
Analysis of War against Terrorism in Malakand Division: A Case Study of Post Conflict Scenario in Lower Dir

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Abstract

Terrorism has strong effects on the behavior of people and the main factor to disturb the social, political and economic life of the people. It also disturbs the government and their routine activities in terrorist occupied region. After 9/11 attacks Pakistan joined the block formed in the war against terrorism like the United States and their allies. Pakistan gave much support to them against terrorist and insurgent groups in Afghanistan. Therefore Pakistan faced difficulties and complexities, like death, destruction and other socio-political impacts being a frontline ally in the anti-terrorist campaign. The consequences of such policies also brought terrorism in Pakistan. To counter that terrorism; Pakistan uses hard power and military operations. In FATA and Malakand Division-KP where the literacy is low and people have a strong belief in religion, they have strict culture norms. It was therefore easy for terrorist groups to mold people towards anti-state activities. As per this research the political causes like government carelessness, ideological clash between state and society, lack of public rights, ineffective negotiations with militant groups and legacy of past policies were the reasons for the attraction of terrorism in the region. When terrorists' activities cross their limit government took strict actions against those terrorist groups and their activities in the form military operation in 2009 which effect every aspects of social life of the people of Malakand Division and specially of Dir Lower. After the operation people faced many problems I.e. in education sector, health sector, economic sector etc which was very important for the people and they affect the people after the operation badly. The objective of the study is to find out the causes of terrorism and its impacts on the people are post conflict situation.

Introduction

Background

Since independence Pakistan faced many problems, which disturbed the political, social and economic sphere of the country. Gradually with the passage of time state tried to recover the gaps and provided good governance to his citizens. However before the recovery from the existing problem after some decades another problem arose in the form of terrorism, insurgency and extremism. Those insurgent acts were serious threat to the state internal and external affairs and security. That also affects the

social, political and economic situation of the state and society (Daraz, 2008). Before 9/11 or 2001 there was no such dangerous situation in FATA and KP while after 9/11 the situation became worse in Pakistan, especially in Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) (Jones & Fair, 2010). Same was the situation in KP Provincially Administered Tribal Areas (PATA) like Swat and Dir in 1994. That situation was created by a local religious cleric Sufi Muhammad, head of Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-Muhammadi (TNSM) and his slogan was "Implementation of Shariah" (Islamic Law) in Malakand division KP (Aziz, 2010). However that situation was not as bad as experienced after 9/11. After 9/11 the US pressurized Pakistan to launch military operations in FATA and KP; in 2007-08 several operations were conducted by Pak-Army in Malakand division KP. Since 2001 the operations conducted by Pak army in FATA (Fair & Jones, Pakistan's within war) affected the socio-political and economic life of the people in the region (Khattak, 2010).

Pakistan is very ambivalent with "war against terrorism". On one hand, Pakistan played an important role in war against terrorism under leadership of United State America in Afghanistan. Pakistan allowed USA to use Pakistani rout for transit and supply to Afghanistan. In result Pakistan faced Terrorist attacks as well as American missile attacks from Afghanistan against Taliban and Al-Qaeda sanctuaries in Pakistan.

It is also claimed that, Pakistan provided safe zones, not only for its competitive Islamic movements, but also for the Afghan Taliban. Al-Qaida leaders like Osama Bin Laden, Ayman Al-Zawahiri others were also remain hidden in Pakistan. Whether it is protected by government or not, but Pakistan certainly did not helped United State to find and capture Taliban leaders (N. Katz, 2020).

The incident of 9/11 was experienced a gigantic shift in world politics. On September 11, 2001, two war jets hit the twin parallel towers in the United States of America (USA). The US official authorities said that al-Qaeda did it and that offensive attack took thousands lives (Gupta, 2006). The incident also changes the internal and external policies of Pakistan and Afghanistan. The US tried to compelled the government of Afghanistan to hand over the master mind of 9/11 attack and their leader Osama bin Laden but the Taliban government refused the US demands. Therefore US pressurized the government of Pakistan to give them Military bases and assistance against Afghan Taliban. The government of Pakistan agreed to play the role of Frontline ally of US in the war on terror. Pakistan also puts its sovereignty at stake (Rehman, 2011) to allow the US and NATO forces to conduct air strikes or drone attacks in FATA to hunt their suspects.

Pakistan deployed her army on the Afghan border and launched military operations in FATA and other areas to eliminate the settled and suspect militants from FATA and adjacent areas. By nature the attempts were both military and political. The purpose was to clear the area from terrorists and foreign fighters and to contribute in the war on terror (Chughtai, 2013). The Pakistan army tried to avoid collateral damages, but it may be emphasized that in military operations there were large numbers of innocent civilian casualties and internal displacement of people (IDP) happened, but the top leadership of the Taliban was unable to be arrested and failed to stop their activities and objectives (Irshad, 2011). The reactionary people and groups took arms against the Pakistan army and security forces and formed various militant groups and organization. These non-state armed groups took action against Pak and Afghan governments and against US allied forces as well. In these groups Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) in FATA and TNSM in Malakand division (emerged in Lower Dir KPK) are the most prominent groups (Ahmad, 2013).

The terrorism had social, economic and political causes (Fair, 2010) with the same socio, economic and political impact on the state and society commonly in Pakistan Particularly on impacted areas i.e. Lower Dir. The Pakistan government decided to conduct military operations against these terrorist and militant groups to eliminate terrorism (Haq and Zahra, 2009). Because of these military operations the innocent people were more affected in KP particularly in war zones i.e. Lower Dir. Socially the education, health and moral values of the people of FATA and KP were also affected while their economic conditions businesses and infrastructure were much damaged (Farzana Bari). The terrorism

and military operations resulted in more than 5 million Internally Displaced Peoples (IDPs) to the different camps in Pakistan KP. These all losses left a permanent and strong impact on the mind of people. So in this research the post conflict scenario will be focused investigate the impacts and recovery process.

Terrorism

The word "terrorism" has come from Latin: terrorism, which means "great fear", "Fear", related to Latin word, "Fear". Terrorism Cimbricus was the position of emergency in Rome in 105 BC and was the position of Emergency in response to Cimbri tribe warriors. The scholars do not agree on a specific definition, but Terrorism can be defined as "the use of serious violence against persons or property, or the threat to use such violence, to intimidate or coerce a government, the public or any section of the public, in order to promote political, social or ideological objectives. Terrorism can also be defined as violent politics containing low-strength insurgency and armed conflict (Addison 2002). It can also be defined as to delegitimize peaceful struggle for justice and peace. Hostage taking or killing innocent and targeting noncombats or a particular procedure of violence can also be called as terrorism. In the international community, however, terrorism has no universally agreed, legally binding definition (Guelke, 2006; Keneddy, Clubb, & Mabon, 2015). However still that is not universally uncontroversial definition because terrorism needs a comprehensive explanation which still is not satisfying the existing treasury of knowledge.

