with severe agricultural adversity (See Table-2).

Economic Adversity and Militancy

The table under discussion elaborates the relationship between the economic adversity in the region which directly or indirectly leads to the emergence of militancy, terrorism and radicalization. Also, the specific conditions and their ultimate consequences have been sorted out in terms

of categories ranging from C1 to C7. C1 connotes a particular adverse economic phenomenon, e.g. low income, the supposed ultimate consequence of which is “a sense of relative deprivation” which, with the combination of some other factors leads to militancy and chaos in the society. A relatively considerable number of views 25 (12.5%), in this regard approve the notion that low income outgrows a sense of relative deprivation, which in one way or the other results in militancy. Secondly, the emergence of another specific condition i.e. social segregation and mutual integration of the underprivileged classes in

the society has been associated with militancy which has also been supported by the same number 25 (12.5%) of views. Another viewpoint, which also stands to be an unavoidable data set 16 (8%), (See table-3), anti-state grouping based particularly on economic miseries, for example poverty, unemployment or low income begins to develop in the society. Such groups then go on struggling for their economic prosperity or at least the compensation of their economic suffering even at the cost of waging an armed protest against the state (See Table-3).

Table 3 Economic Adversity and Militancy

Category	Statements	F	%	C.P	Mean	Median	Mode
C1	Low income develops a sense of relative deprivation	25	12.5	12.5	3.68	3.0	3
C2	Segregation of the underprivileged classes	25	12.5	25			
C3	Development of Anti-state grouping	16	8	90.5			
C4	Affiliation of the poor within-state groups	35	17.5	69.5			
C5	Sense of hatred & opposition against the economic order	26	13	82.5			
C6	Alienation/Radicalization of unemployed manpower	54	27	52			
C7	Strengthening of anti-state groups by a high population input	19	9.5	100			
CT	Total	200	100				

The table also highlights another significant data set 35 (17.5%), pertaining to the affiliation of the poor with anti-state groups. The term poor is implied here to include all those who suffer economic deprivations as is elaborated by the conventional definition of poverty. In this specific context, it doesn't however point to those having low income, or are unemployed which is highlighted in one of the proceeding categories e.g. alienation of the unemployed manpower 16 (8%). Another category which receives, though not major, yet significant mandate 26 (13%) which in a broader context points to a general alarming phenomenon, e.g. sense of hatred and opposition against the economic order which if strengthens would result in a so called revolution

as had been the precursor of any revolution throughout human history (Ritzer, 2001). A major data set 54 (27%), however reveals a very frightening portrait of an economic adversity e.g. the deterioration of our moral framework and the emergence of social barriers to individual fulfillment lead inevitably to what social scientists call i.e. Alienation/Radicalization of the unemployed manpower. The final category, which points more to a social phenomenon e.g. high population growth, turns to a problem if not well managed and maintained economically. This high population input is then maneuvered by the existing anti-state groups. For example, 19 (9.5%) respondents opine that anti-state groups recruit and manipulate an unmanaged high population

input for their own causes and interests (See Table-9).

Emergence of Militants in Relation with Poverty & Unemployment

The table under discussion amasses data regarding the emergence of anti-social or alienated groups in the region based on poverty and unemployment which contribute to waging militancy in the area while the preceding table represents data concerning a strong association to such groups by members having certain socio-economic backgrounds. By referring back to Table 3, in which majority 54 (27%), respondents argue that poverty and unemployment result in the emergence of radical or revolutionary groups in

the society which eventually strike against the existing socio-economic order of the society as also strengthened by Ali (2009) findings in his study of militancy and socio-economic problems of Pakistan. The second major data set 37 (18.5%) as represented in Table 4 regarding respondents' opinion that such socio-economic problems lead to the emergence of revolutionary groups in the society. Such poor and unemployed people then find solace in struggle and slogans for revolution. Other variables in the Table include dacoits, arms mafia, smugglers, wage killers, Drug mafia and gangsters having received consents 22 (11%), 32 (16%), 6 (3%), 15 (7.5%), 20 (10%) & 27 (13.5%) respectively (See Table-4).

Table 4 Emergence of Militants in Relation with Poverty & Unemployment

Category	Groups	F	%	C.P	Mean	Median	Mode
C1	Dacoits	22	11	11	4.52	4.00	2
C2	Radical	41	20.5	31.5			
C3	Gangster	32	16	47.5			
C4	Smugglers	6	3	50.5			
C5	Wage killers	15	7.5	58			
C6	Drug mafia	20	10	68			
C7	Arms mafia	27	13.5	81.5			
C8	Revolutionaries	37	18.5	100			
CT	Total	200	100				

Justification for Illicit Economic Activities

According to the data accumulated in the table below, a majority 44 (22%) of respondents argued that militants carry out such acts on the basis of their claim that it is their religious obligation to establish *Sharia* and for this objective to be achieved striking against the existing political order by any means is morally fair. The second major pool 31 (15.5%) of respondents view regarding militants' justification of their acts is that the state expresses no concern or pays atten-

tion to the region which is responsible for their economic downtroddenness and misery. Other major data set in the table, and which obviously have no link with religious zeal are the state's corrupt economic and political order which receives 28 (14%) approval from respondents. Another such purely economic justification is also represented in the Table being poor and the neglected, favored by 27 (13.5%) respondents (See Table-13).

