

**Militancy and Post-Conflict Rehabilitation in Malakand
Division: An Analytical Assessment**



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CERTIFICATE

I hereby recommend that the thesis prepared under my supervision by ASAD ULLAH entitle “Militancy and Post-conflict Rehabilitation in Malakand Division: an analytical assessment” be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Masters in Philosophy in Pakistan Studies.

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is a presentation of my original work. Every attempt is taken to identify where other people's contributions are involved, with appropriate references to the literature and acknowledgment of collaborative research and discussions. There has been no previous publication or presentation for any part of this thesis for any other degree or certificate. Dr. Hanif khalil of the National Institute of Pakistan Studies, Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad has supervised the completion of this thesis.

Asad ullah

**Dedicated to All Those Who
Strive for Peace**

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS:

AusAID: Australian Agency for International Development
AFIRM: Armed Forces Institute of Rehabilitation and Medicine
BHUs: Basic Health Units
CIDA: Canadian International Development Agency
CHs: Civil Hospitals
CDLD: Community-Driven Local Development
CERD: Centre of Excellence for Rural Development
CBOs: Community Based Organizations,
DNA: damage needs assessment
DDR: Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration
ERLAP: Early Recovery in Livelihoods and Agriculture Program
FODP: Friends of Democratic Pakistan
FAO: Food and Agricultural Organization
FATA: Federally Administered Tribal Areas
GoKP: Government of Khyber Pukhtunkhwa
IOM: International Organization for Migration
ICMC: International Catholic Migration Commission
IDEA: Initiative for Development & Empowerment Axis
ICRC: International Committee of the Red Cross
IDPs: Internally Displaced Persons
IRC: international rescue committee
INGO: international nongovernmental organization
IEDs: Improvised Explosive Devices
KP: Khyber Pukhtunkhwa
LG: Local Government
MRRP: Malakand Reconstruction and Recovery Program
MDTF: World Bank's Multi-Donor Trust Fund
NGO: Non-Governmental Organization
NSD: National Security Division
NACTA: National Counter Terrorism Authority
NAP: National Action Plan

NACTA: National Counter Terrorism Authority
NAATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NAP: National Action Plan
NSC: National Security Council
OCHA: Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
PRCS: Pakistan Red Crescent Society
PaRRSA: Pakistan Rehabilitation and Settlement Authority
PATA: Provincially Administered Tribal Areas
PHED: Public Health Engineering Department
PHRP: Pakistan Humanitarian Response Plan
PDMA: Provincial Disaster Management Authority
PTSD: Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder
RRSD: Relief, Rehabilitation & Settlement Department
SAARC: South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SSG: Special Support Group
SPADO: Sustainable Peace and Development Organization
SRSP: Sarhad Rural Support Programme
TEVTA: Technical Vocational and Educational Training Authority
TNSM: Tanzim-i-Nifaz-i-Shariati-Muhammadi
TTP: Tehrik-i- Taliban Pakistan
UN: United Nations
UNDP: United Nations Development Program
USAID: the United States Agency for International Development
UNHCR: United Nations High Commission for Refugees
US: United States
VDCs: Village Defense Committees
WB: World Bank

GLOSSARY

AURAT: women in English. Aurat foundation worked for the rights of women

ABASEEN: it is a pushto name for rivers; it means the father of rivers.

BLACK, Grey and White Militants: these three terms were used during the conflict. When the militants got arrested by security forces, they had been differentiated into these three categories. In which the black ones are the most dangerous or wanted ones to state, grey militants those who involved in militant activities or skirmishes, white ones were those who got arrested on the basis of misinformation.

EMAAN: it is a theological term, somehow related to spirituality and believers faith on ISLAM.

IMAM: Imam means leader or the person who leads Muslims in performing prayers

HUJRA: hujra means an apartment or place where guests are entertained. It was the name of an NGO in malakand.

INSURGENCY: it is a broad term, means revolt. In simple terms it is an organized revolt against the state with in a country.

JIHAAD: juhaad is a broad term, which means the fight for islam, or the spiritual struggle against sin.

JIRGA: Jirga is a tribal concept which means a large group of pushtoon leaders, who make decisions according to the roles of society or pushtunwali.

KISAAN: originated from Sanskrit and is largely used in Pakistan and India for the farmers or peasants.

LASOONA: it is a pushto term which means hands, was an NGO worked for rehabilitation in malakand division.

LAL MASJID: it means the red mosque. This mosque located in Islamabad near aabpara market. Lal masjid incident termed as the rise of TTP in Pakistan.

MADRASSA: it is an Arabic term having a meaning of study place, but in context here it is used for religious schools or Islamic education institutions.

MSAHAL: the term means light.it was a name of rehabilitation center at swat after the conflict.

MULLAH: this word is used for Islamic leader or religious scholar.

NIZAM E ADAL: it means the order of justice. It was much controversial act passed by the government of pakistan back in 2009. This act gave TNSM legitimacy.

PASHTUNWALI: it is the code of conduct of Pashtuns. This describes every aspect of life. That as self-respect, justice, hospitality, revenge and tolerance.

PATA: provincially administrated tribal areas. Which included seven districts of KP, in 2018 due to 25th amendment in constitution merged it to KP.

SOFT CORE MILITANTS: these are low cadre militants, who were involved in ideological and material support towards militants.

SPARLEY: it means spring and was the name of an army run rehabilitation center in swat.

TALIBANIZATION: Talibanization is a new phenomenon mainly highlighted after the war on terror, which means a culture or government based on pure Islamic teachings of Taliban.

REHABILITEES: means the former combatants who were arrested or voluntarily surrendered and now having rehabilitation at rehabilitation centers.

SABAWOON: it means the DAWN, and was the name of an army run rehabilitation center.

UQAAB: Uqaab means eagle in English, it was an NGO, worked for rehabilitation activities in Malakand.

Abstract:

The Malakand Division had been a hotbed of militancy and violence in the past. This leaved an indelible mark on the region's history. The conflict has had significant impacts on the region's social, economic, and political fabric. The Pakistani government, with the support of international aid agencies, has undertaken various initiatives to rehabilitate the region and help people rebuild their lives after the conflict. However, there is limited research on the effectiveness of these initiatives in addressing the root causes of militancy and promoting sustainable peace and development in the region. This paper aims to investigate the challenges and opportunities associated with post-conflict rehabilitation in Malakand Division and their impact on promoting lasting peace in the region. The study employs a mixed-methods research design, comprising both quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis methods. The findings suggest that while the government and international aid agencies have made progress in rehabilitating the region, significant challenges remain, including addressing the root causes of militancy, promoting sustainable livelihoods, and ensuring access to education and healthcare. The study recommends the integration of community-based approaches, giving an eye to long term rehabilitation approach instead of immediate one, increased investment in women education, and greater collaboration between stakeholders to promote sustainable peace and development in Malakand Division and similar conflict-affected regions globally.

CHAPTER: 1

MILLITANCY AND POST-CONFLICT RE HABILITATION IN MALAKAND DIVISION: AN ANALYTICAL ASSESSMENT

1.1 Introduction:

The Malakand Division of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa is famous for its historical, cultural and strategic importance. But it has witnessed significant militancy and violence after the establishment of TTP back in 2007. These echoes of conflict and violence have altered the financial, cultural, and political landscape throughout its valleys.

Throwback 2001, on 11 of September the twin towers in United States were attacked by two jets. This event shaken the world and actually a shift in paradigm occurs in global politics. United States officially stated that al-Qaida is behind the terrorist attacks and call on Taliban government in Afghanistan to handover the al-Qaida leaders to them but after several talks nothing positive happened.

US president then decided to launch a global war on terrorism, the aim was to weaken and destroy the grip of AL-QAIDA in Afghanistan. The US government seeks help from Pakistan to provide them a helping hand against Taliban. Pakistan becomes the main ally of United States against war on terror and hand over some military bases to them. American president W. Bush termed this incident an attack on the whole civilized world and thus launched a comprehensive operation to tackle the situation with an aim of war against all those who are exporting or giving shelter to terrorism.

The US war on terror was the turning point for Pakistan's peace and security, and the difficulties starts to rise, such as the socio-political changes and the rise of non-state actors. Areas with afghan borders suffer the most, but in this paper I discussed the resurgence of talibanization, driving factors for militancy, military operations against militants and the process of rehabilitation in malakand division. Thus this paper embarks on a multidimensional exploration of the complex relationship between militancy, conflict, and the path to rehabilitation in this region. By delving into the historical contexts, the factors propelling militancy, and the subsequent efforts toward

rehabilitation, this research seeks to understand the subtle processes behind this complex relationship.

Maulana Sufi Muhammad of Tehreek-nifaz-I-Sharita-e-Mohammedi started campaign for afghan Taliban with a narrative (anti American) that we are fighting against cruel non-Muslims (jihad)¹. The people of Malakand division willingly take part in all this process and also help them financially, this brings militancy to the soil, which laterally emerged into a strong group called TTP, hence forth when there demands were not fulfilled by the government of Pakistan they challenged the writ of state and started violence in the region. Then Pakistan army launched many operations to eradicate this curse from the society. But in this whole process thousands of people were killed, schools and hospitals were destroyed. The scars left by conflict were not only physical but also psychological, challenging the very fabric of the communities residing in these regions.

The impact of the 9/11 attacks and Pakistan's participation in the global war on terror redefined the contours of conflict within the nation's borders. there were two main insurgent militant groups the TTP and TNSM in Malakand division, so the emergence of these groups especially Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) and its various factions within the Malakand Division added more complexation and problems for Pakistan internal security. The rise of Talibanization within Malakand Division is examined, shedding light on the influences of organizations like the Tehreek-e-Nafaz-e-Shariat-e-Mohammadi (TNSM) and the formidable presence of Mullah Fazlullah. The transformation from an era of relative peace to one of violence, characterized by the propagation of extremist ideologies through mediums such as "FM Radio," underscores the region's vulnerability to insurgent forces.

To maintain the writ of the state and ensure the peace and prosperity of the society, several operations against these non-state actors were launched by Pakistan army, because the terrorist activities were lagging at that time. When the conflict intensifies the residents of the area flee to nearby districts in search of safe shelters. These internally displaced people (IDPs) faced many complications such as financial and health issues, anxiety and traumas. To address their issues many international

¹ In Arabic JIHAD means "struggling" particularly for praise worthy aim. Or it is a struggle against sin in islam.

organizations in collaboration with the government of Pakistan started rehabilitation activities on immediate basis, by providing shelter and food.

Once the conflict becomes over and terrorism got eradicated from the region they return and a new wave of rehabilitation started with an aim of long term peace and stability in the region. These initiatives are discussed in this paper through the prism of structural functionalism which casts a revealing light on the positive collaborative efforts in the society. The research navigates through the multifaceted landscape of comprehensive rehabilitation initiatives. From international entities like the United Nations to grassroots Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), the array of stakeholders involved in shaping the region's recovery is scrutinized. Additionally, the involvement of the Pakistani government, exemplified through funding and policy implementations, underscores a commitment to rebuilding the social fabric.

1.2 Objectives of the study:

- 1) To analyze the role of people as a militancy driver in the region. how the perception and attitudes of the local population in Malakand Division towards militancy and terrorism have evolved post-conflict, and to what extent individuals regret their past involvement or support for militants.
- 2) To Assess the effectiveness and sustainability of various rehabilitation initiatives undertaken by the government, NGOs, and INGOs in Malakand Division, with a focus on their impact on long-term socio-economic development, psychological well-being, and community resilience.
- 3) To know about the post conflict rehabilitation and what steps were taken by the government to eradicate militancy from the region.
- 4) Contribute to the broader goal of enhancing peace and stability in Malakand Division by providing valuable insights that can guide decision-makers, governmental bodies, NGOs, INGOs, and local communities towards more effective rehabilitation strategies and policies.
- 5) Investigate the extent of collaboration and coordination between different stakeholders, including the government, NGOs, and INGOs, and assess how these collaborative efforts have contributed to the overall rehabilitation landscape in Malakand Division.

1.3 Theoretical framework:

The theoretical framework underpinning this study is rooted in structural functionalism, which examines how societal structures in Malakand Division contribute to the emergence of militancy and then how functional components of society interact to shape human behavior and social complexities, ultimately affecting peace and security in the region.

It is all about the social construction, I theorizes the terrorism as a concept for social change but the TTP fighters which has been taken as dysfunctional group, challenged the norms and cultures of the society. It is obvious that main target of these fighters are social institutions which may be families, government offices or health and education institutes, as well as many mosques have been attacked by them, but the mega social structure were kept intact by them as a dysfunctional group. Their particular focus was their opposition to women's education, driven by a conservative ideology that deems it contrary to their interpretation of Islam. Their attempts to suppress women's education underscore the conflict between traditional norms and evolving societal demands for empowerment and equality.

The theoretical framework of structural functionalism offers a comprehensive lens through which the complex dynamics of post-conflict rehabilitation in the Malakand Division can be understood. Stemming from the belief that societies function as integrated systems with interdependent structures, this theory underscores the significance of each element contributing to the balance and stability of the whole. In the context of the region's rehabilitation, this theory finds relevance as it highlights the cooperative efforts of diverse stakeholders to restore essential functions disrupted by conflict. Just as structural functionalism emphasizes social cohesion to maintain equilibrium, rehabilitation endeavors promote trust, cooperation, and shared objectives among communities affected by conflict, fostering integration and resilience.

Moreover, this theory sheds light on the causes of conflict by recognizing systemic dysfunctions and disruptions in equilibrium. In the case of Malakand, factors such as marginalization, lack of justice, and inequality contributed to conflict, and the application of structural functionalism elucidates how these issues disrupted the societal balance. Additionally, the theory's focus on adaptation underscores the role of

rehabilitation in enhancing community resilience. Initiatives aimed at molding public opinion to reject militant support for a stable future exemplify how rehabilitation interventions contribute to adaptive responses to future challenges. By viewing rehabilitation efforts as interconnected components working together to restore peace and stability, this framework provides valuable insights into the collective impact of various initiatives on the region's recovery and growth. In summary the theoretical framework employs the lens of structural functionalism to analyze the intricate dynamics among different societal components, the activities of militant groups, and the changing norms within the context of the research topic.

1.4 Research questions:

Q1: Why do post-conflict rehabilitation efforts experience differing levels of effectiveness between international organizations and local government initiatives?

Q2: What steps were taken by the government and NGOs in the post-conflict rehabilitation?

Q3: What role does community engagement play in enhancing the effectiveness of rehabilitation initiatives and promoting sustainable peace?

Q4: what were the driving factors of militancy in malakand division?

Q5: How have post-conflict rehabilitation initiatives in the Malakand Division addressed the root causes of militancy and promoted sustainable peace?