Therefore after 9/11, it needs much concentration to define terrorism in single accepted definition. Now we see that every society, organization, state, agency or body have their definitions which suit their interests and particular role (Bruce, 2013). According to Walter Liqueur "terrorism constitutes the illegitimate use of force to achieve a political objective when innocent people are targeted" (Tuman, 2010). Brian Jenkins says "Terrorism is the use or threatened to use force designed to bring political change." Terrorism can be defined as the use of violence by non-state actors against civilians in orders to achieve a political goal (O'Neil, 2007). The United Nations Security Council presented one definition of terrorism that: "Criminal acts, including against civilians, committed with the intent to cause death or serious bodily injury, or taking of hostages, with the purpose to provoke a state of terror, or compel a government or international organization to do or to abstain from doing any act which contravened terrorism-related conventions and protocols, were not justifiable for any reason – - whether of a political, philosophical ideological, racial, ethnic or religious nature." War on terror, is the term that refers to an ongoing international military campaign launched by the United States government following the September 11, 2001 attacks.

Statement Of The Problem

After the rise of terrorism, Malakand division was greatly suffered during war and terror. The people of Dir lost their beloved ones and also faced a huge amount of damage in infrastructure so a need is felt to investigate the rise and causes of war on terror in Malakand Division and the analysis of post conflict scenario. This research study will mainly deal to analyze the impact of war on terror on the people of Lower Dir.

Research Objectives

The main objectives of the research are given below:

- To understand fundamental causes and motives behind terrorism and war on terror in Dir Lower.
- To investigate the effects of war on terror on focused area of the Study.
- To examine the post conflict scenario in Dir Lower, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.
- To know about the current status of terrorism in the selected area of the Study

Research Questions

- What are the potential causes of war on terror in Dir Lower?
- What are the effects of war on terror on the inhabitants of the area?
- What is the post conflict scenario in Dir Lower?
- What is the current status of terrorism in the selected area?

Significance Of The Study

This research study emphasis on to investigate the causes of war on terror and militancy in Lower Dir. It will also provide primary information to common people and specially students and researchers. This study will also provide bases and backgrounds for further research. Most important this research will greatly contribute to existing knowledge. This research will help policy makers and Nongovernment organizations.

Organization of Study

Chapter 1: This chapter will deals with the introduction of the research.

Chapter 2: This chapter will consist of related literature review.

Chapter 3: This chapter will deals with Research Design.

Chapter 4: In this chapter the collected data will be analyzed.

Chapter 5: This chapter will deals with recommendations and conclusion.

Literature Review

Alex P. Schmidt (2005) discussed in his research paper titled, “Root Causes of Terrorism: Some Conceptual Notes, a set of Indicators, and a Model.” He explains that causes of terrorism depend on the definition of terrorism. The scenario and the person discussing terrorism also matters. In this paper the state sponsor terrorism, state terrorism and terrorism by an individual group are all discussed in detail. Attacking civilians, kidnapping, abuse of power, war crimes or revolt are all the different kinds of terrorism. The research mentioned that it all occurs because of the weakness of the state. He pinpoints that the causes of terrorism are lack of good governance, democracy, rule of law, social justice, violent politics, corrupt and unjust rule etc. The scholars conduct good research on root causes of terrorism but they did not expressly define the terrorism. In my view definition of terrorism does not depend on situation and scenario. It must be a set and universally accepted definition which can be applied to any act to know whether its terrorism or not. Secondly, he explains that lack of democracy is also a cause of terrorism, while we observe terrorism in the countries which are run by a democratic system like Pakistan, India, USA and many others. Therefore we cannot connect democracy to the elimination of terrorism. Yes good and effective political system can eliminate terrorism from the region but the democracy solely cannot eradicate terrorism from the society.

Alberto Abadie (2004) in his work “poverty, political freedom, and the roots of terrorism” is of the view that the causes of terrorism are poverty or economic deficiency and lack of political liberty. according to his research the main causes of terrorism after 9/11 are economic dislocation and poverty. that is the poverty that pushes the people towards terrorism. another vital reason of terrorism is lack of political freedom and political rights. by political freedom alberto means democracy. he explains the situation of Iraq, Spain and Russia. After the fall of the authoritarian government, the evil the terrorism finished from these areas. he says that if terrorism occurs there again that is a temporary increase and not permanent. the increase in terrorism in Russia and Spain may be temporary, but the case in Iraq is different. There the ghost of terrorism has got its permanent residence. he also tries to explain that democracy is the solution for terrorism and to him democracy means political freedom. further he mentions in his paper that poverty is also a cause of terrorism but it is not the only cause and not in every case.

As Bennoune (2008) mentioned in his work that some terrorist organizations and their members belong

to middle class, upper middle class and even high class society. Why they join these groups then? According to him it is the ideology that attracts the people. The Albert's work is high-quality to define the terrorism and its causes but he explains one side leaving the other.

Deepak K. Gupta (2006) did very fantastic work on terrorism, its roots and cause, his published papers named "Exploring Roots of Terrorism." First of all, he raised some questions about terrorism and its causes than he explains the types of terrorism like Ideological Terrorism, Professional Terrorism (like religious zealotry), Anomic Terrorism (FARC in Colombia), Hooligan terrorists and Vigilante terrorists. He discussed in his research the causes of terrorism in very brief and excellent way. According to him terrorism has sociopolitical and economic causes like lack of economic opportunities, poverty, weak governance, failed political states and systems. But he did not limit his research up to here. He further explained that ideological reasons are also a big cause of terrorism i.e. ideology on which peoples gathers e.g. from the same religion, ethnicity, nationalism and ideological orientation. The ideological orientation creates deep feelings of the people for a cause or movement. The research is worth reading. That is so beneficial and informative. However the research is unsuccessful to explain one thing. It did not separate the terrorism from revolt, mutiny, insurgency and belligerency. Dipak K. Gupta research named all these as an organized crime which is true to some extent but not in all cases.

Tim Krieger and Daniel Meierrieks (2009) in their research paper "What Causes Terrorism" explain the causes of terrorism. The distinguishing feature of his research is that he explained the both sides of the coin. In the beginning, he quoted the world famous political leader's arguments about causes of terrorism. He wrote that George W. Bush said after 9/11 in 2002 that persistent poverty and oppressions leads to hopelessness and then it leads to terrorism.

Madiha Afzal in her book "Pakistan under siege extremism, society, and the state" described factors of terrorism in Pakistan. According to Madiha Afzal two factors are responsible for terrorism in Pakistan that are Afghan jihad of 1980s and the United States invasion of Afghanistan and the other factor is that of 9/11 incident. Some militant who was engaged in Afghan war came back to Pakistan to lawless tribal areas, the areas which were neglected by government so, after came back to their homeland they started terrorists activities in their areas one of them was Sufi Muhammad. He was a farmer member of jumat-e-Islami and later he found his own organization known as TNSM in 1989 in Lower Dir. His main goal was to impose Shariah law in Malakand Division so, he started anti governmental activities and challenged state sovereignty. Once the United States declared war in Afghanistan groups like TNSM became a resistance to American and Pakistan policies toward Afghanistan. (Madiha Afzal, 2018)

Musab Yousafzai (2013) in his research paper "Causes and impacts of terrorism in Pakistan after 9/11: A case study of FATA and KP" stated causes of terrorism in KP and FATA that terrorism in KP and FATA have many reasons i.e. political, social and economic factors. Further, he added in Pakistan government policy to alien with U.S created a lot of problems for Pakistan. There were ideological differences between government and people. The people were not ready to accept U.S partnership. In the results of governmental policies in FATA and KP some groups with Jihadist sentiments appeared and they started to support other members of Al-Qaeda and Taliban in Pakistan so, Pakistan uses military forces against those groups in FATA and KP is policy war on terror government weak polices to tackle the problem which became the main cause of terrorism in the region. The political reason behind terrorism is "failed peace agreement" among government and Taliban. Religious differences between government and society were one of the core factors of terrorism in KP, because they are religious oriented. The US invasion of Afghanistan was not acceptable that led to terrorism in KP.

