

## **Socio-Economic Implications Of Terrorism On Khyber Pakhtunkhwa: A Case Study Of ANP Era (2008-2013)**

**Jamal Ud Din<sup>1</sup>, Sanaullah<sup>2</sup>, Dr. Mubasher Hassan<sup>3</sup>, Nelofar Ihsan<sup>4</sup>, Afzaal Amin<sup>5</sup>,  
Imad Ali<sup>6</sup>, Adnan Khan<sup>7</sup>, Ayesha Mumtaz<sup>8</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>MPhil Political Science Scholar at the University of Punjab, Lahore

<sup>2</sup>Demonstrator Department of Political Science AWKUM.

<sup>3</sup>University of Peshawar.

<sup>4</sup>Lecturer Political Science AWKUM.

<sup>5</sup>Mphil Scholar Department of Political Science AWKUM.

<sup>6</sup>Mphil Scholar Department of Political Science AWKUM.

<sup>7</sup>MA Scholar Department of Political Science AWKUM.

<sup>8</sup>BS Scholar Department of Political Science AWKUM.

---

### **Abstract**

The main dilemma of the contemporary era is terrorism. Pakistan as a frontline state has been fighting the war on terror since 2001. So far, the war has caused great damage to Pakistan. Terrorism has badly affected the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in terms of slow downing the economic progress, disruption of social structure, and bringing damage to politics of the province. Between 2008 and 2013, the intensity of terrorism and extremism increased. First, the terrorists targeted tribal areas, but they later spread to settled area of KP. Terrorism has the most horrible impact on the social structure of KP. It destroyed and shaken the very foundation of KP. It destroyed social sectors, such as dismantling educational institutions, banning girls' education, making millions of people homeless, and causing thousands of lives lost. In addition, terrorism has affected the KP Province in terms of economic losses. The economy stagnates, which in turn leads to unemployment, damaged tourism, undermines the agricultural sector, reduces foreign direct

investment and leads to subsequent poverty. Furthermore, it also affected the province politically. Government writ at all levels have been challenged, causing problems of law and order situation in the province. Moreover, it severely affected the politics of ANP and increased political turmoil in the province. Therefore, under this situation, a military operation against terrorists was launched, and after a long struggle, the operation brought normality in KP.

**Keywords:** Terrorism, Awami National Party, Extremism, Socio-economic Implications

## **Introduction**

Since the World Trade Center incident in New York in September 2001, Pakistan has been severely affected by the global war on terrorism. Owing to its geographical location, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa has more affected by the wave of terrorism. When the Awami National Party won the 2008 general election in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa on the base of its liberal secular ideology, terrorist activity increased dramatically. Soon after the 2008 election, terrorism and extremism incidents first spread to the northern part of KP, and then to other parts of the province.

Although terrorism and extremism have affected all of Pakistan, it has left far-reaching negative socio-economic, psychological and political effects on Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. From 2008 to 2013, the intensity terrorism increased because the region experienced terrorism and extremism in the Malakand division. Bomb explosions and suicide attacks have become the daily activities of those days by the militants. Thousands of civilians and security forces were killed, and thousands were injured.

The terrorist activities have had a negative impact on KP's main sectors, i.e. agriculture, manufacturing, tourism and infrastructure. These key sectors of KP have been severely affected by menace of extremism in the province. Compared with other parts of Pakistan, KP was more victims of terrorist attacks because of its geographical location which has worsened the security situation and investors were reluctant to invest in the local market. As a result of the anti-terrorist military operations, more than 3.5 million people were displaced from their home.

During the five-year term of the Awami National Party (2008-13) in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, the endless wave of terrorism claimed the lives of more than 12,450 people and 14,875 people were injured (Nader, 2013). Accidentally, after the 2008 general election, terrorist activities in the KP had increased. During these five years, militants in different areas of the KP destroyed 759 schools, including 641 schools in the Malakand division, and more than hundred schools in other parts of the province.

## **Socio-economic Implications of Terrorism on Khyber Pakhtunkhwa**

### **Social Implications of Terrorism:**

#### **1. Human losses**

Khyber Pakhtunkwa in general suffered ruinous losses of lives after 2001, particularly during the five-year period of violence and turmoil throughout the era of ANP government in the KP. After the ANP coalition government took power in the province, the death toll increased significantly. In the 2008 KP (NWFP before 18th Amendment), militants launched 1,009 attacks, including 32 suicide attacks, and remotely controlled explosions killed 2,201 people (including erstwhile FATA) and injured 1,735 people. Compared with 2007, the number of terrorist attacks has increased dramatically.

During 2009, terrorist violence, bomb explosions and suicide attacks were even more terrified. In this year, the terrorists gained control of the Malakand division including Swat, Bunair and Shangla. There were a total of 1,137 terrorists' attacks, including 51 suicide attacks. A total of 5,497 people were killed, including 1,229 civilians, 471 security forces and 3,797 terrorists were killed, and more than 5,000 were injured (SATP, 2009).

In 2010, KP reported a total of 459 militant attacks, including 33 suicide attacks. Frequently 836 people were killed, including 722 civilians and 114 security forces. Compared with 2009, the loss in 2010 has decreased.