1.5 Research Methodology:

In this research, a mixed-method approach is employed to comprehensively investigate the multifaceted aspects related to the Society of Malakand Division. The methodology integrates both qualitative and quantitative techniques to delve into various dimensions, including the factors contributing to the emergence of Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), the role played by Tehreek-e-Nifaz-Shariati Mohammedi, and the rehabilitation activities undertaken following the conflict.

The qualitative dimension of the mixed-method approach involves an in-depth analysis of primary and secondary sources of data. Primary data is collected through structured interviews conducted with key stakeholders and individuals who possess valuable insights into the subject matter. On the other hand, secondary data is drawn

from a variety of sources, including books, magazines, and newspapers, which provide historical context and a broader perspective on the issues.

Complementing the qualitative aspect, the quantitative dimension of the mixed-method approach focuses on systematically analyzing numerical data. This includes quantitative data related to the number of casualties, destruction of essential government infrastructure, health facilities, and educational institutions. Additionally, it encompasses understanding the scope of the impact, such as the count of affected individuals, internally displaced people, and the roles played by international organizations. The allocation of government funds earmarked for rehabilitation purposes is also examined quantitatively. Secondary data sources encompass repositories maintained by Provincial and Federal government ministries, departments, and think tanks, offering comprehensive datasets that supplement the research findings.

This mixed-methods approach allows for a comprehensive exploration of the diverse facets of the research topic. By combining both qualitative and quantitative techniques, the study aims to provide a holistic understanding of the Society of Malakand Division, the genesis of TTP, and the complex dynamics of post-conflict rehabilitation.

1.6 Problem Statement:

Amidst the significant impact of militancy on Pakistan, particularly in the northern region of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and the Malakand Division, the aftermath of conflict has unveiled a complex scenario characterized by multifaceted challenges. During the peak of terrorism in Malakand Division, the emergence of militant groups like Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) and Tehreek-e-Nafaz-e-Shariat-e-Mohammadi (TNSM) under Sufi Muhammad's influence marked a period of ideological dissemination through pamphlets and FM radio. This trend compelled the Pakistan Army to respond as these groups posed a direct challenge to the state's authority. Consequently, a series of military operations were executed to counter these groups, resulting in significant population displacement and the emergence of internally displaced people (IDPs).

Amid these turbulent circumstances, the government of Pakistan, in collaboration with foreign NGOs, undertook initiatives to support the affected population.

However, this process was marred by the harsh treatment of individuals by militants who sought to obstruct the displacement of locals, utilizing them as shields against state operations. As the Pakistan military eventually managed to suppress terrorism, the region's inhabitants returned to their homeland only to find it ravaged by conflict. Schools and social institutions were deliberately targeted, contributing to their destruction. The culmination of these events created an array of post-conflict challenges for returning residents.

This research spotlights a distinct gap in the effectiveness of post-conflict rehabilitation strategies, emphasizing the government's 'top-bottom' approach. This approach inadvertently sidelines local perspectives and requirements, by giving much preference to the influential people of the society. Moreover, government policies prioritize immediate relief over the crucial objective of establishing long-term peace and stability. This disparity necessitates a comprehensive examination of the underlying factors that contribute to the difference between central policies and on-ground realities. The study seeks to describe these complexities, utilizing a multidimensional analysis that informs the development of rehabilitation strategies capable of concurrently addressing short-term relief and enduring stability in regions grappling with the aftermath of conflict.

1.7 Significance Of The Study:

The significance of this study lies in its comprehensive exploration of post-conflict rehabilitation dynamics in Malakand Division, that how the peoples mind set towards terrorism and militancy changes, because they regrets what they did in the past by helping the militants, that they are pro Islamists. Why did the current insurgency spark a number of protests across the region and what are the drivers of militancy in the region again. This time the people are very much keen and demanding the government that the militancy should be eradicated permanently.

Tracing back to 2009, the paper assesses the drivers of militancy in the Malakand Division. While a conservative societal mindset has often been implicated, the research unveils that this is just one facet of a complex issue. Weak governance and inadequate border management by security agencies have also played pivotal roles. By reading a lot of literature on the specific issue it is revealed that conservative society is not the only cause of terrorism in the region but there are many others as

well such as weak governance and weak border management by security agencies. Many recommendations are given that are the need of time to eradicate militancy completely from the region and guarantees peace and prosperity in future.

Moreover, this work will help the researchers and students an insight of the militancy and rehabilitation in Malakand division, policy recommendations for the government so that proposed changes strengthen the state and guarantees the peace and prosperity in society. The government's top bottom approach is not effective because of lack of ground realities. this research aims to contribute to our understanding of post-conflict recovery. Ultimately, the findings of this study could guide policymakers, governments, NGOs, and INGOs in creating more comprehensive and effective strategies for sustainable rehabilitation and development, thereby enhancing the prospects for lasting peace and stability. It provides the information that how this war torn area is affected by militancy and then how the socio economic rehabilitations occurs, furthermore this work adds some qualitative work to the existing literature of militancy and post conflict collaborative efforts of different stake holders.

1.8 Literature Review:

As this research employs a mixed method approach so a lot of literature has been read for this, along with interviews conducted from the people directly affected. This comprehensive approach allows for a multifaceted understanding of the complex issues surrounding militancy and post-conflict rehabilitation.

Malakand division has been famous for its vibrant culture and historic importance, but this area had been affected by militancy in the past. One pivotal work in this realm is *The Taliban Revival: Violence and Extremism on the Pakistan-Afghanistan Frontier* (abbas, 2015). a wonderful book written by Hassan abbas who is professor of international relations at NESAWashington DC. The author describes the remarkable resurgence of taliban and their activities and support across the border in FATA and Malakand division. He describes the whole scenario and gradually links that to Taliban's resurgence.

Through his narrative When US forces were deployed to disseat Taliban in Kabul (who are the actual supporters of bin laden at that time) the Taliban fighters were defeated but not vanished from afghan soil and scattered through the region. he linked the roots of religious extremism in the region and analyzes the Taliban's support base

within Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas and Malakand division and analyzes that it will halt Pakistan in future. so it is the need of time to eradicate the roots of Talibanization. it becomes evident that the issue of religious extremism and militancy is deeply rooted in the socio-political landscape of the region. His work emphasizes the urgent need to address and eradicate the underpinnings of Talibanization, not only for immediate stability but also for the long-term development and rehabilitation of the affected areas.

This insightful exploration serves as a foundational piece that underscores the importance of understanding the historical and ideological roots of militancy in Malakand Division. As we delve deeper into the literature, we can discern the nuances and complexities that characterize the dynamics of this region and shed light on potential pathways toward sustainable rehabilitation and lasting peace.

The seismic event of the 9/11 attacks reshaped the geopolitical landscape and brought far-reaching consequences to nations around the world. The article 'How 9/11 changed Pakistan,' authored by Kamran Yousaf underscores the profound impact of these attacks on Pakistan's trajectory in the global war on terror. The article is about the sudden shift in perceptions and priorities that unfolded within Pakistan's borders. On the eve of September 11, 2001, after the tragic events occurring thousands of miles away from Islamabad, in New York had a profound impact on Pakistan. The article describes how the global media descended upon Islamabad in the days following 9/11, because the bush administration blamed AL QAIDA for these tragic events, and pakistan was one of the three countries who had Al Qaida traces at that time. pakistan becomes the front line ally of US, thus this strategic centrality provided international legitimacy to Gen Pervez Musharraf's military rule, but it also precipitated challenges that reverberated for years. This shows the amount of challenges faced by Pakistan in the war on terror.

In depth analysis and In the light of history, the problems of swat and pushtoon region is better evaluated in the book *BEYOND SWAT* (marsden, 2013) written and edited by a professor of Sussex university magnus Marsden, actually beyond Swat readdresses Fredrik Barth's seminal work *Political Leadership among Swat Pushtoons*, and the reactions it sparked in the region, in relationship to contemporary developments in Swat he explores the history of the region and the role of pushtoon

culture and societal dilemmas in driving militancy to the region. Connected the ethnicities in Pakistan and Afghanistan and then the relation of them to conservative Islam, which actually makes the way easy for Taliban's to cling their roots in the region.

To discuss the class difference he further describes the relation of Islam, Taliban and the notion of tribe in the region and the relation between different classes of the society. One of the driving factor of militancy to the region was the issues of suppressed classes that were not met properly by stakeholders which made them more volatile to militancy and Talibanization. However, while these insights shed light on the driving factors of militancy, the aftermath of the conflict in the Malakand Division reveals a disconcerting trend. The post-conflict scenario shows the limited attention given to addressing these root causes of militancy. This raises questions about the government's commitment to sustainable peace and stability, as evident in their focus on immediate rehabilitation rather than long-term eradication of the factors nurturing extremism.

A gap in the existing literature becomes apparent as numerous studies highlight the driving forces behind militancy, yet fail to focus on the depths of its root causes. This research seeks to bridge this gap by analyzing the intricate web of historical, cultural, and social factors that sustain militancy, providing a comprehensive framework for effective long-term rehabilitation strategies.

The driving factors or causes of militancy were many in the region. Such as weak governance, lack of security, legacy of previous policies and unemployment. Some link it to the weak local administration as well, that due to differences among the stakeholders made the region more volatile and susceptible to militancy and terrorism, weak judiciary and unjust practices were also one of the key driving factor discussed in many studies. "*A Critical Analysis of Terrorism and Military Operations in Malakand Division*" by Musab Yousufi gives an over sight to all these issues in the region. He shed light on the Pakistan involvement in war on terror, and then the repercussions for Pakistan after the involvement. Pakistan becomes the front line ally of US in war on terror, but the local populations of the country were not satisfied with this decision. Many extremist groups arise with in Pakistan such as TNSM and started

campaigns for afghan Taliban, to show solidarity with them in term of financial support as well as by sending trained fighters across the border.

In my research I highlight this issue that during that period of war on terror, the government of Pakistan totally ignores the domestic issues of extremism and militancy because of the government's focus on external commitments. This lack of attention proved detrimental as these groups, once overlooked, grew more radicalized and violent over time.

In the context of exploring the driving factors of militancy in the Malakand division, it is worth considering the research conducted by Adnan Rasool titled 'How Bad Governance Led to Conflict: The Case of Swat, Pakistan,' which was published by the Center for Public Policy and Governance on 15 November 2012. Rasool's study delves into the critical role of governance in shaping the conflict dynamics within the region. He emphasizes that inadequate governance practices, characterized by corruption, weak rule of law, and lack of accountability, have contributed significantly to the emergence and escalation of conflict in the region. Furthermore it is explained that how TNSM becomes potential threat by expanding their network of madrassas. His research underscores the issues of power vacuum, underdevelopment and appeasement strategy.

The pushtoons on both sides of the afghan border have strong ties, so due to conflict in Afghanistan the malakand division was also affected. As the study shows that TNSM uses this card to gain support in malakand division. These type of driving factors and complex landscape of conflict within the Swat Valley is explained in a study conducted by William Avis in 2016. This rapid review delves into academic and grey literature, discerning the driving forces behind conflict in the Swat Valley and exploring the efficacy of interventions aimed at addressing the underlying grievances. While there is a substantial literature that delves into the causes of conflict within the Swat Valley, the evaluation of intervention outcomes remains comparatively limited. This work also gives an overview of nizam adal regulations which were a complete failure of the government, allowing the militants to cling their roots to the society strongly.

One of the main drivers of militancy in Pakistan is the people of conservative mindset and their earlier support towards Talibanization. There is no systematic evidence that

why people are supporting Islamist militants but it is evident that many individuals align with conservative Islamist ideologies, with some having been influenced by the anti-American narrative propagated by the Taliban. Personal religiosity and support for sharia law prove to be inadequate predictors of backing for Islamist militant organizations. This defies the common assumption that religious beliefs directly correlate with support for militancy. Also having democratic ideals and faith in Pakistan's democratic process does not necessarily lead to a reduction in support for militancy. This challenges the notion that democratic principles alone can fully address or solve the intricate and multifaceted problem of extremism and militancy. The study by Jacob N. Shapiro and C. Christine Fair, titled 'Understanding Support for Islamist Militancy in Pakistan', underscores the need for a more detailed and context-specific approach to addressing the complex issue of militancy and its underlying drivers.

In seeking to explain briefly the history of militancy in Malakand Division, a pivotal work emerges — 'Swat: Main Causes of the Rise of Militancy,' authored by Aziz, Khalid, and H. Lures, and published by the Norwegian Institute for International Affairs (NUPI) in 2010. The study gives a detail of the growth of militancy in the region, and the rise of the Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) as a potential threat. In this work the whole scenario is being explained briefly. The work explains the causes of unrest that gradually rises after the late 1990s, this work further describes that the local government reforms then in 2001 provide much space for the militant ideologies to grow in the region, because after that the extremist groups start their activities openly in the region. As the Afghan taliban call for jihad, the residents of the malakand division fully support them, because they think that it is something divine and should be done. The work further discusses the class struggle, but the main issue which is missing in the literature is the issues between peasants and landlords in the region and how this all leads to an uncertainty and insecurity, I discussed this issue in my research paper by conducting interviews with some locals affected by the hands of these landlords. The people who face Injustice by the hands of these landlords willingly join Taliban because of the thinking that they were then able to fight against them, thus the TTP leadership exploits this vacuum of the society. The TTP fighters also made effective use of illegal radio channels in the region and promote their

ideology, they particularly targeted the women and produce a fear and uncertainty in the region, hence forth the military operation were launched against that unrest.

So to address the peace of the region in the long run, an effective strategy should be made to address the issues at grassroots level, and much attention should be given to the peasants and suppressed people in the society. Special communication strategy should be established between the people and government for long term security of the region.

Following the military operations and intense fighting in the region, millions of people flee to the adjacent areas of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and reside there in camps, but face tremendous amount of complications there. Some 2.5 million people left the area and internally displaced to live in camps. The article describes the livelihood of people there and the post traumatic disorder in pregnant women, which resulted into a low birth weight. A lot of pregnant women suffers from miscarriages and trauma. These were the psychological impacts of the conflict. The article's findings underscore the multidimensional ramifications of conflict-induced displacement in the Malakand division, extending beyond immediate physical hardships to encompass profound psychological consequences. By delving into these intricate dimensions, the study of *Mental health of internally displaced persons in Jalozai camp, Pakistan* by Arooj Mujeeb describes the intensity of the conflict. In this context a lot of surveys and reports were conducted by international organizations as well to access the actual needs and problems of IDPs. *Abhishek Yadav* also write on the challenges faced by IDPs in camps. his study underscores the multifaceted challenges faced by IDPs. Guided by the United Nations Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, IDPs are defined as individuals or groups who are compelled to flee their habitual abodes due to armed conflict, widespread violence, human rights violations, or disasters. This definition unveils two pivotal elements inherent to IDPs: the involuntary nature of their movement, setting them apart from voluntary migrants, and their unique status as individuals who remain within the sovereign boundaries of their home state, distinct from refugees. Amidst these complexities, the IDP crisis in Pakistan had been discussed in this manner.