Lubna Abid Ali and Naveed Iqbal (2010) Khan in their article "The Rise of Tehreek-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-Mohammadi in Malakand Division, NWFP: A Case Study of the Process of "State Inversion" pointed out some factors of terrorism in PATA and KP that Rise of Tehreek-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-Mohammadi in Malakand Division". After merging of Swat, Chitral and Dir states in Pakistan. PATA regulations were imposed

by government. Although the territory was stable and no such condition came to destroy the partition. In 1990, when Peshawar High Court declared the PATA regulations null and void, it gave way to the formation of Tehreek-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat Muhammadi. At the movement it was fully supported by bureaucracy for lust of power. USA being equally responsible for the devastated position of Malakand division. After defeat of USSR in the proxy war, Washington left close partner Pakistan in the hands of Taliban. The movement which was started by Sufi Muhammad was strongly linked to the Taliban in Afghanistan. The program of TNSM was candid, in which parliament, judiciary and democracy was a western imposition that would be eradicated after Shria implement all over Pakistan. They also elaborate that, in the beginning the people of Malakand Division and connected area supported Terrorist/Taliban due to their polite actions but later they initiated in a brutality way when he imposed ban female education and others activities. As a result of consensus among political leaders and civil society and conveyed through the media that military force being necessary to check the militant activities of TTP in Swat. To restore the write of government, military operation Rah-e-Rast was started in April and lasted in May 2009. This resulted in the largest number of about 2.5 million IDPs (Internally Displaced Peoples). The operation was achieved by the army as a big success. The government announced Swat Development Package (July 2009 – June 2011) costing one billion rupees. After the military operation Rahe-Rast, a major ground offensive Rah-e-Nijat was carried out in South Waziristan in October 2009. This resulted in dismantling of the base of TTP at Sararogha that provided training to the suicide bombers. The Swat Taliban head Maulana Fazlullah the son in law of Sufi Mohammad filching the security forces, while Abdullah Mehsud was arrested from Tank. This work is carried out to find the causes of Terrorism. However they ignore the post-terrorism arena and effects on society. In our study we will focus to cover this gap.

According to Kiramat Ullah and Dr Khalil in their research paper “Militancy in Malakand: A Case Study of Molvi Fazlullah’s Brigade and its Impact on the Area” stated that “It is in general held that Malakand Division has witnessed record socioeconomic and political sufferers because of militancy and terrorism. Further, analyzed the impact of militancy with reference to the Fazlullah led Shariah movement on the Northern area of KP Malakand Division of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan. In beginning argued that, the surroundings, emergence, tactics and the role of Fazlullah brigade in the rise of militancy and then discussed the social, economic and political costs of the Shariah movement led by Fazlullah. They further highlights that Fazlullah, the militant leader of Tahrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) was intended to realize the idea of Sufi Muhammad to implement Nizam Sharia through an unlawful and aggressive armed struggle in. He used FM radio channel to mobilize masses to challenge the summons of the state by establishing comparable court in the region. In this conflict, many civilians, government servants, and huge numbers of notables were being killed and abducted for ransom. Moreover, serious losses were also reported in the form of brutal compensation to educational institutions, agriculture, livestock, poultry forms, small scale industries, and tourism. It is concluded from the study that militancy had a paramount negative impact on the people of Malakand division. It concluded that the US invasion of Afghanistan on Oct 7, 2001 not only provided an opportunity to Mullah Fazlullah establish FM radio station but also played a vital role in boosting the armed struggle for the implementation of Shariah law. In the early phase of his task, he forced ban on musical shows, CDs cassettes and female education and later started ransom cases to also financially strengthen his group and remained involved in murders, timber and kindling smugglings. The study also fulfilled that during the operation and the collateral damages.

Research Design

Introduction

Methodology is an essential part of every research activity and its carried out by researcher in a particular area, its mainly the basics knowledge related to subject and research methods in a question and the framework employed in a particular context. Methodology refers to the various tools and techniques of collecting and analyzing of the data for testing hypothesis. It is a scientific method of

gathering and collecting information and selection of methods and their application depends on the aim and objective of study. It is believe to be the significant part of research to extract parameters as how to conduct a study in a social science (Kothari,1985)

Nature of the Study

The research study is qualitative in nature. According to the nature of the study, the above mention method will be will be chosen because interview schedule are flexible to use especially in circumstances which exist in probationer. Moreover it gives advantage to researcher to explain the purpose of the study to respondent. (Kumar,1999)

Universe

The present study conducted in PK 17 of Lower Dir KP. The study is conducted in the most effected villages of the area i.e Tehsil Lal Qilla, Kumbar and adjacent villages including Barawal.

Duration

This research study was carried out in the period of six months. It was started from March 5 April 2022 to 12 October 2022. During this period, all works data collection and analysis was competed.

Tools for Data Collection

An interview schedule was design to collect data for this research. The interview schedule comprised upon 20 specific clear and focused questions. It aims was to collect information about the topics relating the cause impact and other relevant events of terrorism in Dir lower.

The interview method was simple, understandable and matching the objective of the study.

War against Terrorism and Post Conflict Scenario

Operation Rah-I-Rast 2009

From August to December 2008, the government engaged in its third military operation in Swat. Militants had gained control of most of the area and an estimated 80,000 girls were forced out of schools. Only after a public outcry did Fazalullah ease some restrictions, allowing girls until grade five to attend schools. In February 2009, the government passed the infamous Nizam-e-Adl regulation and ceded control of Swat. This would have likely been the end of the story if not for a number of missteps by the TTP. First, Taliban spokesman Muslim Khan began making belligerent public statements against the state of Pakistan, declaring the constitution, the Parliament, and democracy in general un-Islamic. Second, a video of a young woman being publicly flogged by the Taliban in Swat made its way onto Pakistan's mainstream media and was met with a nation-wide uproar. Third and perhaps most importantly, Sufi Muhammad and Fazalullah's group began to position its fighters in the surrounding areas of Buner and Dir, signaling the spread of its influence there. For the military and civilian establishments and indeed for the Pakistani public, this physical spread of Taliban forces was an alarming development. Media pundits warned of an existential threat to Pakistan and there appeared a new sense of urgency. These three errors in judgment on the part of the TTP spurred the government into action once again. From May to September 2009 the military conducted Operation Rah-e-Rast, its fourth in Swat. This operation resulted in the escape of Fazalullah and the arrest of Sufi Muhammad, leaving administrative control of Swat to the army and federal government. (Rabia Zafar, 2011)

The escalation of TNSM activities in Buner shortly after the signing of the Swat accord and the implementation of the Nizam-e-Adl Regulation triggered operation Rah-e-Rast in June 2009 to free Swat of TNSM and TPP militants. While the government and military laud the success of that operation, several writers question its effectiveness. Jan (2010) notes that the military failed to capture or kill any significant portion of the TTP organisation or leadership – most Taliban simply dispersed to other areas. However, he does highlight the fact that military action led to a number of local tribal laskhars being formed to tackle the Taliban. The ICG (2013) similarly notes that, three years on,

pledges that militant leaders would be brought to justice remained unfulfilled. It also points to continuing militant attacks in the region, such as the October 2012 shooting of Malala Yousafzai, as evidence of the continued militant presence.