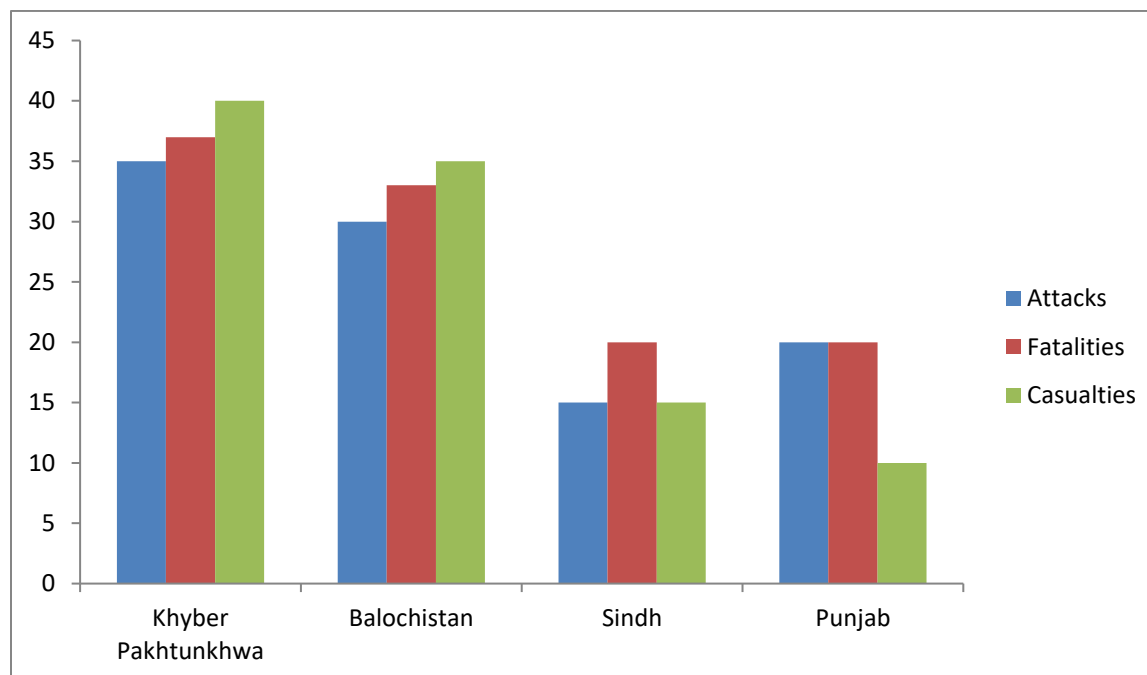
Due to several military operations against terrorists, especially the successful operation of the Pakistani security forces in Malakand division at the end of 2009, the year 2011 was less frightened than previous years. In this year, 820 people were killed in 521 terrorist attacks. There were 27 suicide attacks and 1,684 people were injured, including civilians and personnel of law enforcement agencies.

There were 456 terrorist attacks occurred in 2012, 18 of which were suicide attacks, killing 401 innocent people, including civilians and security forces, and wounding 1081 with paralleled (512 attacks were carried out in 2011). In 2012, there were more than 1,577 militant attacks across the country, killing 2,055 people, including 401 in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

In 2013, KP was one of the most violent regions in Pakistan, with 499 terrorists' attacks compared to the 456 in previous year of 2012. In 2013, radical, terrorists and nationalist insurgents carried out 1,717 terrorist attacks in Pakistan, and they claimed the lives of 2,450 civilians. Of the 499 attacks, 706 of them were killed in KP. TTP conducted more than 470 attacks. In the campaign of general election, terrorist organizations like TTP targeted Pakistan's main secular parties, namely the Awami National Party, PML (N) and the PPP. In 2013, compared with 2012, terrorist attacks had increased by 9% in the province.

Compared with 2013, the number of terrorist attacks in 2014 has decreased by 35 percent. The death toll has dropped sharply, the number of fatalities dropped by 23%, and the injured has dropped by 52%. The overall analysis of the impact of terrorism from 2008 to 2013 is: During the five years, there were 12,107 terrorist attacks, which claimed the lives of 15,093 people and caused 31,415 people to be injured countrywide. Among the 12,107 terrorists attacks in the country, 4,072

militants attacks occurred in KP alone, in the resulting 5183 deaths had occurred and 11,693 were injured. In Pakistan, in the above stated six years out of hundred cases, 35% terrorist attacks, 37% deaths and 40% injuries had occurred in KP.



**Figure: Regional distribution of attacks, fatalities and casualties (percentages) (2008–2013)**

Source: **Developed by researcher (2021)**

## 2. Impacts on Education Sector

Education plays a significant role in the development of any country. The main purpose of terrorists is to spread fear in society. Therefore, especially among the youngest generation, they are targeting the educational institutions. The terrorists has been destroyed several boys’ and girls’ schools in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. In 2008, militants attacked 119 schools, 111 of which were girls’ schools, mostly in Swat (CRSS, 2012). Initially, Taliban militants prohibited parents from sending girls to school, but later, they prohibited girls from receiving education (Khan, 2013).