A lot of literature is present about the issues faced by IDPs but were their issues addressed properly ?, yet there are evidences that immediate initiatives were taken by

the government of Pakistan, but no importance were given to long-term rehabilitation, to eradicate the problems and roots of militancy permanently.

A comprehensive examination of the factors influencing the war on terror in Pakistan requires a multi-dimensional understanding of the complex challenges faced by the nation. Ashley J. Tellis' work, 'Pakistan and the War on Terror,' delves into the intricate relationship between the United States and Pakistan in the context of combating terrorism, the monograph scrutinizes the evolving dynamics of Pakistani performance in counterterrorism operations, highlighting the nation's complexities and the interplay of its domestic and geopolitical concerns. It briefly explains the roots of militancy in Pakistan and how Pakistan gain this from involving in the afghan war. Pakistan's policies towards militancy were not up to mark and cost them very much. The afghan government and US is not satisfied by the Pakistan action against Taliban, they requested Pakistan many times to completely eradicate the terrorism as a front line ally of the united states, but Pakistans army top brass is much suspicious of US role here, that pakistan will pay huge in future.

The monograph investigates the motivations and constraints underlying Pakistan's counterterrorism policies, acknowledging that while the nation's efforts may have fallen short of international expectations, the issues present are multifaceted and extend beyond mere motivation. Moreover, 'Pakistan and the War on Terror' articulates that the complexities of addressing terrorism within Pakistan are not limited to the nation's commitment or intent. The interplay of strategic, ideological, and geopolitical factors shapes Pakistan's counterterrorism landscape. Tellis provides an analytical lens through which to understand the difficulties inherent in counterterrorism operations and the potential implications of various approaches. Addressing the allegations of US, Pakistan however claimed its noninvolvement in insurgency in Afghanistan and against America, that Pakistani forces are strongly committed to purging both al Qaida and Taliban. So It is the need of the time that the US should review its foreign policy towards Pakistan and help them in fighting against TTP.

Substantial amount of destruction occurred due to the conflict in malakand, ranging from infrastructure to social cohesion. Many organizations worked on the rehabilitation of the region but before that there were the need of damage assessment,

so Asian development bank in collaboration with World Bank produced a detailed report “preliminary damage and needs assessment” that assessed the damage and identified the needs resulting from conflict in the area.

This DNA aimed to give details for immediate recovery, rehabilitation, and the return and resettlement of IDPs in the most affected areas of conflict. The comprehensive scope of the DNA encompassed the quantification and validation of physical damages, the formulation of sector-specific strategies for infrastructure, services, and livelihood restoration, and the quantification of corresponding needs for the immediate reconstruction and rehabilitation of critical damaged elements.

Number of militants were arrested during the military operations, so when the conflict becomes over, a question arises that what to do with these ex combatants. Many rehabilitation programs for these ex combatants were launched by Pakistan army that include sabawoon, masha and sparly. These rehabilitation programs carried out in a confined environment, as observed in Swat, may yield limited results in traditional societies like Swat, which are guided by cultural practices such as Pashtunwali. In this context, community involvement emerges as a crucial factor in effective ex-combatant rehabilitation, with alignment to local practices and traditions being pivotal for successful outcomes. A significant study, "Post-Conflict Rehabilitation of Ex-Combatants: An Analysis of Rehabilitation in Swat, Pakistan" by Ilum Khan delves into the critical aspect of post-conflict rehabilitation of ex-combatants in Swat district, Pakistan. This ethnographic research highlights the potential role of state-led rehabilitation programs in contributing to the resurgence of conflict in post-conflict environments. The study underscores the centrality of reintegration as a key indicator of the success or failure of rehabilitation efforts. The theory of restorative justice which have been applied in the study is compatible with Pashtunwali, facilitates the collaboration of victims, offenders, and the local community to collectively seek solutions for offenses committed.

The first study prepared by ADB and WB the 'Preliminary Damage and Need Assessment' (DNA), focused on quantifying the losses incurred due to militancy while examining the rise of extremism. Moreover, it aimed to outline immediate and medium-term reconstruction costs, centering on Malakand Division and selected agencies in FATA. However the second study, 'Post Crisis Need Assessment'

(PCNA), goes deeper into the socio-economic factors that contributed to the crisis, exploring strategies for post conflict transition, stabilization and long-term institution-building. These studies were based on data provided by the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa government, verified through various authentication methods. Many efforts were made which aims to undertake a comprehensive academic investigation to evaluate the repercussions of militancy and the trends in rehabilitation impact. The objective of these studies was to furnish insights that will aid in refining future policies and programs. Dr syed nazre hyder work published by sustainable development program institute (SDPI) gives a comprehensive review of rehabilitations efforts made by government of Pakistan in collaboration with international organizations. PaARSA in this context supervise and coordinate the whole reconstruction process. In addition, it is noteworthy that various international organizations, including UN agencies, have taken proactive steps in the realm of rehabilitation. Collaborating with International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs) and local Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), these entities have played a pivotal role in spearheading rehabilitation efforts. Their collective initiatives have contributed significantly to the broader endeavor of addressing the aftermath of conflict and instability.

However, the primary focus of these rehabilitation efforts has predominantly been on short-term solutions, while long-term rehabilitation measures have received inadequate attention. Numerous interviewees expressed concern that neglecting the long-term rehabilitation process and failing to address the underlying causes of conflict will hinder the complete eradication of militancy from the region. So there is the need of revised policymaking to focus on long term efforts as well. Based on my study, it becomes evident that a comprehensive approach involving long-term rehabilitation is essential to effectively address the root causes of militancy in the Malakand region.

Post-conflict rehabilitation in the Malakand Division is a complex phenomenon which highlights the intricate relationship between militancy, conflict, and the pursuit of long term peace and stability. The history of the region shows complexity mainly characterized by the emergence of militant groups like the TTP and TNSM, and the interplay of ideologies, societal dynamics, and external influences. When the terrorism in Malakand division was lagging, the threat perception becomes increase; it

challenges the national and international security in the region. Then Pakistan army decided to eradicate this hex from the region. Thus, they launched military operations, RAH-E-HAQ in 2007, followed by operation RAH-E-RAST in 2009. The main goal of such operations was to compel the militant groups out of their strongholds and to nullify their power, to restore the writ of government and infrastructure in the region and to stop these non-state actors from instigating terrorism in future.

The intensive military operations aimed at countering these groups resulted in significant displacement of locals, leaving a huge impact on both the physical and psychological fabric of the communities. More than 2.5 million people migrated to nearby districts of Khyber pukhtunkhwa, the late Lt. General Ashfaq Nadeem Ahmad spearheaded the rehabilitation ventures. The people of Malakand division especially that of district swat, Malakand, Dir and Buner were affected the most, these internally displaced persons(IDPs) were resided in the camps established by the government of Pakistan in collaboration with UN agencies and international nongovernmental organizations INGOs in nearby districts.

The collaboration of international organizations, NGOs, and the government shows a shared commitment to rebuilding and restoring the region's vitality. However, the analysis of these rehabilitation initiatives reveals a significant gap in effectiveness, largely attributed to a 'top-bottom' approach and immediate relief-oriented policies. The marginalization of local perspectives and the lack of long-term vision hindered the attainment of long term peace and prosperity.

Central to the findings is the transformed mindset of the local populace, which shifted from accommodating militancy to demanding its permanent eradication. This transformation, rooted in the realization of the destructive consequences of militancy, highlights the urgency for comprehensive solutions that address the drivers of conflict. A holistic view of drivers, beyond the conservative societal mindset, identifies weak governance, corruption and inadequate border management as key contributors to the cycle of violence.

The examined literature sheds light on the multifaceted relationship between militancy, rehabilitation, and sustainable peace in conflict-affected regions. While significant strides have been made in understanding the drivers of militancy and the

challenges of rehabilitation, however this study reveals a dynamic and complex landscape that defies simplistic solutions. The need for comprehensive, community-driven approaches becomes evident, as mere short-term interventions fall short of addressing the main causes. As we move forward, it is imperative to consider the complex connections between religiosity, socio-economic factors, and support for extremist ideologies within the context of Malakand Division. Moreover, the call for further research emerges prominently, with gaps in knowledge underscoring the importance of exploring the long-term impact of rehabilitation efforts and the potential of restorative justice approaches. As we strive for lasting peace and stability, it is also observed that minimizing the gap between theory and practice is the need of time to gain a peaceful and prosperous region.

The significance of this study lies in its contribution to understanding the complexities of post-conflict rehabilitation. The study highlights the need for a locally-engaged approach and emphasizes on formulating the policies that reflect the realities on the ground. The policy recommendations generated from this study have the potential to reshape rehabilitation strategies, promoting genuine peace and prosperity in the long run. Furthermore, this study significantly enriches the academic discourse in the field of conflict studies by providing not only substantive insights but also valuable methodological approaches. The lessons drawn from this research extend beyond the borders of the Malakand Division, offering applicable knowledge for similar contexts globally. Additionally, considering the remote nature of the Malakand Division, this study becomes a readily accessible resource for researchers seeking to consult its findings in their own inquiries, making it a bridge between distant academic endeavors and real-world challenges.

As we reflect on the scars left by conflict it becomes clear that collaborative efforts are necessary for the rebuilding and rehabilitation of conflict affected areas. The example of Malakand Division serves as a reminder that rehabilitation goes beyond building new homes and offices; it also involves repairing lives, reestablishing trust, and encouraging optimism for a better future. By addressing the gaps highlighted in this research, we may take significant steps towards realizing the vision of a conflict-free, resilient, and prosperous Malakand Division.

Chapter: 2

2.1 Historical Background of Militancy:

Militancy is actually a form of aggressiveness, use of violence, unfair means or confrontational methods to gain political or social cause, it means that it is used to bring change to the society that should be political or social.

Militancy, a term often used to describe the aggressive and combative behavior exhibited by individuals or groups, has been a recurring phenomenon throughout history. Rooted in various socio-political, economic, and ideological factors, militancy has shaped the course of nations and regions, leaving behind a legacy of conflict, destruction, and a need for post-conflict rehabilitation.

The historical background of militancy can be traced back to ancient times, where conflicts and the use of force were prevalent in the struggle for power, resources, and territorial dominance. From the rise of ancient empires to the Crusades, the expansion of colonial powers, and the devastating world wars of the 20th century, militancy has consistently played a central role in shaping the destiny of civilizations.

In recent decades, the nature of militancy has evolved and diversified. While traditional forms of warfare involving state actors persist, the emergence of non-state actors, such as insurgent groups, terrorist organizations, and armed militias, has significantly altered the dynamics of conflict. These groups often employ asymmetrical tactics, including guerilla warfare, terrorism, and unconventional methods, challenging the conventional military capabilities of states and posing complex security threats.

The motivations behind militancy are multifaceted. Grievances related to political, economic, and social disparities, ethnic or religious tensions, ideological extremism, and the pursuit of self-determination have all fueled the rise of militant movements. Often driven by a desire for power, control, or the realization of specific agendas, militant groups have sought to challenge existing power structures, impose their ideologies, or address perceived injustices.

The consequences of militancy are far-reaching, extending beyond the immediate impact of violence. Widespread conflict, insurgency, and terrorism can disrupt social

fabric, undermine governance structures, displace populations, and cause immense human suffering. The aftermath of militancy leaves communities shattered, economies crippled, and institutions weakened. This necessitates a comprehensive approach to post-conflict rehabilitation that addresses not only the physical and infrastructural damage but also the underlying causes and psychological scars of violence.

Understanding the historical context of militancy is crucial for formulating effective strategies for conflict prevention, resolution, and post-conflict reconstruction. By examining the root causes, triggers, and patterns of militancy across different historical epochs, we can gain insights into the dynamics of conflicts, identify commonalities and differences, and develop more nuanced and context-specific approaches to address the challenges posed by militancy.

2.2 9/11 Attacks:

The September 11, 2001, attacks, commonly known as 9/11, marked a significant turning point in the history of militancy and its global repercussions. The events of that fateful day not only shocked the world but also highlighted the evolving nature of militancy and the challenges it poses to international security. On the morning of September 11, 2001, a group of 19 terrorists associated with the extremist group Al-Qaeda hijacked four commercial airplanes in the United States. Two of these planes were flown into the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center in New York City, causing the collapse of both towers. Another plane crashed into the Pentagon, the headquarters of the United States Department of Defense in Arlington, Virginia. The fourth plane, United Airlines Flight 93, was headed towards a target in Washington, D.C., but crashed in a field in Pennsylvania after passengers bravely attempted to regain control from the hijackers. The attacks resulted in the deaths of nearly 3,000 innocent people from more than 90 countries.²

The 9/11 attacks were a stark demonstration of the increasing influence and capabilities of non-state actors in carrying out large-scale acts of violence. Led by Osama bin Laden, Al-Qaeda espoused an extremist interpretation of Islam and sought to establish a global jihadist movement to challenge Western influence and perceived

²Rahman, K. (2020). Religious Conservatism and the Case of Islamization: Examining the Roots of Talibanization in Malakand Division of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.(P 6-15)

injustices in the Muslim world. Their strategy involved using terrorism as a tool to provoke fear, disrupt economies, and undermine the perceived power and authority of their adversaries.

The attacks on September 11 had profound implications for global security and prompted a fundamental shift in the approach to combating militancy. The event exposed vulnerabilities in international security frameworks, highlighted the interconnectivity of global threats, and led to a reevaluation of counterterrorism strategies worldwide. It also emphasized the need for comprehensive approaches that address the root causes and drivers of militancy, as well as the importance of post-conflict rehabilitation and peacebuilding efforts.

2.3 Post 9/11 situation:

The 9/11 incidents were actually a paradigm shift in global politics which ignited much in the world to eradicate terrorism. It brought about significant changes in various aspects of global dynamics, security policies, and international relations. The attacks on September 11, 2001, acted as a catalyst for a wide range of responses at national, regional, and global levels, shaping the world in numerous ways. The United States launched a global counterterrorism campaign, with a primary focus on dismantling Al-Qaeda and its affiliates. The war in Afghanistan, aimed at removing the Taliban regime that harbored Al-Qaeda, became a central component of this response. The invasion of Iraq in 2003 further highlighted the complex nature of post-conflict rehabilitation, as the removal of Saddam Hussein's regime resulted in protracted violence and the rise of new militant groups.