Alongside questioning the effectiveness of the Swat operation in terms of defeating the Taliban, the same accounts highlight the humanitarian cost: over 1 million people displaced, civilian casualties, destruction of property and infrastructure, economic losses etc. Yamin and Malik (2014) claim the widespread devastation caused by military operations has contributed to a strong sense of alienation among FATA communities. Chatellier and Fayyaz (2012) argue that the failure of the state to address people's needs and the ability of some extremist groups to fill these gaps contribute to radicalisation. The ICG (2013) report is particularly critical of the role of the military and its failure to hand control of the region to a civilian administration. There is also criticism of human rights abuses and extra-judicial killings by the security forces. Indeed, the ICG identifies Pakistan military actions in the region – widespread destruction, economic blockades, constant military presence – as a major factor fuelling militancy. Drivers of conflict in the Swat Valley, Pakistan. (Avis, 2016)

Causes of Terrorism in Lower Dir.

Political Causes

There are many core causes of terrorism in Lower Dir. Those causes provided a rich ground for the rise of terrorism which some external and internal factors accelerated in the course of time. The basic causes of terrorism in Lower Dir include political, and socio-political, administrative, unemployment, illiteracy, legacy of past policies, and so many other economic causes. However this topic focuses only the political causes of terrorism in Lower Dir. Government negligence As the 9/11 incident changed the worldwide political social and economic condition, it changed the situation for Pakistan as well. This unpleasant incident changed the conditions of FATA and KP. According to some interviewees it was US pressure that forced Pakistani government to organize its troops while some said it was government's own will to set up army on its border and in FATA. But to counter al-Qaeda, Taliban, TTP and other militant organization in FATA and KP, Pakistan government launched military operation to reduce the danger and take part in war against terrorism. They also took military actions to arrest the suspected militants settled in KP and FATA. FATA was considered to be the hiding place for foreign "militants" who came during Cold War and were living in FATA. Military and Political actions both were taken against these militant organizations and foreign settlers (al-Qaeda members etc) to clear the region under the war on terror agenda. But the government's hard approach also produced a clash between society and state while some thinkers said that government "sowed hatred seed in people's hearts" against itself and its policies. This hatred includes different institutions, agencies, security and army forces. Militants as well as reactionary elements took arms against the government and joined anti state organizations. In the start Pakistan did not take action directly but alternatively they welcomed the US actions in FATA. The US government launched drone strikes and CIA's operations in FATA. This decision resulted in the killing of thousands lives of innocent people while only a small number of militants were targeted. Sahibzada Tariq Ullah, Sahibzada Haroonur Rasheed Professor Ibrahim, Bakare Najimudeen, Manzoor Khan Afridi, and majority experts said that drone strikes mostly hit the innocent lives in FATA. During the interview with former Member of National Assembly (MNA) of Bajaur agency Sahibzada Haroon ur Rasheed and Ex-senator Professor Ibrahim, they said that first drone strikes hit the innocent citizens in FATA while mostly drone strikes took innocent lives and not militants. Government this approach sparked anti-state sentiments and draw a clash between society and state. According to Prof. Fakhr ul Islam and Rutum Shah Muhmand military operations resulted many collateral damages in FATA and KP. However experts also agreed that military use in FATA and KP was a wrong decision of government. Experts mentioning that why military operations increase militancy and terrorism in the regions. Actually military actions and their harsh behavior, collateral damages, displacement of people from their houses with rough treatment, no care for their cultural values and lives promote hate in people's hearts. During the military

operations innocent people are more suffered than militants, while joint military actions in the form of drone attacks suffered innocent people more. This kind of government approach created the environment of revenge. The many experts opinion always said that military operations never end this terrorism or militancy while it prompted anti-state attitude in public. According to Bakare Najimudin a Nigerian scholar, military use against public to settle a dispute is not a suitable solution. He said in African countries government uses its military against insurgent groups but still we see no success. Same is the situation in Pakistan. Government cannot minimize terrorism or insurgencies through this mechanism. Government has to take sincere steps by adopting soft approach, negotiations and peace deals with concern authorities and people.

Ineffective Negotiations and Peace Deals After 9/11 Incident

Government of Pakistan was confused on the policy of war against terrorism. Even the government was confused how to tackle the problem of terrorism and militancy because the opinion of government and people were far different from each other on said issue. Therefore, government's reaction against terrorism was not uniform (Yousufi and Khan, 2014). Sometimes military forces while at times local lashkars (local armed civilian in government favor) were used. Sometimes the way of negotiations was adopted. But no single policy got succeeded because of the temporary- based approach of government. It was not clear till the end, what was government's interest, in military operations or peaceful negotiations. Government used both options to eliminate terrorism from FATA and KP but the option of peace deal was not given special consideration. They neither honestly adopted peaceful mean to address the crisis and to avoid the use of military actions. Peaceful solutions for these problems were mostly hunted by foreign involvements, sometime directly and sometime indirectly. Foreign involvement also played active role to sabotage the peace deals and negotiations. Due to this confused strategy, the militants have been victorious in increasing their activities and influence in FATA, KP and to other parts of the country.

Political Flaws and Poor Administration

The present system of Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR), administrative, political and legal gaps provided favorable ground to militants or Taliban. Once Taliban rose up in in Lower Dir, there was no effective legal, political and administrative strategy to stop them. There was no mechanism to stop that threats and attempts at local level. As mentioned above the administrative system of FATA agencies relies on Maliks but when Taliban killed local Maliks, the whole political and administrative set-up traumatized in the area. Poorly trained local security forces were unable to meet the Taliban challenge and at the same time the defective legal system also helped Taliban's rise in lower Dir Taliban forces established their own judicial system and courts. They professed to provide speedy and free justice according to the code of Islamic law (Shariah). People of FATA(Dir lower) welcomed Taliban's agenda and supported them in the establishment of Shariah courts. The common people supported Taliban agenda because they were exhausted from the current political and administrative system . People wanted speedy and free justice which the current FCR system was not able to provide it. Taliban announced that they will provide free and speedy justice on the basis of Islamic Shariah. This announcement got the attentions and sympathies of common people. The people of Dir lower provided strong support to challenge the local political and administrative authorities. Second reason of people support to Taliban was the proximity to Afghanistan. The people of FATA were well aware of Afghan Taliban government in Afghanistan. They were also so impressed from Afghan Taliban Justice System which was not provided by government of Pakistan to FATA as well as to PATA and KP.