Girls School	Boys’ School	Co-education school	Total
111	2	6	119

**Table: Terrorist Attacks on Schools 2008 in KP**

Source: **PIPS Report (2009)**

2009 showed that terrorist attacks on educational institutions have increased enormously. They partially or completely destroyed 140 schools and colleges, of which 54 were girls' schools.

Boy Schools	Girls' Schools	Total
86	54	140

**Figure: Militant Attacks on Schools (2009) in KP**

In 2010, militants carried out 129 attacks on schools, while in 2011 there were 79 attacks in KP, and 56 attacks in the erstwhile Federally Administered Tribal Areas (Tribal districts of KP under 25<sup>th</sup> amendment in 2018). In 2013, there were 69 attacks on educational institutions in the Khyber Pakhtunkwa province. During the 2007 to 2009 insurgency in swat, terrorists in various district of Malakand divisions destroyed 409 schools (Education Department of KP, 2013). In 2012, the Taliban shot down the youngest educational activist Malala Yousafzai in Swat. Due to the conflict in the region, women's education was mostly affected in the Swat Valley and former FATA (Khattak, 2018).

### **3. Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) Crisis**

In 2009, KP has suffered one of the worst internally displaced persons crisis, the number of displaced people were 2.7-3.5 million including erstwhile FATA (PIPS, 2010). During the "Rah-ee-Rast" operation in late May 2009, 2.5 million people migrated from the Malakand division, including Shangla, Buner and Swat. Another 450,000 people have migrated from the South Waziristan (Majeed, 2016). According to UNFPA statement, nearly 69,650 women among internally displaced persons from Swat were pregnant and they were also live in internally displaced persons camps (Mazhar Ali, Dr. Shoaib Ahmed, Muhammad aqeel, 2015). Due to belligerence, violence and military actions, the majority of people in conflict areas especially children and women, were severely suffer from physical and mental problems.

### **4. Socio-Psychological Impacts**

Terrorism has deeply affected the psycho-social structure of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa society. Violence has a socio-psychological impact on people who live in conflict areas. The conflict between military and militants created an atmosphere of fear among people in the conflict zone. The artillery bombardment and shelling by the security forces in Bunair, Swat and Shangala and the drone's attacks in FATA caused severe fear and anxiety, especially among children, women and the elderly. It caused people to have psychological reactions such as depression, abnormal behavior, mental illness, anxiety and post-traumatic stress disorder.

Dr. Khalid, the former chairman of PPS, stated that most people in conflict areas suffered from depression, fear, anxiety, mental illness and sleep disorders, or exhibit depressive symptoms, of which 60% are women, 40% are men and children. In addition, the war

against extremists and militants has severely affected the mental health and learning progression of school children (Muhammad et al., 2016; CRSS, 2012).

## **5. Environmental Impacts**

The Taliban's insurgence and resulting military actions against militants have severely affected people's lives, but they have also destroyed and damaged biodiversity and ecosystems, and brought damaged to the environment. KP has the biggest mountainous area, which includes forests. When the militancy was on the peak in KP, the militants had to use the forest as a sanctuary, where they avoided the army. The rebels brutally chopped various precious plants and trees, such as Morinda spruce (*Piceasmithiana*), pine fir and zebra-wood. They also destroyed the *Quercus leucotrichopora* forest in the Swat Valley, which is the only community-protected forest in KP. Due to explosions, bomb blasts and shillings, various gases are released and become the cause of diseases such as respiratory diseases, skin infections, trauma, stress and heart disease (CRSS, Conflict Costs in Pakistan, 2012).

The second stage of large-scale environmental damage occurred during military operations, involving large-scale bombardment, jet bombing, and shelling by military helicopters. At this stage, the destruction of the forests and hills where the Taliban hides were much more severe than the earlier phase. The resident of swat observed that the fire broke out on the mountain and lasted for several weeks, destroying a large area of native plants.

## **6. Cultural Impacts**

The terrorist activities have affected the local culture of the Provincial Administered Tribal Areas and erstwhile FATA. Attributed to the insurgency in the Malakand division, which includes Bunair, Shangla and Swat, this land is known as the land of hospitality, but the local culture has been severely affected since the conflict 2008-13. The hospitality culture of the Pashtun community in the area has been disrupted because people are now reluctant to provide assistance or shelter to strangers. There was the time when the Pashtuns in the area welcomed anyone at any time, but now they are afraid of foreign visitors.

## **Economic Implications:**

### **1. Economic Impacts**

The period between 2008 and 2013 is closely related to the study of the impact of terrorism on the Khyber Pakhunkhwa economy. The threat of terrorism has destroyed the economic structure of the KP. It affected various sectors of the economy, namely agriculture, tourism, foreign direct investment, GDP growth, investment reduction and unemployment. Due to domestic issues, such as the security forces operations in 2009, Pakistan's economic growth rate is close to 2%. According to the statement of Pakistan Economic Survey, Pakistan has suffered losses of US\$126 billion in the past 17 years due to terrorism, including US\$9.18

billion in 2008-09; US\$13.56 billion in 2009-10; US\$23.77 billion in 2010-11; It was 11.98 billion USD in 2011-12 and 9.97 billion USD in 2012-13 (PES, 2017-18). In addition, due to terrorism, the government was unable to collect US\$346.176 million in taxes, especially in conflict areas. In addition, the government spent US\$3.8339 million on infrastructure and paid US\$129.8 million to terrorist affecters. The Ministry of Finance revealed that Pakistan faced a loss of US\$10 billion every year due to extremism and militancy in the country.