However other notable actions are as follows:

- **Global War on Terror:** The United States, under the leadership of President George W. Bush, declared a "Global War on Terror" in response to the 9/11 attacks. This led to a military intervention in Afghanistan to topple the Taliban regime, which had provided safe haven to Al-Qaeda. The focus of the war gradually expanded to include counterterrorism operations in other regions, such as Iraq, and enormous problems being faced by Pakistan.
- **Heightened Security Measures:** The attacks prompted a significant increase in security measures worldwide, particularly in transportation hubs,

government buildings, and public spaces. Countries introduced stricter immigration and visa policies, enhanced airport security screenings, and bolstered intelligence-sharing mechanisms to prevent future terrorist acts. The creation of the Department of Homeland Security in the United States exemplified the emphasis placed on domestic security.

- **Global Intelligence Cooperation:** The need for enhanced intelligence sharing and cooperation became evident post-9/11. Intelligence agencies worldwide intensified collaboration to identify and disrupt terrorist networks, share information on potential threats, and coordinate efforts to dismantle transnational terrorist organizations.
- **Shift in Military Strategy:** The 9/11 attacks demonstrated the effectiveness of asymmetrical warfare and highlighted the vulnerabilities of traditional military forces against non-state actors. Consequently, military strategies shifted towards counterinsurgency tactics, intelligence-driven operations, and the deployment of special forces to target militant networks.
- **Evolution of Terrorist Tactics:** The post-9/11 era witnessed a shift in the tactics employed by terrorist organizations. Suicide bombings, improvised explosive devices (IEDs), and radicalized individuals carrying out lone-wolf attacks became more prevalent. Terrorist groups capitalized on new technologies and utilized social media platforms for recruitment, radicalization, and propaganda dissemination, posing new challenges to counterterrorism efforts.
- **Heightened Awareness of Radicalization and Extremism:** The attacks on 9/11 brought attention to the process of radicalization and the importance of countering extremist ideologies. Governments and civil society organizations focused on implementing programs to prevent radicalization, promote tolerance, and engage communities to identify and address early signs of radicalization.
- **Societal and Political Consequences:** The post-9/11 world experienced societal and political changes. Islamophobia increased, leading to discrimination and profiling of Muslim communities. Civil liberties came under scrutiny as governments sought to strike a balance between national security imperatives and individual freedoms. Debates on issues such as

surveillance, privacy rights, and the use of enhanced interrogation techniques emerged as significant topics of discussion.

- **Economic Impacts:** The attacks had profound economic consequences. Stock markets plummeted globally, and industries such as aviation, tourism, and finance suffered severe setbacks. Governments implemented financial measures to combat money laundering and terrorist financing, leading to increased scrutiny of international transactions and stricter regulations.

The impact of the 9/11 attacks reverberated globally, not only in terms of security but also in terms of societal attitudes and perceptions. The event exacerbated existing tensions between different cultures and religions, leading to a rise in Islam phobia and increasing polarization in some societies. The aftermath of 9/11 also showcased the significance of addressing underlying grievances, promoting inclusive societies, and countering radicalization as vital components of post-conflict rehabilitation efforts. The 9/11 attacks serve as a stark reminder of the evolving nature of militancy and the need for proactive measures to prevent and address its consequences. They have shaped the trajectory of international relations, influenced policy decisions, and prompted ongoing debates about the balance between security and civil liberties.

Due to American intervention in Afghanistan Long-term Regional Instability occurs in the region, which affects Pakistan the most in the neighborhood. Sectarian tensions especially in FATA, and the rise of new militant groups created fertile ground for ongoing conflicts In the region, also contributing to protracted violence and political crises.

2.4 War On Terror: Repercussions For Pakistan.

After the incidents of 9/11 the US under the administration of George W. bush launched a global war on terror to eradicate the curse of terrorism from the region. The main purpose of this grand operation was to dismantle the terrorist networks and their strong holds around the world, also to prevent the spread of extremism and to negate the anti-west ideology. At that time al-Qaida were the most influential extremist organization, propagating the anti-west ideology. As the organization were based in Afghanistan, so the US had the reason to start the campaign against terrorism from Afghanistan. US armed forces accompanied by their main allies attacks the Taliban regime in Afghanistan to dismantle the terrorist networks and form a

democratic government there. The US then gradually expand the scope of war on terror to other regions as well, and many other countries came under the radar which includes Iraq, south Asia and various parts of middle east as well.

First of all US seek the help of allies to diplomatically tackle the situation, and a worldwide coalition had been formed to fight terrorists. Hence forth the policy of financial war on terror was formulated to weaken the terrorists organizations financially, in which their fund raising compaigns and their financial assets had been seized. Then in octuber 2001 the al qaida and Taliban forces had been attacked heavily by US with the help of allies, Many cities were captured from Taliban and many terrorists were arrested as well. And just in few weeks the al qaida and Taliban surrendered at many big cities leaving behind NATO took the control of the area³. But without the help of neighboring countries of Afghanistan this were not be possible for US to take control of the area, in which the primary and most important country were Pakistan. Although first of all Pakistan decided to be neutral in the war on terror, but were forced to become a front line ally of US in the war on terror.

2.4.1 Role Of Pakistan In The War On Terror:

Pakistan had been the front line ally of United States in war against terrorism due to its important geographical and geopolitical position. Incidents of 9/11 changed the whole dynamics with in Pakistan politics, in other words these incidents were the actual paradigm shift for Pakistan in term of peace. Pakistan made an invaluable contribution in this global war against terrorism, and is also suffered a lot.for the suppression of terrorism Pakistan played a pivotal role such as Pakistan has signed SAARC Regional Convention and many other conventions to sustain the spread of terrorism in the region, such as that of ECO Protocol against drugs.

Pakistan's cooperation was crucial for the success of US military and intelligence operations, some of them are as follows.

- **Strategic Importance:** Pakistan's geographical location made it a critical player in the campaign. It shared a long and porous border with Afghanistan, which facilitated the movement of militants and required cooperation to

³ Tellis, A. J. (2008). Pakistan and the War on Terror. Conflicted Goals. *Compromised Performances, Carnegie Endowment: Washington DC.*

control cross-border infiltration. Moreover, Pakistan's proximity to Iran, a country with its own security concerns, added to its strategic significance.

- **Counterterrorism Cooperation:** Pakistan provided vital support in counterterrorism operations, including intelligence sharing, logistical assistance, and access to its airspace and military bases for U.S. operations. The Pakistani intelligence agency, Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), was in close collaboration with the U.S. intelligence community to track and target militant groups.
- **Capture of High-Value Targets:** as I discussed above Pakistan played a crucial role in capturing several high-value targets linked to Al-Qaeda, including Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, the mastermind behind the 9/11 attacks. The capture and elimination of key Al-Qaeda leaders were made possible through joint intelligence operations between the U.S. and Pakistan.
- **Military Operations:** The Pakistani military conducted its own operations against militant groups operating within its borders, particularly in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province. These operations aimed to disrupt militant safe havens and dismantle their infrastructure.

For being the front line ally of US in war on terror Pakistan played a vital role in eradicating many of the terrorists networks from the region through its effective military and intelligence operations. Some of the prominent examples are the Al-Qaeda Anthrax network, the Alghuraba network, the UK-based Anglo-Pakistani group and Jundullah. Beside all these effective addition to the war on terror Pakistan also had arrested many of the prominent leaders of al qaida and Taliban.

in terrorist's attacks on government installations and public places. In US led war against terrorism Pakistan suffered a lot directly and indirectly. More than US\$ 35 billion were utilized by Pakistan and still counting.⁴ Many of the prominent Pakistani leaders and people have lost their lives due to terrorism in the region, because due to Pakistan inclusion in war on terror there had been an abrupt increase in terrorism in the form of suicide attacks and gun battles.

⁴ Ullah, K., & ur Rahman, K. (2020). Religious Conservatism and the Case of Islamiazation: Examining the Roots of Talibanization in Malakand Division of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. *Al-A'jāz Research Journal of Islamic Studies and Humanities*, 4(1), 323-338.

2.4.2 Repercussions For Pakistan:

Pakistan's involvement in the War on Terror had many repercussions for the country. Some of the visible and prominent are as follows

- **Security Challenges:** Pakistan experienced an increase in domestic security challenges due to retaliatory attacks by militant groups. The military operations conducted against these groups triggered a wave of violence, including suicide bombings, targeted assassinations, and attacks on security forces, resulting in significant loss of civilian and military lives.
- **Socio-Political Consequences:** The War on Terror created social and political divisions within Pakistan. Some segments of society criticized the government's cooperation with the United States, perceiving it as a compromise of national sovereignty. There were also concerns about human rights violations during counterterrorism operations and the displacement of populations from conflict-affected areas.
- **Economic Impact:** The conflict and the ensuing security challenges adversely affected Pakistan's economy. Military operations, internal displacement, and the need to redirect resources towards counterterrorism efforts put a strain on the country's finances. Additionally, the decline in foreign investment and tourism due to security concerns impacted economic growth.
- **Long-Term Regional Instability:** The conflict in Afghanistan and the spill-over effects of the War on Terror contributed to long-term regional instability. The influx of Afghan refugees into Pakistan, the regrouping of militant factions and the emergence of new extremist ideologies further complicated security dynamics in the region.

2.5 Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP):

TTP is a Deobandi Sunni organization established in December 2007, it was actually a Pakistani version of Afghan Taliban responsible for terrorism within the country. They were hugely against the Pakistan inclusion in the war on terror, and thus they made this their motto to evacuate Pakistan from the US officials and vanishing the western influence in the country. They want to form a Muslim caliphate including Pakistan and Afghanistan, and thus started armed revolt against the state. In many

years they attacked a number of government installations through suicide bombings, remote control bombs and rocket attacks. Pakistan's tribal areas have been considered as a hotbed for militancy due to its border with Afghanistan. TTP initially starts its activities from there and then gradually expanded their operations to other parts of Pakistan as well, such as Marriott Islamabad and GHQ Rawalpindi, they were also involved in ransom kidnapping of government officials and civilians, forced taxes, and drug trafficking.

The TTP development can be linked to a variety of circumstances, including the Afghan conflict's spillover effects, internal dynamics within Pakistan, and ideological objectives.

- **Spillover from Afghanistan:** Following the U.S.-led invasion of Afghanistan in 2001, there was a significant influx of militants into the border regions of Pakistan. Afghan Taliban fighters, including members of the Haqqani network, sought refuge in Pakistan's tribal areas, particularly in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province. This presence provided a fertile ground for the formation of militant groups and facilitated their cross-border activities.
- **Radicalization and Militancy Nexus:** Pakistan experienced a rise in radicalization during this period, fueled by a combination of factors such as socioeconomic disparities, weak governance, and extremist ideologies. Some segments of the population became susceptible to radicalization, creating a pool of recruits for militant organizations. Extremist madrassas also played a role in promoting militant ideologies and providing recruits to the TTP.
- **Opposition to Pakistani Government:** The TTP's formation can be traced back to the merger of various local militant groups in Pakistan's tribal regions, which sought to challenge the authority of the Pakistani state. These groups, including the Tehrik-i-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-Mohammadi (TNSM) led by Maulana Fazlullah, aimed to establish their interpretation of strict Islamic law and undermine the Pakistani government's control over the tribal areas.

- **Leadership and Organizational Structure:** Baitullah Mehsud, a prominent militant leader, played a crucial role in the formation and early consolidation of the TTP. After Baitullah Mehsud's death in a U.S. drone strike in 2009, Hakimullah Mehsud assumed leadership of the group until his death in 2013. The TTP followed a loosely centralized organizational structure, with various factions and local commanders operating under the umbrella of the TTP brand.

2.5.1 Sectarianism Boosting:

TTPs main ideology includes anti Shia objectives, because they termed Shia as kafir, and was involved in many Shia people assassinations in the country. This problem boosted the Shia Sunni conflict and arose as a big problem for the country stakeholders. TTP leaders made close ties with Lashkar-e-Jhangvi, thus they highly target the hazaras in Balochistan with the help of Lashkar.

The year 2012 was the most deadly in the history of the country, which was almost a decade to the war on terror. In that period of time Pakistan experienced over 6000 casualties from various terror strikes and around 450 terror acts were registered, with at least 39 of them being confirmed suicide attacks. Also this was the year of growing operational partnership between the TTP and Lashkar-e-Jhangvi, despite the fact that the two groups have previously collaborated, with the group led by Amjad Farooqi in 2003-2004 being an example. However the convergence this time were most dangerous including 113 attacks against Shia in which hundreds of people lost their lives. For example in a prominent incident sectarian conflict in the Kurram Agency resulted in a five-day conflict in which small guns, mortars, rocket launchers, and anti-aircraft missiles were all deployed in a convulsive spasm that cost hundreds of lives and injured many more.⁵

2.5.2 TTP Factions in FATA:

Two events in the last five decades proved to be disastrous for the Federally Administered and Tribal Areas, now the part of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province: the invasion of Afghanistan by Soviet Union in 1979, and 'War on Terror' initiated by US against militants in Afghanistan in 2001. After the incident of 9/11, FATA

⁵ Zaman, M. Q. (1998). Sectarianism in Pakistan: The radicalization of Shi'i and Sunni identities. *Modern Asian Studies*, 32(3), 689-716.

became the center of global terrorism and the most dangerous place. Taliban's government was overthrown in Kabul, and they escaped and found refuge across the eastern border of Afghanistan with Pakistan. Taliban, in FATA, while taking advantage of the local vulnerabilities and the State policy of appeasement, started expanding their roots and networks throughout the country, and carried out attacks on the civilians and military forces particularly when Pakistan joined the 'war on terror' of US. So to eradicate militancy from FATA, Pakistan army launched several operations for the cause but beside its positive impacts these operations have negative impacts on the region norms and values as well.

After the US invasion to Afghanistan, Tehrik Taliban Pakistan factions in Pakistan particularly in Fata emerged. They become active in 2003 when US withdraw Taliban from Afghanistan. US threat Pakistan to be a part of war on terror against Al Qaeda. Then Musharraf started operation in Tribal areas of Pakistan against Taliban. This action turned Taliban sympathizer in to their part. TTP became active when they officially announced it in 2007. The purpose was to battle against the infidel of Pakistani state particularly military and politicians. Although some section were fighting in Afghanistan. With the passage of time they extended their network to international group named Al Qaeda. Baitullah Mehsud was appointed as leader of TTP in 2007. Then 27 other militants groups pledged their alliance to TTP. Tehrike Nifaze Muhammadi TNSM merged with TTP after LAL Masjid operation. Then Punjabi version of taliban also added who provided financial and logistical support to them. Taliban groups from Punjab were Sipha-e- Sahaba Pakistan and Lashkare Jhangvi.