Religious Ideological Reason

Soon after 9/11 Pakistan took U-turn in its external and internal policies. External or foreign policy especially towards Afghanistan took a sudden U-turn. Pakistan withdrew the Afghan government

recognition and stopped its support to Afghan Taliban government. Pakistan decided to join US agenda on the war on terror to defeat “Islamic militancy” in Afghanistan and within its own territory. Pakistan provided every possible support to US and NATO forces against Taliban and al-Qaeda within country and across border in Afghanistan. During these military actions, government of Pakistan conducted several actions against Afghan Taliban and their supporters within the country. Former Pakistani ambassador to Afghanistan Rustum Shah Muhmand said that it was a wrong policy of Pakistan. He especially mentioned Musharraf in this regard. He further said no law or ethics legalize that a government arrest an ambassador and give him to foreign forces with inhuman treatment Rustum Shah Muhmand informed that the government of Pakistan arrested the incumbent Ambassador of Afghanistan, Mullah Zaeef from Islamabad in 2001 just after 9/11. He in 2001 was handed over to US forces without any legal trial. This move started touching and making people’s ideological and religious sentiment against the government of Pakistan. Mostly the experts mentioned that this kind of government behavior created hatred in people’s hearts. Mehar Tauqeer Hussain Sargana Musa Khan and some other experts possess same opinion that the ideological reason which contributed in extremism and in the emergence of Taliban organization was the liberal agenda of the then President Musharraf. Rustum Shah Muhmand and Prof. Misbahur Rehman argued, Pakistan along US gave full fledge support to these Arabs, pan Islamists and to Islamic revivalist organizations. But the sudden Uturn in policy, Pakistan labeled Jihad before 9/11 to terrorism after 9/11. This kind of changing priorities opened room to all organizations and to people to wage war against US, NATO forces and Pakistani forces. In simple terms, to encourage anybody to wage “Jihad” against a state recognized as “home of Jihadis” was not an easy task. The Lal Masjid Islamabad operation by military forces provided them a strong logic to wage war against government and its machinery. Therefore militancy in FATA and KP, especially in Swat, Lower Dir sparked after Lal Masjid military operation. These organizations also said that Pakistan came into being by the name of Islam and the aim of Pakistan was implementation of Islamic Law in the country. But Pakistan’s administration failed to codify Shariah in the country. They further mentioned in their agenda that government must implement Shariah and Khilafah in the country. The same argument was laid down by Dr. Ismail⁴¹ leading Taliban group in Bajaur. He had very strong links with Sufi Muhammad and TNSM. During interview he mentioned same reasons for waging war against government. The Taliban organizations in FATA and KP said, they will continue their struggle until government establishes Shariah, Khilafah and stop support for the foreign agenda.

Social Causes

Illiteracy

Lack of access to education, the radicalizing influence of distorted curricula in some madrassas, no agreed standards for non state schools generally and poor enforcement of registration requirements for education establishments are all viewed as integral structural drivers of the crisis in KP and FATA. Track 1 consultations routinely cited the critical importance of education in the overall context of the crisis and drew attention to the need for women and girls also to be educated. Communities viewed the high levels of illiteracy stemming from lack of access to education as a major contributor to the vulnerability of populations to the rhetoric and predation of extremist elements. Unregistered, extremist madrassas are a broadly cited dimension of extremism in the northwest frontier region and were widely viewed by communities as a central platform from which militants draw recruits. It was also recognized that many madrassas adhering to curricular standards perform an invaluable social function where there are no schools or for families unable to afford education, and as such need consideration as part of the solution. Forcible closure of schools further reduced opportunities to develop knowledge and skills that would help access work, and added to numbers of boys and young men with no productive activity, who were then recruited by militants. Illiteracy, combined with strong religious beliefs, has left the population – especially but not only women – very vulnerable to the distorted messages.

Lawlessness

Lawlessness is one of the most vital social cause Of terrorism in Malakand division particularly in lower Dir. From the time of amalgamation of Dir in Pakistan there was no formal laws the local feudal (khans and Maliks) decide local matters according to their own will. This paved way for further lawlessness. Religious clergies played an important role to shape local law and matters. This was a system of anarchy with no legal authority which promote anti government sentiments. Further there was no legal justice system cases will decided by local Jirga system. In Jirga the decision was on partial bases, due to these partiality people of Dir lower compelled to to join TNSM.

Ethnic Conflicts

As we know in rural areas ethnicity is a strong bond which hold people together. In lower Dir the bonds of ethnicity is very strong. People from different ethnicities feel proud on their ethnicities and feel one ethnic group superior to other ethnicity. Those ethnic groups mostly in conflict with each other due to their personal reason i.e due to lands and honor etc so, to defeat or to deter other one group joined these terrorist group to solve their personal conflicts. According to some theorists the rise of TNSM was due to political conflicts that some political parties from opposite to Jamaat e islami support that movements to claim JI for anti-democratic activities. So to sum up ethnic conflict was one of the main reason behind the rise and promotion of terrorism in Dir lower. Most of the people joined these anti governmental organization because of that reason.

Unemployment

Unemployment plays an important role in promoting terrorism. In most cases terrorism is shaped by poor economic conditions. Same was that of Pakistan in particular Dir lower. Dir lower was a backward area by every aspects of life. Economic condition in Dir lower was very bad and there was no formal way of earning daily bread. Due to rural areas there were no specific industries and no economic zone in lower Dir. So, due to lack of these opportunities people of the mention area was faced to many financial problems. local people also helped these terrorists organizations by giving him pocket money, women give her ornaments and provide him economic support so, they was economically strong through these charities and they can easily support their members economically. These organizations were in a position to hold a large number of militants. So local people joined those militants groups because government does not provided such an opportunities for employments as well people were unaware of foreign countries jobs, local people was not in a position for good businesses because of the instability in political conditions local gangsters was to take their own taxes from shopkeepers so that was the reason that's why good businesses and trade does not took places in lower Dir Maidan so, they were easily conceived by terrorists organizations.

Tendency toward Weapons

By nature people were deviated to weapons .if we analyze the past conditions of Maidan they were weapons loving people, they were known for weapons loving and for honor. When these terrorists groups provide him an opportunity of expressing those weapons they expressed himself with such a weapons and joined these groups.

Economic Causes

The economic situation and prospects in KP and FATA have chronically been constrained by factors such as difficult geography, the adverse effects of international tensions, limited investment in human capital (especially women), and a policy environment not conducive to private sector growth. These have combined to produce low levels of growth, high unemployment and high incidence of poverty across the region. Escalation of conflict in almost a fifth of the combined territory of KP and FATA has complicated the already major economic challenges. The major economic causes are briefly discussed below.