Table 5 Justification for Illicit Economic Activities

Category	Statements	F	%	C.P	Mean	Median	Mode
C1	On the basis of being poor and the neglected	27	13.5	13.5	4.08	4.00	6
C2	Due to lack of state's concern and attention	31	15.5	29			
C3	On the basis of claims of Equal rights on resources as khans/landlords have	24	12	41			
C4	Due to State's corrupt economic and political order	28	14	55			
C5	Supporting large families and no or less legal income sources	22	11	66			
C6	On the basis of Religious obligation to establish Islam	44	22	88			
C7	On the basis of Being unemployed	24	12	100			
CT	Total	200	100				

Moreover, two other bases, which militants justify for their actions and which have also been pointed to by Anwar *et.al* (2002), in their study of Landlessness and Rural Poverty in Pakistan, are the unequal distribution of land and unemployment. Interestingly, the two grounds, in the current study also have received equal mandates from the respondents 24 (12%) each (See Table 5). Building on the discussion a little further, militants justify their actions on the basis of Maliks/Khans and landlords' oppression, and their demand for equal share in resources of the region. The last but necessarily significant ground as favored by 22 (11%) respondents is militants' complain of having large families and no or less legal means to sustain them, that's why they indulge into illicit and immoral activities (See Table 5).

Major Findings and Verification of Hypothesis

Analysis of the information describes that poverty, economic dependency, illiteracy and lack of economic justice in the region remain dominant forces in spreading militancy, terrorism and radical thoughts among the people. Poverty as one of first and foremost determinant of violence and Militancy in the region having a series of aspects or variables and has been to conceptu-

alize its consequences in varying terms. Most of the population ranges below Rs.5000 PKR and the given the current state of inflation, the said amount is considerably inadequate to fulfill even the least of life necessities. Further, lack of avenues of income in the region which has been affirmed by quite significant data remain another dominating factor in creating the restless. Information and analysis show that economic/money sponsoring of the poor masses by anti-state organizations in terms of employment, money, economic support further remain consistent for supporting the militants, as well as terrorism in the region while the spread of radical and anti-state thoughts cannot be ignored in this regard. Besides, some acute social problems, mainly poverty along with others, contribute to the development of militant or anti-social groups in the society and such groups includes radicals, revolutionary, and dacoits and the emergence of such militant grouping in the society is the outcome of the condition prevailed. Similarly, the deteriorated socio-economic scenario in the hypothesis is 'unemployment', which has been discovered frequently as positive while scanning the data being gathered. Majority of the data support the existence of unemployment problems in the region linking unemployment and militancy and the economic adversity and militancy, specifi-

cally focuses one of consequences of economic misfortune in 'employment terms and economic adversity in terms of unemployment results in the alienation/radicalization of the unemployed manpower thus leading to militancy. Such scenario has also been strong association with the emergence of militant groups', highlights such groups of various sorts of dacoits, radicals, gangsters, drug mafia, etc. being emerged as products of unemployment and poverty and such groups become members of such militant groups in the locality. With respect to the mentioned observations and analysis of different variables in different Tables along with the strong support of respondents and the application of Chi-Square test, the hypothesis has been proved as valid and authentic. The result of the applied test clearly shows that the dependent variable "militancy, terrorism, radicalization is strongly affected by the independent variables in relation to the prevailing socio-economic backdrop of the country in general and the region in particular. The value of chi-square test is $P=.000^{**}<.05$, with the Chi-square value $\chi^2 = 35.083$ and the degree of freedom value D.f. =6, shows highly significant association among the independent and defendant variables. In light of results of the test, demonstrating a very positive correlation among the variables, the hypothesis stands to be correct and proved.

Conclusion and Recommendation

Causes of militancy are multifarious; however, the study was delimited to focus the socio-economic factors that contribute much to the prevalence of the terrorisms and militancy in the country in general and in the region. Basic purposes of the study were to establish the militancy and terrorism narrative in economic terms to systematically unveil the economic factors that may lead to the emergence of violent behavior in the society. Economic factors e.g. poverty, unemployment, low income level, unequal distribution of wealth and low life standards were found to have extremely dismal status in the region and have an igniting role in promoting aggressive, violent and antagonistic behavior. A detailed and careful analysis of findings of the study as a whole, demonstrates a positive correlation between the independent and the dependent variable (militancy and terrorism) being accumulated

in hypotheses of the study. Thus, it concluded that poverty, economic dependency, lack of facilities in the region were assumed to be the major causes of militancy, terrorism and producing anti-state behavior. In addition, the unemployment, low income and high inflation in the region in particular and the whole country in general have been major causes of alienation, rebellion against the existing political order and in extreme cases militancy and creating violence in the locality. The study thus recommends that employment opportunities to reduce poverty as well as facilities of daily life need to be provided on priority basis to the people.

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