When different other groups joined TTP then increase in suicide bombing and attacks against Pakistani army and state symbols occurred. It led to the spread of Talibanisation and popularization of rebel governance in Fata. They were promoting Quran and Islamic principles through coercion, discouraging education particularly of women , and bombing schools. According to estimate by the Pakistani military in 2009, the total number of Taliban in Fata were 10000 including foreigners and in Swat 5000 . Pakistan military launched different operations in 2009 and then in 2014.

Due to these operations in FATA their influence vanishes with the time, some of them were killed and others ran towards Malakand division particularly swat district.⁶

To conclude, it is very relevant to say that both militancy and military operations had left deep impacts on the culture and social norms of the tribal people. Taliban have their own approach to Pashtun culture, they vanished the cultural events of attan and hujra and brought conservatism, extremism and radicalism and exploited the local people of FATA in the name of religion. On the other hand, military operations have impacted the local culture of FATA in positive way. The positive aspect is that it eradicated the menace of terrorism and militancy and revived the lost cultural activities in FATA. People who migrated to other parts of the country adopted and learned alien traits unknown to them. People to people contact expose the tribal people to the outside habitats, thus they became more secularized and open minded.

⁶ Ullah, K., & ur Rahman, K. (2020). Religious Conservatism and the Case of Islamiization: Examining the Roots of Talibanization in Malakand Division of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. *Al-A'jāz Research Journal of Islamic Studies and Humanities*, 4(1), 323-338.

CHAPTER: 3

3.1 Talibanization In Malakand Division:

Talibanization is a process in which the extremist ideologies termed themselves as orthodox Islamists made influence over a region, but specifically associated with Taliban.

Malakand division in Pakistan is a historical area having much important geopolitical and socioeconomical importance, consisted of dir, swat, chitral, buner and shangla districts. The process of talibanization in malakand division traced back to early 2000 after Pakistan involvement in the war on terror, however the organization of sufi Muhammad called TNSM was a decade older than 2000, but was much dormant in case of activities.

3.2 TNSM:

The Tehreek-e-Nafaz-e-Shariat-e-Mohammadi (TNSM) was an Islamist political and militant organization based in the Malakand Division of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province in Pakistan. The TNSM was founded in 1992 by Maulana Sufi Muhammad, a charismatic cleric from the Swat Valley.

The primary objective of the TNSM was to enforce Sharia (Islamic law) in Pakistan, particularly in the Malakand Division. The organization sought to establish a strict interpretation of Islamic principles and opposed what they perceived as un-Islamic practices and laws in the country. The TNSM adopted peaceful methods for the implementation of Sharia initially, the period which I called earlier the dormant one it was limited to district dir at start but gradually find support in the society and spread its wings through the whole malakand division, especially when the PATA regulations were abolished by peshawer high court. and thus the organization gradually became associated with militancy. the group was involved in a violent protest before 2000 when they block the road and siege the saidu sharif air port, thus the government decided to take action against and gunned down many in district buner. But after that the situation normalizes with the happening of peace accord between the group and Pakistan government.

The TNSM gained significant attention and support during the early 2000s when it launched a violent campaign to impose Sharia in the Swat Valley. In 2007, the group intensified its activities, leading to the government's military operation in Swat in 2009. This operation was a response to the deteriorating security situation in the region and the TNSM's increasing influence, which threatened the state's authority.

During the height of its influence, the TNSM worked in close collaboration with the Pakistani Taliban (Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan or TTP) and shared similar ideological goals. Mullah Fazlullah, became the leader of the TNSM and played a prominent role in orchestrating the Taliban's activities in the region, particularly after the LAL MASJID incident.⁷

After the military operation in Swat, Sufi Muhammad was arrested and incarcerated for his involvement in inciting violence. Mullah Fazlullah, known for his brutal tactics, including beheadings and attacks on girls' schools, was later appointed as the leader of the TTP. Under Fazlullah's leadership, the TTP expanded its influence beyond Swat and carried out numerous terrorist attacks in various parts of Pakistan.

3.3 AFGHAN Taliban and TNSM:

TNSM ideology was highly overlapping with that of Afghan Taliban, because one fought for sharia in Pakistan and the other is fighting for sharia in Afghanistan, first against the Soviet Union, and then United States. Sufi Muhammad sent many of his believers to Afghanistan in war against Soviet Union, and played an important role there. TNSM fighters were highly impressed with Afghan Taliban and made close ties with them. Due to this relation between them when afghan Taliban took over Afghanistan in 1996, the dormant militant groups in Pakistan also came into action and enjoyed the full support from Taliban across the border.

TNSM supported afghan Taliban ideologically and financially against US. When the US air strikes happened in 1998 TNSM proclaimed that they will fight against US and will attack the US citizens in Pakistan. They were successful in anti American ideology with in malakand division and Pakistan. Also sufi Muhammad sent thousands of fighters from Pakistan to Afghanistan to fight against US. Hence forth

⁷ Bangash, S. (2012). Socio-economic conditions of post-conflict Swat: A critical appraisal. *J Peace Dev*, 2, 66-79.

when the battle worsens, the TNSM supported afghan Taliban financially as well, sending goods and money.

3.4 Emergence of TTP AND MULLAH FAZLULLAH:

If talk about the militancy and violence in malakand division particularly district swat, mullah fazlullah was a prominent figure. He was first come into prominence in 2000s spitting hatred against Pakistan and polio vaccine. He was behind the attack on malala yousufzai and killing of a high ranked officer of Pakistan army. He was also also blamed for the peshawer school attack in 2014, which was one of the saddest chapters of the country.

When sufi Muhammad sent fighters to Afghanistan, due to their low skills and outdated weapons many were killed by US army and many of them along with sufi Muhammad and mullah fazlullah ran towards Pakistan and take shelters. They were carrying illegal weapons with them from across the border, thus arrested by Pakistan security forces and transferred to jail in dera ismail khan where they spend 17 months. Hence forth he was released from the jail and took the charge of Taliban leader of tehsil kabal in swat. He was very keen in propagating the cause of sufi Muhammad.

3.4.1 MULLAH RADIO:

Mullah Fazlullah was chosen as the leader of Taliban in 2013, and was the first one from the region of malakand. Before that he was the leader of TTP faction in swat valley, in 2007 he was the most influential person in swat and had a de facto control of the region up to 2009. When he was released from the jail he start propagating the talibans ideology through illegal FM radio, which includes the extremist interpretation of Islamic laws and termed polio vaccination as the agenda of the west, also termed girls education as the sign of vulgarity and against the basic principles of islam, thus he advised the parents to do not send their daughters to schools and collages. he directed people to not go to saloons because it is contradicting the Islamic principles. He got much success in railing support for his cause. he was so influential and charismatic in his speeches that he gained thousands of followers in the region⁸.The radio broadcasts enabled him to bypass traditional media channels and directly reach the masses and influencing public opinion. For example he termed television as un-

⁸McCoy, T. (2014). Mullah Radio': The radical broadcaster leading the Taliban's war on Pakistani schoolchildren. *The Washington Post*.

Islamic so many people in district swat through their TV sets away while many others grew beards as well.

3.5 From Peace To Violence:

Mullah fazlullah through his emotional speeches attracted thousands of people in district swat. He praised the people who follow him that you are real soldiers of Islam. Swat Valley has historically faced socio-economic challenges, including poverty, unemployment, and limited access to basic services. Fazlullah exploited these issues and presented himself as a solution to these problems. He provided financial support to some families and communities, which created a sense of dependency and loyalty among those who received assistance and many others were very much impressed by his these actions. He encouraged the people of swat to put their valuable contributions for building a seminary in IMAM DHERI swat. He also termed it as a part of IMAN. People were so influenced by his charisma that many of the land owners give their lands for the building of seminary, many other people helped him by giving money, women of the society give their gold away to mullah fazlullah and thus he becomes able to collect million of rupees in several years.

It is important to note that not all residents of Swat supported Fazlullah or his extremist ideologies. However there were certain factors that contributed to some segments of the population sympathizing with or assisting him.

He influenced certain segments of the population, particularly the youth, who were vulnerable to indoctrination and recruitment. When he realized that he had the full backing of public now, he started challenging the writ of the state, and thus his peaceful purpose termed into a violent one across Pakistan.

3.5.1 The Militant Insurgency Led by Mullah Fazlullah:

The LAL MASJID and JAMIA hafsa operation took place in 2007, which results in killing of hundreds of people. The situation after the operation becomes worsen in the country mainly in malakand division, which was the stronghold of mullah fazlullah then. Fazlullah announces war against the state with the objective of taking revenge. This incident split the TNSM into two groups, a violent one and the one who want negotiation. Mullah fazlullah form his own judicial courts in the region of swat and started to challenge the writ of the state. He forced the common people of malakand

division to support him against the state and those who didn't were assassinated and arrested, yet many of them migrated to safer places within the country. The TTP now under the leadership of Fazlullah at that time were killing security and government officials publically.

- **Suicide Bombings and Attacks:** The TTP under Fazlullah's leadership, frequently employed suicide bombings and carried out attacks on various targets, including security forces, government institutions, public spaces, religious sites, and schools. These attacks caused significant loss of life, injuries, and widespread fear among the civilian population. They also targets US officials and involved in sectarian crimes within Pakistan. They often use small weapons and suicide bombers for attacking their targets.
- **Assassinations and Targeted Killings:** The TTP conducted targeted assassinations of government officials, security personnel, religious leaders, tribal elders, and individuals who were perceived as opponents or obstructing their agenda. These assassinations aimed to intimidate and eliminate perceived threats to their influence. In some cases students were kidnapped from educating institutes to pressurize their parents
- **Extortion and Fundraising:** The TTP engaged in extortion and fundraising activities to finance their operations. They demanded protection money, imposed taxes on local businesses, and exploited smuggling routes to generate funds for their militant activities. They were also involved in business of wealthy stones, in which district swat is rich.
- **Disruption of Infrastructure and Services:** Fazlullah's insurgency involved attacks on infrastructure, including the destruction of schools, police stations, bridges, communication networks, and electricity installations. By disrupting essential services and infrastructure, the TTP sought to undermine the government's authority and create an environment of instability.
- **Control and Enforcement of Sharia:** Fazlullah and the TTP tried to made their influence in the region by imposing their laws by force, they had their own interpretation of Islamic laws. for example they banned the barber shops and saloons in the region, banned women education and much more.

They impose the methods of harsh punishments, such as the public slaughtering of the people who fight against them.

- **Intimidation and Psychological Warfare:** TTP under fazlullah were involved in psychological warfare tactics as well, which includes issuing threats, circulating certain propagandas through media channels, and making the local population fearful by public executions. The aims of these tactics were to exert control, discourage resistance, and weaken the supporters of the state.
- **Recruitment and Indoctrination:** The TTP was highly engaged in recruitment efforts, particularly targeting vulnerable locals, it also includes unemployed youth and those influenced by their ideologies. They exploited socio-economic grievances in the region and used propaganda to indoctrinate new recruits. They often sell their CDs in which there were suicide bombing videos and their emotional speeches.

The TTP created an atmosphere of fear and instability in the region of malakand division by these insurgency tactics and violent activities.

3.5.2 Notable Attacks By TTP:

- **Attack on the Army Public School, Peshawar (2014):** six TTP militants attacked the army school building in Peshawar, 149 people were killed in the incident including 132 children. Hundreds others were got injured in the attack This horrible assault sparked anger and increased resolve to combat terrorism.
- **Marriott Hotel Bombing, Islamabad (2008):** at least 55 people were killed in the attack and the TTP claimed responsibility for this. Stating that it was the symbol of western presence in the country.
- **All Saints Church Bombing, Peshawar (2013):** two suicide bombers attacked Christian church in Peshawar during a Sunday service in 2013. The impact of the attack was a huge one which claimed the lives of more than 80 worshippers and injured many others. It was a horrifying attack on a religious minority community with in the country.⁹

⁹ Tehrik-e Taliban Pakistan (TTP), FOREIGN TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS. (As of October 2022). https://www.dni.gov/nctc/ftos/ttp_fto.html

- **Attack on Benazir Bhutto, Rawalpindi (2007):** The two times prime minister of the country got assassinated in an attack in 2007. This was one of the major setbacks in the country political history.
- **Attack on the Pakistani Naval Base, Karachi (2011)** the attack on PNS mehran air base in Karachi was of great importance due to its geography and financial loss in it. The attack resulted in the destruction of two P-3C Orion aircraft and the loss of several security officials.
- **Attacks on Girls' Schools:** education of thousands of girls was disrupted by attacking on their schools and teachers. The notable one is that on malala yousufzai in 2012, in which she got some serious injuries. She was targeted for her activism against militancy in the region.

TTP had been involved in several other inhuman attacks on innocent people and government officials. It also includes target killings and demolishing the infrastructure. These violent activities have caused major loss of life and affected the state institutions and communities across Pakistan.

CHAPTER: 4

4.1 Drivers of Militancy, Peace Accords, and Military Operations: Unraveling the Complex Dynamics.

The previous chapter briefly explains the talibanizations and their rise to potential power in the region. But how these militants becomes this threat, which includes a number of socio economic issues which contributed to the rise of militancy. This chapter will shed light on drivers that propelled extremist ideologies, the complexities of peace accords, and the pivotal role of military operations. By unraveling these interwoven elements, we gain insight into the intricate tapestry of forces that have shaped the landscape of conflict and its aftermath. This chapter not only sheds light on the origins and motivations behind the rise of militancy but also dissects the attempts at reconciliation and the interventions undertaken to counter its impact

4.2 Drivers Of Militancy In Malakand Division:

The drivers of militancy in the Malakand Division of Pakistan such as swat, Dir and Buner are complex and multifaceted. Because it have some unique characteristics, understanding its geography and Pak Afghan relations. These drivers of conflict have a wide mix of political, social and economical factors. This includes the Pakistan's involvement in war on terror, and many years of bad governance in the region. the term 'drivers' actually means the dynamic processes and factors that contribute to conflicts .these may be of different natures such as Some have traditionally focused on grievance-related drivers of conflict, such as poverty and inequality, others have the view that it is more dependent on material interests, such as greed rather than grievance¹⁰

Understanding these causes and drivers of militancy in the region can provide insights into the factors that contributed to the insurgency. Here are some key drivers:

4.2.1 Socio-economic Factors:

The Malakand Division has greatly suffered from socioeconomic issues such as poverty, unemployment, and insufficient access to education and healthcare. These conditions have caused a sense of dissatisfaction, alienation, and hopelessness in the

¹⁰ AVIS WELLIUM, 2016, report, conflict studies in swat valley. Uk research council. P3-8

common people, which in turn made them more vulnerable to extreme ideologies that promise solutions and a sense of purpose.