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Class Discrimination on Economic Basis

Class discrimination on economic bases, Maliks, Khans and landlords had immunities in the system poor had not, unequal distribution of resources & wealth People fanning Taliban because lack of class differences, every person can achieve power, wealth and position by joining Taliban. Many land in Dir lower was owned by these Maliks and khans, most people of Maidan and Dir lower were unable to own agricultural and business land and those landlord were dominant on every social aspects because they were rich and powerful so, local people joined terrorist groups to become same to those landlords through participation to that particular aggressive groups.

Poor Economic Condition

Economic condition in Dir lower were worst because government neglect policies of economic growth. There were no opportunities of economic growth. There was no industries and business places for trade and economic development. People were unaware of trade they were mostly farmers and they earned through agricultural lands and that land was owned Khan and Malaks of the village so these were the conditions which make a worst economic conditions in lower Dir Maidan. People were diverted toward those terrorists groups because those groups fulfill their economic needs.

Impacts of Terrorism in Post Conflict Scenario

Different segments of the society were impacted in different ways such as Social, political, economic, psychological etc were caused due to the militant culture in the area. These segments were affected in the following manner.

Social Impacts

Terrorism in the area badly affect education, health, infrastructure, sanitation etc. All these sectors were affected and damaged due to ongoing militancy in the area. The impact on most affected segments has been analyzed in each category.

Education

Education level in the area before the conflict was low. A large number of population have no access to quality and basic education. During the conflict militants targeted educational institutions and bombed them. They banned female education in the area and militants created hurdles and threatened the families who would send their female children to schools. Due to constant threat and fear in the area boys didn't attend schools during conflict. Also teachers who were far from schools didn't attend school during conflict. Before the conflict girls were allowed to go to school and continue their education but during conflict they were threatened and warn them not to join schools. About 90 percent

girl' schools and colleges were damaged in the area. Also boy schools and colleges were damaged. Thus due to militancy education sector in the area badly affected and people of the area were pushed into dark era due to lack of educational level. A constant fear and threat of insecurity were created among people. They didn't send their children to schools and other educational institutions and thus education ratio in the area decreased. The ratio of unemployment increased in the area due to militancy. Terrorist attacks decreased employment opportunities in the area. It is one of social issue which affects the lives of people.

Health

There were insufficient health facilities in the area before conflict. In case of public hospitals there were not sufficient doctors and nurses and in some areas there were no female doctors for the women patients. Moreover, in mountainous areas there were no health facilities and female patients can't access to doctors due to large distance and had difficulty going to the hospitals. BHUs were present in the area before the conflict in some areas but they were lack from basic and modern treatment equipment's and treatment for the inhabitants. During the conflict many hospitals were destroyed. Due to security reasons doctors also didn't come to hospitals that's why the women were taken to distant areas which resulted in their death on the way to the hospital. Health centres in the area were affected due to conflict. There were health problems in the area before conflict which increased after the conflict. There are not sufficient doctors in the area due to low education level and doctors from other region didn't go to the area due to insufficient facilities and constant threat from militants. So people of the area still facing health facilities.

Water Availability

Sanitation and water availability also became dominant reasons during conflict. Supply lines were destroyed and situation got worse. During the conflict water supply lines were destroyed. Military operation was the major cause of damage of the water supply lines in the area. Conflict in the area led to the lack of water supply to the inhabitants. Water supply lines were also damaged due to heavy flood in 2010 but the main reason was conflict in the area.

Displacement and Its Impact

People of the area were forced to migrate due to the circumstance in the region such as kidnapping, lack of income source, threat to life, lack of basic necessities etc. rich and upper class people were targeted by militants. Families having money and property were facing severe issues such as their children were kidnapped by militants and received heavy amounts in return. They were forced to pay heavy amounts in the form of ransom. A large number of people thus migrated to settled areas in order to prevent further damages. On the other hand poor and low income class were unable to migrate due to the lack of financial resources. Therefore they either were forcefully compel to side militants or were killed during operation. Reason behind the migration of people in the area were military operation and violent terrorist acts. Due to migration local properties, homes etc of the people were damaged and mostly destroyed. Thus migration also affect the life of local people. A large portion of population of the area were strictly following local customs such as veil etc which were harshly damaged during migration and conflict in the region. Situation in camps were unsuitable and female and children were unable to adjust. Their basic needs in camps were neglected. They were restricted in camps and there was lack of purdah privacy arrangements. There were also food problems.

Damage to the Infrastructure

Infrastructure in the area were damaged due to conflict. Roads, bridges, schools, telephone lines, sanitation and hospitals were destroyed during the conflict. Damages were caused by conflict which were followed by flood in the region. Infrastructure in Dir were badly damaged. When operation started in Dir in 2009 a BHU located in Bardoag (Doag Dara) were bombed where Militants had conducting a meeting. Doctors in the area thus leave their duty and hospitals and BHU's affected

badly. Medical sector were also affected in Maiadan region (Dir) where about up to “20” BHU’s were destroyed and few others were damaged. Up to “70” Girls and Boys schools were targeted and destroyed in Dir. Roads and bridges in Doag Darah, Usheri Darah, Barawal and Maidan were damaged due to conflict. About “25” Bridges in Dir were bombed and destroyed by Militants. Telephone and Electricity lines especially in Doag Dara and Maidan were damaged. Militants cut telephone cable and Towers etc. People homes and residences were destroyed due to conflict. In Shart Kas (Doag Dara) about “50” houses were destroyed due to conflict. Buildings in Doag Dara were damaged due to bomb blasting and shelling. Up to “200” Shops had been destroyed in Dir which affect the local business of People. Water supply lines in Doag Dara and Maidan were damaged and also destroyed, water Tanks were also destroyed and supply lines were cut up by Militants in the area. In Maidan region water supply lines were cut up due to which people suffer from water shortages. Thus infrastructure were badly affected due to conflict and militancy in Dir.

Damage to Infrastructure in Dir

Damage to School	70
Damage to BHU’s	21
Damage to Homes	50
Damage to Shops	200
Damage to Bridges	25

Effects on Jirga System

People of the area have their own local Jirga system through which they solved disputes among different parties. Jirga were composed of different local elders which combinely solved disputes among different parties. During conflict such local system were damaged by targeting these local people by militants. They were targeted and killed in different bomb blasts and other terrorist attacks. Such system working from a long time and play an important role in the area suffered since 2005 due to effective role of FM radio by militants. It was used as a source for promoting militant culture in the area. They target Hujra, Jirga and other government institutions in the area. The Khans who tried to control Taliban through national (qoomi) Jirga and form Lashkar were threatened and killed. In 2016 a vehicle in Doag Dara were targeted by Militants and killed “7” prominent Jirga members were killed. In 2013 head of local Lashker were targeted by Militants in Dir khas and killed his Son. Head of local Police Force from Dir was targeted by Militants in Swabi and killed his wife and daughter. Slaughtered “4” Jirga members from Doag Dara in Chitral. Thus they create a constant fear among common people in Dir and destroyed local and traditional institution (Jirga system) through which people of Dir solved their local issues and problems with in a limited time period. {SDPI, 2012}.