Since 2001, KP has greatly affected economically. Peshawar remains the main target of terrorism, which is very important geographically because it is the gateway to the trade route to the Central Asian Republic and Afghanistan. Due to attacks by militants, the industries were closed and the number of unemployed were increased. According to a statement by MumhammadIshaq, former Vice President of SCCI (Sahad Chamber of Commerce and Industry), KP has 2,254 industrial sectors, of which 1,653 were closed between July 2007 and January 2010. According to him, currently 540 units functions among which 73 had shut down due to the conflict while the 40% workers were become jobless in the province. SCCI estimates that KP's infrastructure has been damaged, with losses amounting to US\$35 billion. In general, agriculture and tourism have been more affected. The increase in poverty rate has further aggravated the socio-economic problems of the province. Especially in the Malakand region, business activities were closed due to rebellions and militants, and tourism was severely affected (CRSS, Conflict Costs in Pakistan, 2012).

## 2. Impacts on Agriculture sector

The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province is a whole and particularly Provincially Administered tribal area agricultural system had affected by terrorism which is the basic source of most of the inhabitants. Their economy mainly relies on agriculture, which is their key economic activity. Furthermore, the Pakistan Economic Survey Report (PES) expressed that the share of agriculture in the country's GDP has declined. It accounted for 25.9% of GDP in 1999-2000; however, in 2007-08, its share gradually declined to 21.3% and 21.8% in 2008-09. These statistics clearly show that terrorism has had a negative impact on the agricultural production capacity of the entire country. It is a source of income for 44.8% of Pakistanis (Ali, 2010).

Terrorists' activities and military operation have relentlessly affected the agriculture in conflict areas, of Malakand division include Buner, Dir and Swat, these areas are known for the special agricultural products' in Pakistan. These areas have made great contributions to the national production clearly indicated in the table.

Products	Percentage
Peach	60%
Pear	34%
Tomato	18%
Corn	18%

Apple	15%
Plum	14%
Tobacco	11%
Onion	8%
Maize	8%
Other vegetable	5%
Apricot	5%
Wheat	1%
Rice	1%

**Produces of Malakand division (Swat)**

Source: **Developed by researcher**

According to a report by the National Agricultural Research Center, KP produces 48% of the fruit in Pakistan, and Swat accounts for the main share (Ali, 2010). However, due to the militancy in the Swat Valley (2007-2009), the valley has been under attack since then. According to estimates by the Pakistani government, agricultural losses were reached Rs. 35 billion in that specific era. An agricultural expert and official of the Swat said that between 55% and 70% of the fruit was lost during the conflict in the area. This was because of conflict between the Taliban and the security forces. This is mainly due to shelling, the use of force, explosions (bomb blasts), curfews and road blockages that caused losses of billions of rupees to farmers and businessmen (Khan, 2013).

**3. Tourism Industry**

In KP, the most beautiful and attractive tourist destination is located in the northern part of the province. The province has been affected by terrorism since 2008-13. Due to the occurrence of extremist in KP, the number of tourists has greatly decreased. The places where KP attracts tourists are; Malam jaba, Kalam, Bahrain, Madain, Kalam, Kalil, Shangla top, Sar malang, YakhTangay, Galiyat and Hazara areas. All these tourist places have been attacked by terrorists because the Taliban's fear makes tourists feel afraid to go to these sites. According to Syed Aqil Shah, the former Minister of Tourism of KP, KP loses 50 million U.S. dollars each year due to conflict and extremism. Swat's acquisition is what he calls "final nail in the coffin for the tourist industry in NWFP (KP)" (Shah, 2009). Swat is a very important tourist place in KP, known as the "Switzerland of Pakistan". From 2007 to 2010, it has been a victim of terrorism. People from all over the world used to travel here. It has more than 400 Buddhist attractions, suitable for various types of tourism, such as eco-tourism; spiritual, adventurous, commercial and heritage tourism. Belligerence began in late 2007, when Mullah Fazlullah (Radio Mullah) publicly questioned the government writ. The Taliban banned women from traveling without relatives and ordered that women to leave their homes without reason is oppose Sharia law. They further believe that these foreigners come to our region to disrupt our culture. In addition, the military has taken action against militants in Swat, who hid in the mountains where most tourist



attractions are located. Clashes between security forces and militants destroyed important tourist sites. From 2007-09, the swat district alone suffered a loss of RS. 60 billion. As a result, the foreign exchange income of these tourism industries fell from nearly 228 million US dollars in 2007 to 204 million US dollars in 2008 (Majeed, 2016).