- **Poverty and Unemployment:** poverty and unemployment were the main cause of militancy in malakand division. Many families and individuals were living below the poverty line in the region. Some also had limited economic opportunities, which were the primary cause of unemployment and underdevelopment in the region. This lack of employment frustrated the youth and common people and thus they were attracted by militant groups, who offer them financial incentives.
- **Limited Access to Education:** as I mentioned earlier that malakand division was one of the underdeveloped region in the country, and thus having lack of access to education, trained teachers and lack of educational infrastructure especially in the remote areas of the division.¹¹ This lack of education leave the common people especially the youth of the area, illiterate and thus attracted by these militant ideologies, which show them a sense of purpose.
- **Inadequate Healthcare and Basic Services:** the malakand division struggles with inadequate health facilities. Such as lack of hospitals and trained doctors made the health issues more expensive for them. In an interview with a doctor of the region it is extracted for the discussion that due to lack of these facilities the people were bounded to transfer their patients to big hospitals of Peshawar and Islamabad during emergencies, this all contributes to socio-economic hardships further.¹² The lack of these essential services contributes to a sense of disillusionment and marginalization, making people more susceptible to radicalization and militant ideologies.
- **Economic Disparities and Inequality:** The Malakand Division experienced economic disparities on a big scale, with high level of poverty. Just like other areas of KPK there were also two extremes in the region and thus there were a perception of unfair distribution of resources and opportunities, which breeds discontent and fuels grievances.¹³ Militant groups in the region exploit these

¹¹ Remote areas of the region, such as areas of district buner and district DIR, which were more vulnerable to militant ideologies.

¹² Personal interview: doc Taj Amir, saidu sharif hospital swat.(jan 20 2022)

¹³ Personal interview: professor Mahmood khan of Govt College, sawari buner. (13 feb 2022)

disparities; start promising to address economic inequalities through their own system of governance.¹⁴

These were the main socio-economic factors that contribute to militancy uplift in the region. That should be addressed properly in the future to maintain peace and stability in the region.

4.2.2 Governance Issues:

Malakand division faced many problems related to governance especially after its merger with Pakistan. The area was badly hit by issues like weak governance, corruption, and a lack of effective law enforcement after its merger. Quality public services were absent for many years and there had been injustice in the area with the locals, because they were continually exploited by local landlords. These problems in the society created a breeding ground for militancy. In that sort of situation when the TNSM and their allies promise an alternative system of governance, many people from the area turned to extremist militant groups.

- **Kisani movement:** this movement emerged as a result of zulfikar Bhutto Islamic socialization concept in 1972. Basically it was started for political gains in the region by Bhutto and his allies against their opponents, but it becomes a violent one when the land less people¹⁵ of the region started an armed conflict against the land lords. However the conflict reached to its peak in 1973, several casualties were reported at that time. Hence forth the paramilitary forces were deputed and the conflict vanishes completely in 1974¹⁶. But this all shows the weakness and failure of state institutions, which were swat levies and provincial police at that time.
- **Fragile governance and the rise of TNSM:** as I mentioned earlier that governance were very much fragile in the region, however attempts were made by the then ruler zia ul haq. And a tribunal was formed to analyse the future structure of the region but they failed.¹⁶ Because no one were trusting the state institutions. And thus due to this fragile governance in the region the

¹⁴ Hats off to their emotional speeches through FM radios in district swat.

¹⁵ The land less people were mostly gujjars of the region. And they were against the pukhtuns dominance

¹⁶ Khan, S. U., Khalid, A., & Elahi, N. (2020). Old wine in a new bottle: Governance, fragility and armed conflict trio in Swat Valley, Pakistan. *Cogent Social Sciences*, 6(1), 1770432.

TNSM formed in district Dir and rise of militancy occurred thereafter. Hence forth TNSM becomes more popular in the region with its slogan of sharia implementation and justice for all.

- Jihad campaign and weak response of executive: after 9/11 attacks when war on terror started against Afghan Taliban, then TNSM in malakand division announced that we will help Afghan Taliban in their fight against US. So they started a proper jihad campaign and recruited people from different regions of malakand division, which were sent across border, no such action were taken by the government in any form against this campaign.¹⁷ This were due to the weak response of executive and security agencies, thus shows the fragility and incapability of institutions.
- Local governments: dilemma of power struggle.
Local governments were formed in swat in 2002, which were the cause of power struggle between the executive and elected nazims of the region. Because the executive¹⁸ of the region denied to work below elected nazims. This power struggle adds more the prevailing deteriorated form of governance in the region. This was one of the reasons of militancy uplift in the region.
- Widespread corruption in the region: corruption was also the main cause of driving the militancy to the region. During an interview with a lawyer, he said that there was a common perception among the locals that the government offices are corrupt, so they did not trust them. This perception made the people more frustrated and made them having a soft corner for TNSM fighters.¹⁹ The TNSM were well aware of the situation and exploited these disparities, which made them well settle in the region.
- Injustice in the society: there was a sense of injustice in the society, this was due to lack of quick and efficient justice system. An interviewer said that there were the law of might is right in the region²⁰ and common people had no access to the justice, this created a sense of marginalization among the people. Which made them vulnerable to the militant groups? Who then recruited these

¹⁷ Adnan, R. (2012). How bad governance led to conflict: The case of Swat, Pakistan.

¹⁸ Means the CSS officers, a highly qualified segment of the society.

¹⁹ Personal interview: ADV ASHRAF ALI, district courts saidu sharif swat. July 25 2022

²⁰ Personal interview: a shopkeeper in tehsil charbagh of swat. Jan 20 2022 (refused to show identity)

people and thus they started violence against the state institutions who were failed to give them justice.

These all were the governance issues in the region which contributed to rise of militancy. It shows the importance of transparency in the system and engaging the locals and addressing their concerns.

4.2.3 Influence of Radicalized Madrassas:

Madrassas are actually the religious schools. They have their own administrative systems and played a significant role in radicalization process in the region. Some madrassas were highly influenced with TNSM and have propagated extremist ideologies and thus provided a fertile ground for recruitment and indoctrination, this was seen In the jihad campaign drive post 9/11 against the US. These institutions were regularized by mullahs or influential people of the society, and had no such check from the government. Thus some of them involved in propagating radicalization in the region.

An interviewer said²¹ that the Pakistani politicians of that time²² were trying for their own interests, and thus the religious extremism rise in Pakistan during that period. These were the issues in country politics which made the success story of militancy easier in malakand division.

4.2.4 Militant Infiltration:

The Malakand Division shares borders with the Federally Administered Tribal Areas now part of KPK province and Afghanistan. Afghanistan has been termed as a hotbed of militancy since 9/11. these militant elements infiltrate to FATA region and then to malakand division. As a result of militancy in Afghanistan, Pakistan were highly affected by that, militants migrated here from across the border and start their campaigns to strengthen their organizations, which were discussed earlier in the paper.

After 9/11 US started war on terror and as a result a great number of Taliban militants migrated to FATA and malakand division, which gave TNSM more feathers and

²¹ 13

²² Butto and zia ul haq

support to implement their cause.²³ “The Taliban’s interest in this region was strategic. though Swat does not share a border with Afghanistan, controlling Malakand is important as the Peshawar-Swat and Peshawar-Chitral highway passes through it; severing this at the Malakand pass would cut the whole Malakand division off from the rest of the country and connecting Taliban pockets of resistance in a chain from South Waziristan to Swat” (Avis, 22.09.2016)

So the activities across the border and in FATA cause the revival of TNSM in the region. Also the US invasion of Afghanistan and Pakistan support for US in war on terror create anger among locals, exploited by TNSM, causes the rise of militancy in the region.

4.2.5 Ethno-linguistic and Sectarian Tensions:

malakand division is home to diverse ethnic and linguistic communities such as pukhtuns, gujjars, kohistanis and others. So the tensions among these groups often becomes violent and we have witnessed arm conflicts between these groups, as I discussed earlier the kisaan moment in 1970s. Militant groups of the region especially TNSM exploited these tensions in the society and gain support from the suppressed ones.

- Religious tensions: sectarian.

After zia ul haq islamization the country slowly tilt towards the sectarian issues, an interviewer said²⁴. When there is a difference between religious beliefs then sectarian tensions occurs eventually. In Pakistan it is basically between sunni and shia. These tensions can be due to ideological differences, historical grievances or power struggles. Sectarian violence can be fueled by extremist groups in the society that seek to exploit religious differences to gain support by providing their own agenda. They may target religious sites such as masjids, religious scholars²⁵ or communities to deepen the tensions and form violent clashes, which benefit them obviously.

²³ AVIS WELLIUM, 2016, REPORT, conflict studies in swat valley. UK research report. P 7-8

²⁴ Personal interview: Maulana zakirullah haqqani, shangla district, april 04 2022

²⁵ Many religious scholars were killed by Taliban, when they resist them or did not follow their roles.

- Land issues: swat was forcefully occupied by yousufzai pukhtuns in fifteenth century, and forms their own government in the region. The people who actually own this area were scattered to other areas. When the swat becomes a state, the ruler of swat only allotted lands to yousufzai pukhtuns, which created a sense of marginalization in non-pukhtuns. These land lords were highly targeted during Taliban rule, thus they started the re-allocation of the land. This behavior of talibans made them more popular among the locals.

As I discussed earlier that after the yousufzais intervention to the region made Gujjars deprived of the basic facilities, their land were forcefully taken by pukhtuns , and thus this marginalization made them more vulnerable to militant ideologies.²⁶

4.2.6 Role of women:

Understanding the drivers of conflict in malakand division, the role of women and role of radio transmissions were same. Because the mullah radio used the FM radio to deliver his emotional speeches, and in the society this was the women who impressed by that speeches the most. Women in the society were highly impressed with mullah fazlullah, and when he advised them to support the cause of Taliban economically, many women in the society give their lands and their gold to Taliban. which obviously strengthen the militant organization.

As Taliban banned the women education, so the women were given ample time to listen to mullah radio. Taliban exploit that soft corner and advised women to convince their families to join TNSM because it is sawab. Taliban also directed women to through stones at army vehicles when they are into their areas.²⁷ Thus it is obvious that there were a great impact of mullah radio. That's why some locals says that he had an undeniable charisma, that he convinced people very easily. They also promoted their cause by selling their CDs and DVDs.

²⁶ Khalid A and Helge L (6, 2010) Swat: Main Causes of the Rise of Militancy, Norwegian Institute for International Affairs (NUPI) is collaborating with JSTOR. P 3-4

²⁷ Khalid A and Helge L (6, 2010) Swat: Main Causes of the Rise of Militancy, Norwegian Institute for International Affairs (NUPI) is collaborating with JSTOR. P 4-5

4.3 Affects Of Terrorism In The Region:

The impact of terrorism in the Malakand Division such as in the areas of Swat, Dir, and Buner has been profound and far-reaching. Some of the key effects of terrorism in the region are as follows.

4.3.1 Loss of Human Lives: although Pakistan has suffered from militancy more but here I will talk about the Malakand Division specifically. Terrorism in the region has resulted in the tragic loss of countless lives, including civilians, security officials, religious scholars, and many students. These losses were due to suicide bombings, targeted attacks, and armed clashes. This situation created an atmosphere of fear and insecurity among the local population of the region. An interviewer said that any one who resists Taliban or speaks against them were killed or abducted. He said that I still remember the tragic loss of my father who was publicly killed at Nishat Chowk Swat, because he refused to help them. "My father was a police officer and these militants want him to be with them in fight against the state, and to train the newly recruited militants, he refused that, and was taken to Nishat Chowk where he was slaughtered publicly. We went there to receive the dead body but they refused to give that to us, and after 10 to 15 days they give the dead body. I am unable to come out of that trauma till now."²⁸ His uncle was also slaughtered publicly after that. Many bomb attacks were occurred in the region. In another interview with a police officer who survived the attack on their post during that time, he stated that armed militants entered our post at night and killed our 9 soldiers, however I escaped somehow and then I decided to quit as a police official.²⁹ These were just some of the examples. Hundreds of people like these were killed. Nishat Chowk was the main slaughtering point of militants, where they killed many govt officials and those who spoke against them. District Swat was the most affected district of Malakand Division, however Dir and Buner were also affected. Taliban did not want women education in the region, and thus attacked many women teachers and students. Attack on Malala is the most obvious among them, when masked gunmen attacked a school bus. Taliban later confirmed the attack on her, and called her the advocate of western ideology.³⁰

²⁸ Personal interview: Nasir Khan, a resident of Tehsil Charbagh Swat (July 09 2022)

²⁹ Personal interview: Sher Khan, police official then at Kengar Galli Buner. (Dec 12 2021)

³⁰ Walsh Declan (Oct 9 2012) Taliban Gun Down Girl Who Spoke Up for Rights. The New York Times. P 03

4.3.2 Displacement and Internal Displacement:

The wave of terrorism in the region has led to significant internal displacement. Many families and communities have been forced to flee their homes due to militant activities, military operations, and the resulting violence. “we were forced to vacate our homes due to military operations ahead, however the militants did not want us to leave the area because they had the plan of using us as a shield when the military arrives.”³¹ The displacement took place on large scale from the area and disrupted lives and placed immense strain on resources, infrastructure, and social cohesion.

4.3.3 Economic Impact: the economic impact of terrorism was also huge. It has severely impacted the local businesses, Industries such as tourism, agriculture, and trade. They all have been negatively affected. An interviewer said that we had the business of hoteling at Mingora swat, but due to militancy we vacate the area and when after militancy we went there, everything was flattened and we suffered a loss of up to many crores³².

The insecurity and violence in the region have deterred tourists and investors for many years which ultimately lead to job losses, reduced income opportunities, dependency on government and economic decline. The destruction were huge due to militancy or military operations thereafter. Because most of the infrastructure had been demolished which includes schools, hospitals, and business centers, this demolition has increased the impact on economy very much.

4.3.4 Psychological Trauma:

The psychological trauma was obvious after such brutal incidents in the region. This cycle of violence and terrorism has taken a toll on the mental health and well-being of the local population. PTSD³³ occurred when someone Witnesses or experiences traumatic events, such as bombings or targeted attacks, as I discussed earlier that a police official quit his job when he narrowly escaped militant attack. The PTSD causes anxiety, depression, and other psychological disorders. Malala in her book talked about this situation, that till now I can't forget that incident of my life.³⁴ The

³¹ 28

³² Personal interview: majid khan, a renowned business man at Mingora swat. (jan 01 2022)

³³ post-traumatic stress disorder.