Economic Impacts

The main source of income of the area are agriculture, land labour, employment outside of the country, public and private jobs and small private business. There were poverty in the region but their ratio increased during and after the conflict. Poverty become one of the important and dominant issue in the region. A large number of population were living below poverty line before conflict but their ratio increased after conflict. Economic impacts as industrial output, tax collection and exports decreased. A large number of people lost their jobs due to agricultural losses, damage to business and damaging tourism sector. Due to terrorists’ attacks implementation of developmental projects delayed in the area. Terrorism led to low economic growth in the area. Terrorism in the area thus affect economic sector.

Foreign Direct Investment

People from other countries invest their money in peaceful areas. Due to foreign investment economy of a state or of any particular area flourishes. They work for that particular area by giving employment

to the inhabitants of that area. Foreign investors always prefer and chose safe area to invest their money. Peaceful countries of the world receive high foreign investment which is one of the key source for economic development. In case of Pakistan such source of economic development was not satisfactory due to conflict in different areas. Dir was one of such affected area. The ratio of foreign direct investment raised during 2003-2007 but started declining from 2008 onwards. The main reason behind such decline was continuous terrorist attacks and bomb blasts, also due to floods and high oil prices.

Agriculture

Agriculture was one of the main and basic source of income in dir and other adjacent areas. It is considered to be a source of employment for a large percent of force labour in Pakistan. It is considered to be the main source of revenue and income in terrorism affected areas as Dir, Swat, and Buner and also in FATA. Agriculture was the main source of income in Dir which affected during terrorism in 2008-9. About 50-70% fruits were destroyed due to bad law and order situation in the area. People leave their crops and migrated to safe areas due to which Farmers, land owners and other dealers had to face loss of billions of rupees. In Dir about 349.5 million lost in agriculture sector has been observed.

Loss in Agriculture Sector

Locality	Crops	Loss in Rs Million
Lower Dir	Wheat, fruit orchids, onion, kharif vegetables	349.5

Tourism Sector

Terrorism affect tourism sector which negatively affect economy of any country. There are many recreational places in kpk especially dir, swat etc which are famous for its natural beauty and cool weather in summer and attract tourist from different parts of the country. Almost tourist goes to safe and secure areas. The number of tourist decreased during 2008-9 due to intense acts of terrorism in the area. Continuous threats and tense situation also affect hotel occupancy in different areas. This also led to decrease in hotel events like marriages etc. A great loss occur during 2008-9 in tourism sector. A large number of people who were associated with tourism sector became jobless during that time.

Defense Expenditures

When terrorist activities increased in dir and swat Pak army started military operation against terrorists in dir and swat to count their terrorist activities. A large amount spent over military operation. A large number of people were displaced during operation. Huge amount were spent on rehabilitation and relief process. Developmental funds were used on security budget. So funds were allocated to security institutions as like police, army etc.

Political Impacts

Dir considered to be a politically backward area politically suffer during 2008-9 due to terrorist activities in the region. Militants destroyed local social, political and judicial structure in the area. During crisis, militants killed hundreds of local elders which disturbed the political balance in the area. The power of politician has been assumed by Taliban leaders. This reduced the influence of political parties in the area. Women politician were harassed and a young women councillor from dir were killed. A gap among common masses and military created few say that Pak army are in favour of Taliban. They arguing that Pak army supporting Taliban in Afghanistan. While other say that Pak military are against terrorist. Joining war on terror suffered Pakistan politically at regional and also in international level. People of the area remain politically immature and backward. Politician also

suffered and they were unable to campaign freely and actively. {Tariq Khan, 2013}.

Killing Politicians of

Militants target and killed many politicians in the area. A member of Jamaat I Islami were killed in dir. A terrorist attack were also made on JI MPA Malik Bahram khan from dir. A tehsil member were also killed in a bomb blast at Doag Dara Dir. A district member Zahir Shah from district Dir were also killed in a bomb blast. Another member of JI were also targeted in Balambat. An ex-candidate of ANP Muhammad Ayyub khan from PK 94 were also targeted by militants. Another district member of JI Babo Khan were killed by militants in Maidan area. This creates a constant fear among politician and common masses led to political backwardness in the area.

Psychological Impacts

Conflict in the area promote and develop tremendous impact on the psychology of children, women and youth. Children were exposed to viewing dead bodies and open killing of people. Such situation creates a constant state and sense of fear in the children. The sharp sounds of firing and bombs also terrorize children and common masses. Women were also under constant fear of losing their family members and husbands. People of the area become mentally disturb and felt constant threat and fear. Conflict creates severe psychological issues for them. . Families did not allow their boys to go to schools to protect them from attacks of the Militants. Those who oppose militants they were openly killed by militants in markets etc. those who were unemployed they were trained and paid by militants and given them

OVER ammunition to exercise their power freely and openly.

Impacts Women

Women in the area were suffered by militants. In early time women give their jewellery to these militants in the name of Islam. Later the same militants stop women from education and also criticized their free movement. Their mobility were restricted. They were forced to wear veil and remain in their houses. They were only allowed to go outside along with male member of their family as brother, uncle, father, husband etc. women were also in constant fear of losing their husband and family members. They also faced health issues due to lack of health facilities. Militants miss use religion for promoting their agenda. Women became more marginalized. Poor people on the other hand suffer much more. They had very few source of earning before starting conflict which was hindered by conflict in the area. Roads, business, and other communication sources were damaged due to continuous shelling and bombing. Poor people didn't have sufficient resources to migrate to secure and safe places to carry on their business. Rich class on other hand migrates to safe places and continues their work. Labors who work with rich class were left with no means after starting conflict. They were either killed by militants or become the part of their force {SDPI, 2012}.

Conclusion and Recommendation

Conclusion

Militancy considered to be one of the key and important issue for the promotion and development of a country. Pakistan facing such tense situation from a long time. In 2008-9 terrorist extended their activities to northern part of kpk as like Dir, Swat etc. They promote their activities while using different means such as broadcasting through FM radio, establishing their own judicial courts, wrong implementation and interpretation of religion etc. all this happened due to marginalization less access to income by marginalized class. Those who were landless also join the sphere of militants and forcefully snatch land from feudal. Also weak governance in the area, slow and inappropriate justice system in the area led to militant culture. Local government reform in 2001 and manipulated administrative structure of the country promote militancy. Miss interpretation of religion and also of jihad led to militancy in the area. Terrorism effect different good social values of society in the area.

Due to all these factors the behaviour of people of the Area changed towards extremism. Illiteracy and strict cultural norms also promoted militant culture in the area. During militancy in the region people lose their right to life, education, health, freedom of expression etc. female education were banned in the area and most girls schools were bombed by militants. Military operation started in the area which affect a large number of people. Due to operation economic, educational and psychological disabilities increased. A large number of people were killed, injured and disabled. During militancy common people were more suffered. Infrastructure like buildings, roads and other communication sources were damaged and destroyed during operation and terrorism. A large number of property and infrastructure were also damaged during the conflict. Also people become psychologically torture and faced various psychological issues during conflict. Proper governmental check up on these rural areas are necessary. Government have to promote better understanding towards Islam. A proper check should be keep on media and it should be used for constructive purposes and national unity. Government should give more focus to rural areas situation and to promote education, health and other basic facilities.