#### 4. Rise in Poverty and Unemployment

Pakistan's poverty rate has risen rapidly after 2001, especially in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province. In 2009, the poverty rate rose by 2.3%, from 33.8% in fiscal year 2008 to 36.1%, putting 62 million Pakistanis below the poverty line. According to the Human Poverty Index, Pakistan ranks 101 out of 135 countries. In 2008, the United Nations Human Development Index (HDI) ranked Pakistan 141 out of 182 countries. Poverty is the root cause of terrorism, because terrorists use the poor people to engage in extremism and insurgent activities. Due to wars in conflict areas, people's businesses have been closed, and poverty rates in these specific areas has increased (CRSS, 2012).

Secondly, due to extremism and insurgency, the unemployment rate has also increased. The graph shows that due to the increased activities of terrorists and militants in rural areas of the KP, the number of unemployed increased from 0.45 million in 2009-10 to 0.41 million in 2010-11. Detailed information is provided in the table (Khan, 2013).

Region	Unemployed in KP (in million)					
	2009-10			2010-11		
	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Total
<b>KP</b>	0.20	0.35	0.55	0.21	0.32	0.53
<b>Rural</b>	0.16	0.29	0.45	0.16	0.25	0.41
<b>Urban</b>	0.04	0.06	0.10	0.05	0.07	0.12

Source: Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, Tariq Khan (2013)

#### 5. Impacts on Manufacturing

Political uncertainty and daily terrorist incidents have severely hit the manufacturing industry, leading to a low level of economic and industrial development. Small-scale industries and cottage industries, which are the main source of income for the people in the war zone, have also been disrupted by insurgent. Furthermore, due to conflicts between militants and security forces, the villages were evacuated and the people in the conflict areas lost their livestock, including cattle, sheep, buffalo and goats in Swat and Bunair.

#### 6. Impacts on Foreign Direct Investment

Foreign direct investment (FDI) is the major source of private outflows in developing countries. Foreign direct investment has many advantages, such as technology spillovers, human capital formation, economic growth, and host country poverty reduction. In addition, foreign direct investment in Pakistan has increased, foreign exchange restrictions on imports have become looser, and the investment required to support an increase in growth rate as a ratio of GDP. In short, due to instability and fear of terrorism, multinational

corporations were not interested in investment in Pakistan, so foreign direct investment has decreased. This is because of instability and lack of peace (Muhammad Farooq and Zahoor Khan, 2014).

### **Recommendations**

There is need of reforms in madrassas in the real sense. The education of religious Seminaries should be modernized by changing the syllabus for the purpose of tackling over the issue of terrorism and extremism. Religious scholars can play an important role in the promotion of peace and harmony in society through their writings and speeches.

To curb the growing trend towards cross-border terrorist attacks from Afghanistan, it is important to find a solution within the current framework of bilateral cooperation with Afghanistan. Moreover, peace in Afghanistan is one of the basic principles of deterring militants in Pakistan.

The government should pay more attention to the social and economic development of the newly emerged KP Tribal Areas. It should establish industries in tribal areas that have long been the centers of terrorism. Both the federal and provincial governments should establish schools, colleges, universities, and strengthen commerce and trade in tribal areas.

There is need of Provincial De-radicalization Centres: Another neglected area, which should be among the top priorities of the provinces. It will ultimately help them in the control of terrorism and extremism. The government should also set up rehabilitation centers for people suffering from mental illness due to the socio-psychological consequences of terrorism.

The media can play a key role in eliminating social terrorism because it is regarded as the fourth pillar of the government, and it plays an important role in de-radicalization and suppressing extremists and insurgents. The government should use the media as a propaganda tool against terrorism.

The government must recognize the fact that military measures and actions alone are not enough to eliminate terrorism. It must incorporate military and political measures to eliminate terrorism and militancy.

### **Conclusion**

Terrorism is a phenomenon that causes terrible conditions and it has become an invariant feature of the social and political life of the states over the centuries. In the past four decades, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa has become the province most affected by terrorism. It severely affected the social, political and economic sectors of KP. After the World Trade Center incident in 2001, the United States declared a war on terrorism, and rapid changes took place. Soon after the incident, Pakistan became a partner of the United States in the war on terrorism. In addition, owed to the border with Afghanistan, the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa has more affected by the insurgency. From 2008 to 2013, terrorist activities in KP reached to a peak, which disrupted all walks of life in the province.

The terrorist attack severely damaged the social sector of Khyber Pakhtunkwa, including fatalities, the impact on the education sector, the crisis of internally displaced persons, socio-psychological and environmental impact. From 2008 to 2013, during these five years, 4,072 terrorist attacks had occurred in KP, in which 5,183 people were killed and 11,693 were injured. From 2007 to 2009, militants have destroyed hundreds of educational institutions in KP, including 409 schools only in the Malakand division, where girls' education has been banned. During these five years, 2.7 to 3.5 million people were became homeless and declared internally displaced Persons. Terrorist activities have intensely affected the psycho-social structure of the KP Society, causing people to psychological reactions such as depression, abnormal behavior, mental illness, anxiety, and post-traumatic stress disorder. At the same time, the Taliban's rebellion and subsequent military operations against militants also severely affected the environment in the conflict zone.