³⁴ Yousufzai malala, lamb chritina,(oct 08 2013 I am malala, Weidenfeld & Nicolson (UK) Little, Brown and Company (US) chap 21-22.

long-term impact of this trauma requires focused attention and support for mental health services.

4.3.5 Disruption of Education:

Militant activities have severely disrupted the education system in the Malakand Division. Attacks on students and schools, threats against teachers, and the closure of educational institutions due to prevailing militancy have disrupted the learning process and deprived children of their right to education. Girls education were affected especially, because Taliban banned them to go to schools or work in any institution. Before 2007 taliban only used FM radio for their cause but when they took control of many areas in 2007 they began a violent campaign against girls education in region. More than 900 girls schools and colleges were forced by these militants to close. and more than 120,000 girls students were stopped from going to school. More than 8,000 female teachers were unemployed by this step, and thus the rise of financial crises also occurred in the region. The situation was so stressful and traumatic that many girl students are still not come out of that trauma.³⁵

4.3.6 Social and Cultural Degradation:

Cultural and social norms of a society cannot be denied, also termed as custom and traditions. Huntengton suggests that Culture contributes much to conflict and conflict resolution, or in other words cultures and conflicts are related to each other. Some cultures have positive impacts while others have negative and drastic impacts. So it is hard to define a culture unless you saw the history of that culture.³⁶

Terrorism highly affects social and cultural norms of malakand division. cultural landmarks in the region had been targeted by the militants on a larger scale, such as ban on cultural dance and demolishing of hujras. Religious sites, and historical heritage had also been demolished by these militants which leads to the loss of cultural treasures and the erosion of community identity. The imposition of extremist militant ideologies and restrictions on personal freedoms has disrupted traditional ways of life, these extremist ideologies vanishes the personal freedom, cultural expression and pluralism with in the society.

³⁵ Human rights watch, (March 27, 2017) Pakistan: Attacks on Schools Devastate Education,p 02

³⁶ Avis, W. (2016). Drivers of conflict in the Swat Valley, Pakistan. *GSDRC*. Retrieved April, 15, 2018.

Due to long wave of militancy in the region crafts and local industries had been highly affected. This ultimately produces unemployment and financial crises in the society. Also the terrorism can result in the displacement of people, so it is very hard for displaced people to maintain social networks and cultural practices. Because the displacement leads to lack of mutual support.

Terrorism often break the social cohesion. Because people of the society did not trust each other any more due to fear caused by terrorism.³⁷ This leads to loss of collective identity, such as I mentioned earlier that hujra culture has already been endanger or vanished in some areas.

So the impacts of terrorism in malakand division were huge and can not be neglected. That was the most challenging time in the history of the region. However efforts were made by the government to address the issues but the loss is so big that it cannot be addressed so easily.

4.4 Peace Accords And Role Of TTP:

Many peace talks and accords happened between TNSM and government but some actions from Taliban trigger the military operations in malakand division. First of all the TNSM break the accord in 2001 and send hundreds of fighters across the border to fight US in their war against terror campaign. Mullah fazlullah was involved in operating the 30 illegal radio channels in the area, in which he was propagating the radical ideologies, and inciting people to start an arm conflict against state because of its western policies, and its tilt towards US. The most important one among them were the starting of *jihad* campaign by mullah fazlullah against the Pakistan army in 2007. Against all peace talks fazlullah embarked an attack on girls school and set up his own courts and *sharia nizam* under the umbrella of TTP, so at the end of 2007 he had much of the administrative control of district swat, and tending to spread it towards district buner and DIR.

Same peace agreement occurs in 2008, when the government agreed with Taliban on a 16 point agreement³⁸, in which sufi Muhammad and fazlullah were allowed to return to swat. Another point of the deal was disarmament of Taliban fighters in the area,

³⁷ Personal interview: prof mahmood khan, govt college daggar buner (feb 13 2022)

³⁸ Khattak, D. (2012). Reviewing Pakistan's peace deals with the Taliban. *CTC Sentinel*, 5(9), 11-13.

after many days the militants refused to surrender, and hence the agreement breaks down, two months after the peace deal in June 2008. Because the militants wanted the security forces to leave the area, and termed their presence as an agreement breaker.

Months after the break down of the agreement the Taliban gained control of the larger area of Swat again, they started attacks on government installations and officials, thousands of girls were forced out of colleges and schools. Operation Rah-e-Haq was launched to control the situation. This was one of the dark chapters in the history of the region. During the conflict infrastructure was demolished on a larger scale and many people were beheaded by militants.

The provincial government stepped in through *nizam e adal* regulations to stop the violence in the region.³⁹ This was part of the chain of peace agreements, took place in February 2009.

4.4.1 NIZAM-E-ADAL regulations and Expanding Horizons:

The agreement of *nizam e adal* regulations ended in a month just like the previous one, because of TTP rigidity in tackling the situation. Otherwise this would be the end of conflict if TTP had not broken the agreement.

At first their spokespersons start blaming the government of Pakistan and its policies, and also made some blunt statements about Pakistan army, they called Pakistan un-Islamic and western impressed.

Secondly a video surfaced showing a young woman being publicly flogged by the Taliban.⁴⁰ This incident took place after the TTP gained significant influence in the Swat region following the implementation of Nizam-e-Adl Regulations in February 2009. Nizam-e-Adl Regulations were a controversial peace deal reached between the Pakistani government and the TTP in Swat. Under this agreement, the government agreed to implement Islamic Shariah law in the whole region but it did not safeguard the rights of women. That's why this peace accord was highly criticized both in Pakistan and internationally. Critics suggested that it gave the Taliban enormous power and endangered human rights, notably those of women and minorities. They were concerned that the Taliban would exploit the restrictions to impose their rigid

³⁹ Nizam e adal regulations was part of the chain of peace agreements, took place in February 2009.

⁴⁰ BURKE J. (06 2009) Taliban and Pakistan officials agree on permanent ceasefire in Swat valley THE Guardian.

interpretation of Islamic law, limiting personal liberties and undermining women's rights.⁴¹ The public flogging of a young woman in Swat became a symbol of the Taliban's harsh and violent behavior. They exploited the Nizam-e-Adl Regulations. The footage of the flogging went viral on Pakistan's mainstream media, causing a widespread controversy and criticism. This incident fueled a debate about the human rights violation in Pakistan and government approach towards militancy.

The Third error in judgment occurred by the TTP were perhaps the most important one. Fazalullah's TTP start Positioning its Fighters in Surrounding Areas⁴² after the implementation of Nizam-e-Adl Regulations in Swat. This move of TTP signaled the spread of their influence beyond Swat and indicated its intention to expand its control to neighboring regions. The physical presence of Taliban forces in these areas raised concerns among the military, civilian establishments, and the Pakistani public, as it indicated a potential territorial expansion of the armed TTP's activities. Some people called it an existential threat to the country, and thus the government start a military operation to vanish this insurgency in the region.

4.5 State actions against terrorism:

The Pakistani government has taken several actions to eradicate terrorism and militancy from the region. Which include military operations, border management and intelligence based operations IBOs.

4.5.1 Military operations:

Military operations are organized and managed movement or action by the armed forces, used for both training and combat. Military operations are the military responses taken by a state to changing circumstances. These all are part of a military strategy to deal with any problems and maintain control of the environment in the nation's best interests.

As It has been discussed earlier that due to ineffective local government and judicial system, the TNSM and TTP emerged as a political force in the area, which later challenges the writ of the state.so to restore the state writ and long term peace and

⁴¹ Human rights watch(April 15, 2009)Pakistan: Swat Deal Grave Threat to Rights, Ordinance Should Be Reversed and Abusive Taliban Leaders Held Accountable.

⁴² Districts of DIR and BUNER.

stability, it was decided by armed forces of the country to launch an effective military operation against that insurgency.

4.5.1.1 Operation Rah-e-Rast:

Operation Rah-e-Rast was launched in April 2009 in response to militant insurgency and growing influence of the TTP in district Swat and surrounding areas of BUNER and DIR. Several factors and events contributed to the decision to initiate the military operation, it was probably the first major military operation against Taliban militants in malakand division, results in a larger number of people migrated from the area.

However many other operations were launched by military against radicalization, but that were of low intensity than rah e rast. As I discussed earlier that there was a record expansion of militancy in the region⁴³. TTP expanded from swat to neighboring districts of BUNER and DIR and start implementing their extremist ideologies there. Thus in response the Pakistani army used heavy weapons to bring back the charm of the area.

4.5.1.1.1 Background:

The signing of swat accord and NIZAM E ADAL regulations in 2009 were of great importance. Because the government of Pakistan had agreed with TTP on implementation of sharia laws in the region, and in turn want TTP fighters dis armament, but the TTP leadership did not fulfill that agreements, and instead used this opportunity to strengthen their presence and expand their influence to neighboring districts of Buner and Dir. They gained significant control over region, exploiting the peace deals, and imposed their strict interpretation of Islamic law and start carrying out violent acts against civilians⁴⁴ and security forces. Thus the government's implementation of Nizam-e-Adl Regulations had failed to curtail the TTP's activities. Along with their expansion to the surrounding areas they started human violations on a big scale, the public flogging of a women was the one who embarked a public outcry. Many human rights organizations started compelling the government to take action against the militants.

⁴³ BURKE J. (06 2009) Taliban and Pakistan officials agree permanent ceasefire in Swat valley THE Guardian.

⁴⁴ Which I discussed earlier, In which they were involved in a public flogging g of a women.

The primary objective of Operation Rah-e-Rast was to counter the Taliban's growing influence in malakand division and to restore the writ of the state. The government aimed to establish law and order in the region by driving the militants out of the area.

In the light of all the above security threats, government of Pakistan decided to launch Operation Rah-e-Rast and drove this curse out of the country. This operation involved a large-scale military offensive, with the Pakistan Army deploying a large number of troops and employing air and ground operations to target the TTP militants in swat, buner and DIR districts at once. The operation aimed to eliminate militant strongholds, disrupt their command structure, and push them out of populated areas, because they were continually trying to use the locals as human shield. The operation made success in weeks after its launching, as after many weeks Pakistan army claimed that about 1600 terrorists were hunted down, and many others were forced to eliminate the area. Army successfully dismantled their networks with in a short span of 60 days.⁴⁵

4.6 IMPACT OF MILITARY OPERATIONS:

The impact of military Operations were huge not only on militants but on the local population as well. Operation Rah-e-Rast achieved significant success in pushing back the TTP from their major strongholds in district swat and BUNER. The military retake the control of key towns and strategic locations, forcing many TTP leaders and fighters to flee the region. Several high-profile Taliban figures were killed or arrested during the operation. During this brutal conflict between the army and militants, malakand division suffered a lot. if talk about the education sector in the region hundreds of schools were demolished by militants or as a result of armed conflict.⁴⁶

The success of Operation Rah-e-Rast was a big blow to the TTP's efforts of establishing a stronghold in the region. When they took control of a strategically important district BUNER, the speculations emerged that they will attack Islamabad from there, also this was an existential threat to Pakistan and a question about its territorial integrity. But it was the success of military operation that they were retreated and their strongholds were demolished. Despite some of the initial success in

⁴⁵ Afridi, M. K., Yousufi, M., & Khan, M. (2014). Military operation as a response to terrorism: A case study of Malakand division Pakistan. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, 5(20), 2000.

⁴⁶ Yousufi, M., & Islam, F. U. (2017). A Critical Analysis of Terrorism and Military Operations in Malakand Division (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa). *Global Social Sciences Review*, 2(2), 109-121.

military operations, The TTP and other terrorist groups continued to represent a substantial threat to the country's peace and stability, prompting additional military operations in succeeding years. Overall, Operation Rah-e-Rast highlighted the government's determination to defeat the Taliban while also protecting civilian lives and rights in the Malakand Division. It did, however, underscore the challenges of dealing with militancy and the need for ongoing attempts to address the root causes of extremism in order to secure long-term peace in the region.

However the militancy were not completely eradicated from the region, and local people raised this concern. After operation in 2009 many militants went to their hideouts in surrounding areas of swat and again start targeting the govt infrastructure and military officials gradually, also enjoyed support from across the border. In an incident in 2012 they attacked school girls publically in a crowded bazar of swat and malala yousafzai with several others got injured⁴⁷.

So on and off the battle against militancy continued in malakand division for many years after operation rah e rast. During the battle approximately 2.7 million people fled the area and settled in other parts of KP either in government IDP camps or in government schools.

At the end of 2010 these IDPs start returning to their homeland as the then prime minister yousuf raza gilani announced that the operation had concluded⁴⁸, and rehabilitation activities will start soon. Rehabilitation was the top priority because they returned but everything was gone as the fight destroyed private and public property and infrastructure.

⁴⁷ (2012) Malala Yousafzai: Pakistan activist, 14, shot in Swat, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia>

⁴⁸ Shah, A. (2018). TALIBANIZATION AND MILITARY OPERATION RAH-E-RAST; THE FINAL KNOCKBACK IN SWAT. *Pakistan Journal of Society, Education and Language (PJSEL)*, 4(2), 142-154.

CHAPTER: 5

5.1 Building Toward Peace and Stability - Post-Conflict Rehabilitation Efforts in Malakand Division.

As I already discussed in the previous chapters that the government of Pakistan firstly attempted to contain the militants through dialogue, but when the situation seemed dangerous, then the government decided to launch a military operation in the region, in early 2009. This operation caused an internal migration of the large proportion of the society. It asserts huge impact on the local economy as well as infrastructural and physical losses had been caused.

Following the traumatic period of armed conflict in Malakand Division, there was need for rehabilitation efforts to guarantee long-term peace and stability in the region. Thus after the conflict attention changes towards the mission of rehabilitation activities. This Chapter aims to present a complete review of the post-conflict rehabilitation efforts, putting light on the initiatives, strategies and obstacles encountered in reconstructing the social fabric and restoring prosperity and socioeconomic success in the region.

After the war numerous stakeholders, including the government of Pakistan, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and foreign organizations, worked together to meet the urgent needs of the devastated society as a whole, because once the battle overs everything was affected including the infrastructure and societal norms as well. This chapter examines into these entities and diverse efforts to heal the scars caused by the battle and light the path for a brighter future in the region.

The Pakistani government played a vital role in spearheading the rehabilitation process in the region, introducing numerous policies and programs aimed at restoring peace and stability. The government's initiatives, from reconstructing demolished infrastructure and schools to providing basic services and livelihood assistance were critical in creating a suitable climate for post-conflict rehabilitation.

Along with the governmental efforts for the rehabilitation in the region, various non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and individuals come forward to contribute their knowledge and support. Their initiatives focused specific needs such as psychosocial

help for traumatized communities, livelihood training, and community development projects. These basic activities were critical in promoting social integration and encouraging the local population of the region to take an active role in their own restoration after the conflict.