Cultural factor has also a substantial role in the promotion of militancy in the area. The culture of violence is responsible for the promotion of militancy. Various traditional and cultural values such as nang, ghairat, pukhtunwali, dushmani, and weapon lovingness are the factors which led to militancy in the area. Common people of the area were easily exploited and motivated by militants in the name of religion. There is need of an effective government system in order to tackle all the challenges effectively. Government has to give proper attention to religious institutions and its reformation. System of frequent and quick justice should be promoted. Cultural values should be made modernize and it should be made flexible. There were also lack of education in the area Education is considered to be the basic tool and component for development. Education develop people in all sphere such as economic, social, political and spiritual. It enable all people to achieve their respective aims and goals. Those countries having strong and sound education system have a strong social and political system. In Pakistan education system are not too much developed and active especially in rural areas and thus didn't play its role in nation building. This factor has developed frustration among

Pakistani society. The future of Pakistan generation are directionless which didn't promote and raise the nation on social, political, moral and economic grounds. A large number of people are only degree holders with no skills, critical thinking and research creativity. They coming out from their educational institutions with no practical experience and skills. So lack of quality education led to militancy in Pakistan and specifically in Dir, swat etc. There should be sufficient budget allocation for education. Teachers of all levels should be given proper professional training with all their necessities. System of accountability and transparency should be developed. Political interference should be minimized in educational institutions and they should be made independent. Good policies should be made and implemented. Examination system should be made free and fair with no illegal means. System of inspection and supervision should be promoted.

Madrassa education in Pakistan and especially in rural areas have no check and balance system. Government has not taken any positive step for Madrassa reforms. They are promoting a culture of sectarianism and hatred among people. Such sectarian base education led to militancy and sectarian clashes. Such institution miss interpret jihadi concept. To overcome such important issue secular religious institutions must be established to provide a platform to all sects that they can share their knowledge and views. There is need of madrassa reform. Government has to properly reform madrassa education and syllabus. It should be modernized to provide better opportunities to religious people. All these rural areas suffered from militancy and violent terrorist acts. Citizens of these areas were killed, infrastructure were demolished and damaged. The soft image of Pakistan also affected in national and also in international level due to terrorism and militant culture. GDP growth decreased. Shortly all sectors were badly damaged due to terrorism in the area.

Recommendation

Now government have to take constructive steps for the development of the area. All sectors such as education, health, justice system, economic opportunities, media etc all should be developed and

reformed.

Education

Government have to reconstruct girls and boys schools in the affected area. Girls and boys schools and colleges should be constructed in those areas where boys and girls have to travel long distances to reach schools. All girls and boys should be encouraged by giving them cash prize to carry on their studies. Human rights, Ethical education, ideological tolerance should be promoted through education. Advanced and quality education should be given to masses without any discrimination. Teachers should be appointed on merit and fair way. They should be given proper training in order to inculcate good norms and values among the students.

Health

Hospitals and health centres should be made in the damaged areas with proper facilities at a reasonable distance. Female staff should be recruited in those rural areas. Public hospital should be recruited and qualified doctors should be recruited. Free medicines should be distributed among poor people and latest technology and machineries should be provided for patients.

Justice

Justice system in the area should be made speedy and accessible to all poor and women. Social inequalities among male and female should be diminished. Awareness campaign should be developed to introduce laws among the masses especially laws pertaining to women rights. Women police stations should be established in the area. Law should be for all and no one should be excluded from law. Judicial system should be reformed and negativities should be removed from it. Proper check and balance system should be promoted in order to combat corruption and efficient service delivery should be insured.

Economic Opportunities

Efficient economic opportunities for all Youngers and women should be created. Income generating opportunities should be created for women, young and unskilled people in the area. Tourism industry in the area should be promoted.

Media

A proper code of conduct should be implemented for media and it should be regularized in order to prevent the spread of non-ethical norms. It should also be checked not to promote the interest of a particular group. As FM radio was misused by militants in the area.

All individuals should be given equal opportunities. They should be consulted in all important matters. Politician should be involved in community development programmes. Different events and programmes should be arranged for the constructive and productive activities of youths. All necessary steps should be taken for the development of the affected area. {SDPI, 2012}.

Improving Policing

KP government still facing effective policy formulation and implementation. There are no sufficient number of female police in police department. KP government have to recruit female police. They should be made authorised and should be given equal opportunities as like their other male colleagues enjoying. Police force should be made modernized and they should be made active and responsive. Intelligence sharing between intelligence agencies, police force and also with civilian intelligence agencies should be insured. PATA's peculiar law enforcement structure should also be reformed. Efficient training should be given to police both Soldiers and officers. So effective policy formulation should be the primary goal and step towards the development of different sectors especially police department.

Legal Reforms

PATA's parallel legal system deliver poor justice. Militants in the region freely broadcasting through an illegal FM radio and no government either MMA or ANP had closed their illegal FM radio stations because the Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory authority (PEMRA) Ordinance was never extended to PATA. The Nizam-e-Adl ordinance imposed in 2009 was more problematic, imposes a four month deadline for courts to decide criminal cases which was not possible. Strengthening criminal justice requires comprehensive reforms, improving the quality of investigations and prosecutions. In Dir not a single land revenue case has been settled since the Nizam-e- Adal adoption which shows the credibility of parallel legal system. To end parallel legal system in PATA National assembly should amend the constitution to remove article 247.

Anti-Terrorism Laws

Anti-terrorism act (ata) of 1997 and anti-terrorism courts (atcs) established under it provide the legal foundations of the state's response to terrorism. the act passed by nawaz government to counter sectarian terrorist violence in the state. the atc's performance however, has proved no better than regular courts. amendments in ata have been made in 2009 through a presidential ordinance. according to new reforms effective steps should be taken against those who preach through fm stations without government permission. also facilitated police access to telephone, email and other electronic data. these amendments were extended to pata. parliament should require oversight by the federal and provincial parliaments' standing committees on interior and home affairs. (in kpk's case home and tribal affairs), respectively or sub committees formed under them specifically to inquire into complaints of unjustified invasion of privacy. the higher judiciary should hold any lower court judge accountable if warrants are issue without a strong case or are abused by state authorities. the criminal procedure code and evidence act should be updated. investigators should have to incorporate scientific methods and data in investigations and charge sheets, fingerprinting, ballistics etc. kpk's and federal government have to recruit officials to investigation branches on merit and potential basis. these governments have to provide sufficient funds to all these agencies. the judiciary and judges must play their due role. they didn't have to dismiss the cases while exploiting legal loopholes.

Political Ownership

Pakistan from its very beginning facing political problems and crisis. There is lack of political continuation which is necessary for the promotion of political system in the country. Political leadership in the country have to adopt and propose meaningful solutions in order to count grave security challenges facing by the country. KP government must also play its role in the formulation of civilian law enforcement agencies. KP government have to insure Rule of law in the whole province. Local bureaucrats should be made accountable. Jirga ^{system} should be reformed which usually discriminates against women. Women should be given sufficient political representation especially in PATA's. Strict action should be taken against those who prevent women from exercising their franchise. All politicians have to adopt a policy of zero tolerance towards all forms of extremism.

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