The menace of terrorism has affected different sectors of the economy, i.e. agriculture, tourism, foreign direct investment, growth in GDP, decline in investment, and unemployment in the KP. Agriculture is the basic source of income for people in the areas affected by terrorism in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province, and its economy mainly depends on agriculture. Terrorism and military operations have severely affected KP's agriculture, especially the Malakand Division, which is famous for its special agricultural products throughout the country. KP produces approximately 48% of the fruit, and the Swat region is its main contributor, but due to terrorism, 55-70% of the fruit had destroyed. KP has many beautiful and fascinating tourist sites, such as Swat, Kalam, Malam Jaba, etc. However, due to militant activities, the number of tourists has decreased.

In addition, the rate of poverty and unemployment in the KP has increased, which has become the main cause of terrorism and extremism in the region. Moreover, the manufacturing industry has been severely hit by frequent terrorist incidents, which have led to low economic growth and destruction of small-scale industries. It also has a negative impact on the country's foreign direct investment (FDI), which plays a vital role in economic development.

Due to the prolonged militancy and belligerence in the area, KP paid a heavy political price. The terrorist incident has exacerbated the political turmoil in the province. Similarly, it has had a significant political impact on the KP and Pakistan at the national and international levels. In Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, terrorists killed hundreds of politicians and political workers. Female politicians were threatened and harassed, and they were not allowed to participate in political activities. The then ruling party (ANP) at that time paid a huge price, at the expense of killing and attacking party workers by the militants. In addition, government orders were also lost in conflict areas which restored after military operations.

Militants and terrorist disrupted the writ of government in KP and erstwhile FATA. Therefore, in order to maintain the state order, the government has launched several military operations to combat terrorism. Operation Rah-e-Rast was initiated by the government in the Malakand division in May 2009 in which Pakistani military cleared the Swat, Bunair and Shangla areas from the terrorists. Operation Rah-i-Nijat launched against terrorists in South Waziristan in late 2009. The

government established the National Counter Terrorism Authority (NACTA) to formulate a counter-terrorism strategy.

### **References:**

Abbas, H. (2005). *Pakistan's Drift into Extremism: Allah, the Army, and America's War on Terror*. Routledge, New York.

Ahmad, A. (2013). *The Thistle and the Drone: How America's War on Terror Became a Global War on Tribal Islam*. Brookings Institution Press.

Ahmad, I. (2009). *The Great Deception: Reincarnation of a Martyr*. Retrieved from <http://www.weeklypulse.org>.

Ahmad, M. (2010). Implications of the war on terror for Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan. *Journal of Critical Globalization Studies*.

Ahmed, N. (2014). Pakistan's Counter-terrorism strategy and its Implications for domestic, regional and international security. 2014. halshs-00937552.

Akhtar, A. S. (2010). Islam as Ideology of Tradition and Change: The "New Jihad" in Swat, Northern Pakistan. *Comparative Studies of Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, 30.

Akhtar, N. (2011). Role of Political Parties in the Democratic System of Pakistan. *School of Global Studies, University of Gothenburg*, PP16.

Alam Khan, Zarinah Yusof. (2016). *Terrorist economic impact evaluation (TEIE) model: the case of Pakistan*. Springer Science + Business Media Dordrecht.

Ali, A. (2010). *Socio Economic Cost of Terrorism: A case study of Pakistan*. Pakistan Security Research Unit (PSRU).

Ali, M. (2015). War on terror and its impact on Pakistan's Youth: A case study of union council Bazid Khel, KPK", *International Journal of Scientific & Engineering Research*, Volume 6, Issue.

Boldyrev, O. (21 January 2016, Retrieved 3rd July 2019). President Putin 'probably' approved Litvinenko murder'. *BBC News*.

Buneri, N. (2013). 12456 killed in five years in KPK. *The Nations*.

C, W. (2003). *Terror and its Discontents: Suspect Words in Revolutionary France*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Combs, C. C. (2018). *Terrorism in the Twenty-First Century (E. Edition, Ed.)* Routledge, New York.

- Crelinsten, R. (2009). Counterterrorism. Polity; 1 edition (February 17, 2009).
- Crenshaw, M. (2007). The Debate over “New” vs. “Old” Terrorism. Center for International Security and Cooperation, Stanford University.
- Croft, W. (2003). Typology and universal. Cambridge [u.a.]: Cambridge University Press.
- CRSS. (2012). The Cost of Conflict in Pakistan. Islamabad: Centre for Research and Security Studies.
- CRSS. (2019). CRSS Annual Security Report: 2013-2018. Islamabad: Centre for Research and Security Studies.
- Enders, Sandler, and Gaibullov. (2011). Domestic versus transnational terrorism: Data, decomposition, and dynamics. Sage, Journal of Peace Research, [sagepub.co.uk/journalsPermissions.nav](http://sagepub.co.uk/journalsPermissions.nav) DOI:10.1177/0022343311398926.
- FAIR, C. C. (2014). Fighting to the End . Oxford University Press.
- Fayyaz, M. (2015). Why Pakistan Does Not Have a Counterterrorism Narrative. Journal of Strategic Security, Vol. 8, No. 1-2 (Spring/Summer 2015), pp. 63-78.
- Field, A. (2009). The ‘New Terrorism’: Revolution or Evolution? POLITICAL STUDIES REVIEW: 2009 VOL 7, 195–207.
- Ford, K. (2017). The insecurities of weaponised education: a critical discourse analysis of the securitised education discourse in North-West Pakistan. Conflict, Security & Development, King College London.
- Galula, D. (1964). Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice. Praeger Security International Westport, Connecticut, London.
- Gérard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin. (2007). The History of Terrorism from Antiquity to Al-Qaeda. London, England: University of California Press, Ltd.
- GTD. (2009). Terrorist incidents in Pakistan. Global Terrorism Database.
- Gunaratna, Rohan and Iqbal, Khurram. (2011). Pakistan: Terrorism Ground Zero. London: Reaktion Books.
- Haroon, S. (2011). Frontier of faith: A history of religious mobilization in the Pakhtun tribal areas c. 1890-1950. New York. Oxford University Press.
- Hauer, M. (1981). One man against the empire: The Faqir of Ipi and the British in Central Asia on the eve of and during the second World War. Journal of Contemporary History: The Second World War: Part 1, 16, 183-212.

- Hoffman, B. (2006). *Inside Terrorism*. Columbia University Press.
- Hoffman, B. (2017). *Inside Terrorism (Third Ed.)*. Columbia University Press New York.
- Hussain, K. (2013). *Political Cost the ANP Paid in Its Fight against Extremists*. Pakistan Institute for Peace Studies.
- Hussain, Z. (2007). *Frontline Pakistan: The Struggle with Militant Islam*. I.B.Tauris& Co Ltd.
- Hutchinson, M. C. (1972). *The Concept of Revolutionary Terrorism*. *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 16, No. 3 (Sep., 1972).
- Iram Khalid, Muhammad Iqbal. (2016). *Pakistan's Military Operations: the Counter terrorism Strategy (2001-2013) Prospects and Implications*. *JRSP*, Vol. 53, No. 2, July-December, 2016.
- Irshad, M. (2017). *Terrorism in Pakistan: Causes & Remedies*. *The Dialogue Volume VI Number 3*, Dept. of Management Sciences, Qurtuba University, Peshawar.
- Jamwal, N. (2008). *Counter terrorism strategy*. *Strategic Analysis*, 27:1, 56-78, DOI: 10.1080/09700160308450074.
- Karim, S. (2018). *Counter-Terrorism Strategies In Pakistan*. *The Weekly Pakistan*.
- Khan, I. A. (2012). *Pakistan People's Party and the War on Terror*. *A QUARTERLY MAGAZINE FOR A DISCERNING READERSHIP*, Vol 3 No 1 (<http://www.criterion-quarterly.com/category/vol-3-no-1/>).
- Khan, J. (n.d.). *The rise of political Islam in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa: the Case of Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA)*. *The Dialogue*, Volume IX, Number 3.
- Khan, N. I. (2010). *Tehreek-i-Nifaz-i-Shariat-i-Muhammadi in Malakand Division (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa): A Case Study of the Process of "State Inversion"*. *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, Vol.XXXI, No.1, 2010.
- Khan, T. (2013). *The Social, Political and Economic Effects of the War on Terror: Pakistan 2009 to 2011*. ISSRA.
- Khattak, S. S. (2018). *The War on Terror is a War on Women: The Impact of Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism on Women's Education in Swat, Khyber Pukhtunkhwah (Pakistan)*. *Journal of International Women's Studies*.
- Kurtulus, E. N. (2011). *The "New Terrorism" and its Critics*. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2011.571194>.
- Laqueur, W. (1987). *The Age of Terrorism*. Little Brown and Company.

- Laqueur, W. (1999). *The New Terrorism*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Lequeur, W. (1996). *Postmodern Terrorism*. Council on Foreign Relations, Foreign Affairs, Vol. 75, No. 5 (Sep. - Oct., 1996), pp. 24-36, Accessed: 21-06-2019 10:19 UTC.
- Luqman Saeed, S. H. (2014). Historical patterns of terrorism in Pakistan. *Defense & Security Analysis*, 30:3, 209-229, DOI: 10.1080/14751798.2014.921450.
- Majeed, T. (2016). *Insurgency in Swat: Conflict Settlement and Peace Building*. Mingora: Shouib and Son Publisher and Book seller, Swat.
- Maley, W. (2003). The 'War against Terrorism' in South Asia. *Contemporary South Asia*, DOI: 10.1080/095849302000147663.
- MANNING, M. J. (2015). *Terrorist Organizations, Freezing of Assets*. Encyclopedia.Com.
- Masood Ur Rehman Khattak, Muhammad Mushtaq. (2015). Pakistan's Counter-Terrorism Strategy (2001-2014): An Analysis. *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, Vol. XXXVI, No.1 (2015).
- Mazhar Ali, Dr. Shoaib Ahmed, Muhammad Aqeel. (2015). "War on terror and its impact on Pakistan's Youth: A case study of union council Bazid Khel, KPK". *International Journal of Scientific & Engineering Research*, Volume 6, Issue 1, January-2015 ISSN 2229-5518.
- Muhammad Adnan Ali, Nasim Khan Mahsud, Waseem Khan, Dr. Arab Naz. (2016). War against terrorism and its impact on children's academic performance in district Swat Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Pakistan. *Journal of Management Info (JMI)*, ISSN:2313-3376, [www.readersinsight.net/jmi](http://www.readersinsight.net/jmi).
- Muhammad Farooq and Zahoor Khan. (2014). IMPACT OF TERRORISM ON FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT AND KEY INDICATORS OF DEVELOPMENT IN PAKISTAN. *City University Research Journal*, Volume 04 Number 01 January 2014 Article 04.
- Musharraf, P. (2006). *In the Line of Fire*. Simon & Schuster UK Ltd.
- Nuemann, P. R. (2009). *Old and New Terrorism*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Paracha, S. (2018). Pakistan suffered \$126bn losses due to terrorism in 17 years. *Pakistan today*.
- PILDAT. (2013). *the First 10 General Elections of Pakistan: 1970-2013*. Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency.
- PIPS. (2009). *Pakistan Security Report 2008*. Islamabad: Pakistan Institute for Peace Studies.
- PIPS. (2010). *Pakistan Security Report 2009*. Islamabad: Pak Institute for Peace Studies.

PIPS. (2013). Elections 2013: Violence against Political Parties, Candidates and Voters. Islamabad: Pak Institute for Peace Studies.

PIPS. (January, 2011). Pakistan Security Report 2010. Islamabad: Pak Institute for Peace Studies.

PIPS. (January, 2012). Pakistan Security Report 2011. Islamabad: Pak Institute for Peace Studies.

PIPS. (January, 2013). Pakistan Security Report 2012. Islamabad: Pak Institute for Peace Studies.

PIPS. (January, 2014). Pakistan Security Report 2013. Islamabad: Pak Institute for Peace Studies.

PIPS. (January, 2015). Pakistan Security Report 2014. Islamabad: Pak Institute for Peace Studies.

Pottenger, J. R. (2007). Reaping the Whirlwind: Liberal Democracy and Religious Axis. Georgetown University Press: Washington, DC.

Report, A. (2015). Revisiting Counter-Terrorism Strategies in Pakistan: Opportunities and Pitfalls. International Crisis Group (ICG). available at: <https://www.refworld.org/docid/55af7b434.html> [accessed 30 September 2019]

Rapin, A.-J. (2011). What is Terrorism. Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression, 3:3, 161-175, DOI: 10.1080/19434472.2010.512155.

Richard Jackson, Lee J, J Gunning and M.B Smyth. (2011). Terrorism: A Critical Introduction. Palgrave Macmillan.

Sahill, P. H. (2017). The Terror Speaks: Inside Pakistan's Terrorism Discourse and National Action Plan. Studies in Conflict & Terrorism, Routledge.

SATP. (2008). Fatalities in Pakistan: 2008. Institute for conflict Management.

SATP. (2013). Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Assessment-2013. Institute for Conflict Management.

SATP. (2018). Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Assessment-2017. SATP: Institute for conflict Management.

Schinkel, W. (2014). On the concept of Terrorism. <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/31954909>, 180.

Schmid, A. P. (2011). The Routledge Handbook of Terrorism Research. Routledge.

Shah, S. Q. (7 January, 2009). Militancy: A blow to Tourism. The Dawn.

Shahzad Paracha (2018) Pakistan suffered \$126bn losses due to terrorism in 17 years. <https://www.pakistantoday.com.pk> > APRIL 27, 2018. Retrieved 17 May, 2019 at 10:48pm

Shalmani, S. (2018). Khyber Pakhtunkhwa's organic Political force: ANP's rise, fall and continuing struggle. Arab News: Pakistan edition.



Shultz, R. (1978). CONCEPTUALIZING POLITICAL TERRORISM: A Typology. *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 32, No. 1, INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM (SPRING/SUMMER 1978), pp. 7-15.

Singh, J. (2012). Terrorism and Role of Media. *International Affairs and Global Strategy*.

Time, N. Y. (2013). Taliban Attacks in Northwest Pakistan Are Reshaping Ballot. *New York Time*, April, 20, 2013, Retrieved on 20 July, 2019 at 4:27 Pm.

Umbrain Javaid and Zulfiqar Ali. (2013). War on Terror Partnership: Problems and Prospects for Pakistan. *Journal of Political Studies*.

Walter Enders, Todd Sandler, KhusravGaibulloev (2011), Domestic versus transnational terrorism: Data, decomposition, and dynamics.

Weinbaum, M. G. (2017). Insurgency and Violent Extremism in Pakistan. *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, DOI: 10.1080/09592318.2016.1266130.

Yousufi, M. (2018). Political Causes of Terrorism after 9/11 in Federally Administered Tribal Areas and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. *Riphah International University*.

Yusuf, S. (2017). Counter Terrorism Policy in Pakistan: A case of illegality and failure. *International Journal of Terrorism and Political Hot Spots*.