Additionally some international organizations with their resources and experience in post-conflict rehabilitation played a vital role in supporting these rehabilitation efforts. Collaboration between the Pakistani government, NGOs, and these international organizations granted a balanced approach that included a wide range of rehabilitation activities. That includes assistance to refugees, community-based programs and sustainability projects in the affected region.

This chapter looks at the overall effects of these rehabilitation programs, which are all specifically designed to promote healing and promote peace in the region. But are the local people satisfied with these efforts? that is the main question, that's why some interviews from the local populace has been included to study the in-depth effect of the programs in helping the common people. It is also sought to uncover the best practices that can be copied and problems that call for creative solutions by critically evaluating the successes and failures of these collaborative efforts. By examining post-conflict rehabilitation in the Malakand Division, it becomes evident that this phase entails more than just the restoration of tangible structures; it also entails the restoration of community-wide optimism, trust, and interpersonal understanding.

5.2 Civil-Military Relations in Post-Conflict Rehabilitation: Implications for Peace building in the Malakand Division

As a result of the conflict in the Malakand Division, civil-military relations have greatly influenced the rehabilitation effort and its success. Coordinating operations, preserving security, and carrying out rehabilitation programs all depend on tight cooperation between civilian and military officials. However, the nature of these relationships in the region might affect the recovery period in ways that are beneficial and detrimental.

However the relation between military and civilian aid groups is a difficult one and has less compatibility, because of their objectives. The primary objective of the military is to de radicalize the area and stabilize the situation, but the civilian aid

groups are meant to be help with the uplifting of the society through its rehabilitation programs.⁴⁹ But in post conflict rehabilitation these two works parallel to achieve the goals, because the military itself accepted the notion that military means are not the sole agent to bring peace and stability to the region, because it needs the support of the civilian instruments to fulfill the objectives. So for the peace building after the conflict it is necessary for the both actors to keep in touch with each other from decision making to their activities on the ground. Civil military relations are a complex one and there should be the value of each other's decision and no one should be given the edge over the other.⁵⁰

Understanding the civil military relations in Pakistan is also a difficult one, because there are many martial laws in the country due to weak governance and political system. An effective civil-military relation is the fundamental prerequisite for a truly democratic system. An elected civilian administration has complete authority over the armed forces in all democratic nations. In Pakistan, however, the balance of power has alternated between the two; a decade of civilian ascendancy was followed by a decade of military administration. Many reasons contributed to it such as Ineffective political leadership, flimsy political parties and institutions, the growing influence of the civil-military bureaucracy, major challenges to national security, and a propensity for using the military to support civil power are all factors contributing to this annual reshuffle.

There are numerous causes of democratic failure in Pakistan, such as a delayed constitution in the country early days, which created a space of uncertainty and mistrust among the institutions. Also persistent military coups in the country suffered the democratic system a lot, which began in 1958 and there have been three successful attempts, so Pakistan has spent several decades under military rule.⁵¹ These frequent military coups, never allowed the country to adopt positive political principles. Since the very first day, the people of Pakistan have faced more military rule than that of civilians or democratic. These military dictators have discolored the democratic norms to prevail in the country. They have trimmed and amended the

⁴⁹ Brzoska, M., & Ehrhart, H. G. (2008). Civil-Military Cooperation in Post-Conflict Rehabilitation and Reconstruction. Recommendations for Practical Action. *Development and Peace Foundation, November*.

⁵⁰ 49

⁵¹ Gulzar chand (mar 2010) Civil-military relations in Pakistan. CSS Forums.html. (p 4,5)

constitution for their personal and self-interests, as a result, the seed of a great democratic culture, which were sowed by Muhammad ali Jinnah never appeared to turn into a strong tree. which is not good for the future of the country.

Corruption is also a major problem of the country because due to previous report of transparency international Pakistan is one of the most corrupt countries in the world⁵².so incompetent and corrupt leaders have never allowed democracy to flourish in this country. Since the demise of the great leader (jinnah), the absence of mature and skilled leadership has been the major issue for the country. Henceforth every one worked for their personal gain and thus affected the democracy in the country and its image worldwide.

Illiterate masses and lack of education in the country also affected the civil military relations in the country. These illiterate people, have only contributed to collapsing the political system of the country. So a nation with such a low rate of literacy can only breed a frail political and democratic culture.

Another problem is of political disharmony with in the country, as there is always an ongoing conflict between different political parties, because their ultimate goal is power seeking. so political disharmony is proving to be harmful for the democratic mores. All the major political powers are busy in point scoring and propaganda game, by using their soft powers perfectly.⁵³ These political parties after electing are least concerned with addressing the problems of the nation, and hence, a sense of deprivation and not getting much among the people is replicating immensely. Without cooperation and unity between the political supreme, the dream for a durable democratic state would remain an imagination.

In malakand division the civil military relations are also on bumpy road. Firstly in 2011 some amendments were made that give military more powers over the civilian government and thus they launched many projects and contributed to many actions which fall under the domain of civilian setup, such as reconstruction and rehabilitation activities in the conflict affected areas.

⁵² (2022) A report by transparency internationals. Corruption index.

<https://www.transparency.org/en/cpi/2022>

⁵³ Arsalan F (APR 2013) A SWOT analysis of Pakistan's political parties. <https://tribune.com.pk/article>.

So by having all these problems the civil military relations with in the country are affected much, and thus the military got an upper hand over the civilian setup, which increases the problems for the country. There are positive as well as negative impacts of the civil military relations which are as follows.

5.2.1 Positive Aspects:

- **Security and Stability:** In post-conflict environments, the presence of military can give the local populace a sense of security, allowing development and humanitarian organizations to function more freely and successfully. Without the worry of violence or disturbance because the rehabilitation initiatives cannot take place without a stable environment.⁵⁴ That's why many NGOs were given the task to perform there rehabilitation activities within the malakand division after the conflict.
- **Logistical Support:** The military's capacity for logistics can be extremely helpful in getting humanitarian aid to affected communities, reaching out to inaccessible locations, and providing basic services.⁵⁵ Their assistance can help in speeding up the distribution of aid and essentials in the post conflict region.
- **Infrastructure Rehabilitation:** Rebuilding damaged infrastructure, including roads, bridges, and structures, can benefit from the military's engineering knowledge. In order to regain connectivity and make essential services more accessible, for this the military help is very necessary because of their trained personals.
- **Community Engagement:** Understanding the needs of local communities, the interaction of military with locals is very important. Because establishing a link of trust and confidence can promote more effective cooperation and coordination among the military, civilian authorities, and the conflict affected people.

Despite these positive effects, a successful transition to civilian-led rehabilitation and development depends on finding a balance between military involvement and civilian power. Protecting the civilian aspect of the rehabilitation process while utilizing the military's assets in the early aftermath of battle entails effective management and

⁵⁴ Chaudhry, A. A. (2015). *Evolving Civil-Military Relations*. World Times.

⁵⁵ Personal interview: hamid khan, assistant director PDMA, Peshawar. (10/05/022)

collaboration structures. For the Malakand Division to achieve long-term reconciliation, post-conflict rehabilitation must be approached comprehensively, and with the collaboration of many stakeholders.

5.2.2 Challenges:

- **Overdependence on Military:** There might occasionally be unintended consequences when the military is overused for humanitarian and development goals. It might make rehabilitation efforts less likely to be continued over the long term since it would blur the borders separating military and civilian agencies.
- **Human Rights Concerns:** Specific rules and norms are needed to ensure that the military's involvement in rehabilitation initiatives complies with human rights and international humanitarian law. The public's trust might be damaged in the process and the road to recovery blocked by claims of human rights concerns, because it can hinder the credibility of the whole process.⁵⁶
- **Civilian Capacity Building:** the overdependence on military will produce more problems for the development of the society. Because the presence of military is itself a question on the credibility of civilian powers. So it is necessary for the civilian setup to take over the rehabilitation activities gradually after the conflict however a continued military presence in the rehabilitation activities suffers the development of a resilient and self-sustaining society.
- **Risk of Militarization:** In post-conflict environments the presence of military is itself a risk for the society because a prolonged military presence runs the risk of further militarizing society, which could unintentionally feed a cycle of violence and postpone the shift to civilian-led rehabilitation and recovery of the region.⁵⁷

In summary the relations between the civil and military have both helped and hindered post-conflict reconstruction efforts in the conflict affected area of Malakand Division. It may be crucial for the military to help with security, logistics, and infrastructure reconstruction in the immediate aftermath. Nevertheless, extreme

⁵⁶ Personal interview: Dr sadiq ur rehman. Professor at daggar college, district BUNER. (13/02/022)

⁵⁷ Brzoska, M., & Ehrhart, H. G. (2008). Civil-Military Cooperation in Post-Conflict Rehabilitation and Reconstruction. Recommendations for Practical Action. *Development and Peace Foundation, November*.

caution must be exercised to avoid undermining civilian authority and long-term growth that is driven by the civilian population for the betterment of the society in a good manner. Long-term recovery and reconstruction efforts can be launched in the region with the help of a balanced strategy that combines both military and civilian authority and a clearly laid out transition plan.

5.3 Theorizing the concept:

Rehabilitation itself is a broad term and has many meanings and interpretations in various fields of study across the globe. But here I will be more specific to post conflict rehabilitation activities in malakand division, many theories and reconciliation models will suit it, but I will be specific to some of the most suited ones in the context of malakand division. The discussion switches to conceptualizing and theorizing the intricate process of post-conflict rehabilitation in the Malakand Division. This section looks at a variety of theoretical angles that can be utilized to evaluate the intricate nature of rehabilitation efforts in depth. After looking at peace building theories, reconciliation frameworks some of the conflict resolution models, and finally integrating the most important theory of structural functionalism, a complex understanding emerges about how rehabilitation contributes to long-lasting peace and social cohesion in the region. The chapter aims to explain the theoretical underpinnings that guide the real attempts to restore and rebuild the region following violence using this comprehensive approach.

The transition phase is the most difficult one everywhere after the conflict. If talk about the malakand division the process of post conflict rehabilitation is of prime importance in bringing the prosperity back to the region. Because the desire of lasting peace in the region is at the core of post conflict rehabilitation. Peace building theories such as that of liberal peace building approach put light on resolving the structural injustices, encouraging good governance and boosting economic development in order to stop the conflict from reemergence in the region⁵⁸. As I discussed earlier that bad governance was one of the primary reason of bringing the militancy to the region, because the people wanted a system of justice, and the TTP exploits that demands of the society and strengthen their ideology further. Critical peace building approaches address the root causes of the conflict in the region and

⁵⁸ Natorski, M. (2011). *The European Union peacebuilding approach: Governance and practices of the instrument of stability* (Vol. 111, p. 37). DEU.

problems of the marginalized voices of the society. so in the light of these theories the chapter focuses on how rehabilitation activities lay foundation to long lasting peace in the region.

Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) is a process by which the combatants of the conflict are supported to lay down their weapons and indulge to the society. DDR is a concept that brings the activities of post conflict together. Such as disarmament, demobilization, rehabilitation, reconciliation, reconstruction, reinsertion and reintegration, because it had been evolved over the time.⁵⁹ Post conflict rehabilitation will be called a successful one if it is based on reconciliation. Because the use of reconciliation ideas such as transformative reconciliation address the hectic process of healing and producing unity among the divided groups. The chapter gives an oversight to the past wrongs that was the reason of conflict in the region in the light of reconciliation frameworks.

Conflict resolution models are also used to study the rehabilitation comprehensively. Interest-based approaches identify common goals and win-win solutions, whereas transformative approaches concentrate on the fundamental changes in attitudes and actions that lead to reconciliation. Power-based models draw attention to how important it is to address power dynamics and inequities. The chapter examines how rehabilitation programs that have been modified to the unique conditions of the Malakand Division negotiate problems and develop solutions that support long-term stability.

5.3.1 Structural Functionalism in Post-Conflict Rehabilitation:

Structural functionalism focuses on the institutions and different structures in the society, that how they all work together. In sociology and other social sciences it is a school of thought that holds that each institution, relationship, role, and set of norms that together make up a society serves a purpose and is necessary for the survival of all the others as well as of society as a whole. A French social scientist Émile

⁵⁹ Knight, W. A. (2008). Disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration and post-conflict peacebuilding in Africa: An overview. *African security*, 1(1), 24-52.

Durkheim argued that structures in the society are interdependent and this obviously caused the social unity in return.⁶⁰

This theory may be applied to the post conflict rehabilitation in malakand division, because as it stated that how all structures in the society work together for the unity and betterment of the society. According to this theory every structure play its role in the betterment of the society, because society is seen as integrated whole where all the structures are interconnected. The structural functionalism paradigm allows us to see the rehabilitation process from a systemic perspective. Much as how societies maintain equilibrium through the interaction of connected institutions, rehabilitation initiatives serve as interrelated elements trying to restore equilibrium after the conflict. According to this idea, rehabilitation activities in the Malakand Division take into account a variety of factors, including promoting unity among people and correcting systemic failure, in order to further the wider objective of sustainable development and lasting peace.

If talk about the post conflict rehabilitation in the region then structural functionalism is the best theory to fit here, because it can provide a unique perspective on how rehabilitation efforts by different stakeholders contribute to restoring stability, fulfilling societal needs and promoting long-term development⁶¹. Structural functionalism is a sociological theory that views society as a complex system where each part has a specific function that contributes to the overall equilibrium and stability of the system.

As I discussed earlier that Structural functionalism views societies as a complex system of interconnected structures that serve specific functions. Applying this theory to post-conflict rehabilitation in the Malakand Division shows that how rehabilitation efforts contribute to restoring the functional equilibrium of the region following the disruption caused by conflict. Rehabilitation activities in malakand division aim to restore essential functions which were disrupted by the conflict, such as education, health etc. these activities rebuild vital structures, restore public services, and make sure that essential components of the social system are once again operational.

⁶⁰ Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia (Invalid Date). structural functionalism. Encyclopedia Britannica.

⁶¹ Alexander, J. C. (1985). Introduction. In J. C. Alexander (Ed.), *Neo-Functionalism* (pp. 7–18). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Structural functionalism emphasizes the need for social cohesion to maintain equilibrium in the society. Such as in the context of the Malakand Division it is observed that how rehabilitation efforts foster social cohesion by promoting trust, cooperation, and shared goals among diverse communities that were affected by conflict. Integration of various groups of society is the core of functionalism. Rehabilitation initiatives integrate different groups of the society including IDPs and host communities⁶².

As I discussed earlier in the paper that systemic dysfunction may have contributed to conflict, such as marginalization in swat which results in kisan moment, then lack of justice in the society and inequality, these all were the contributing factors to the conflict and driving militancy to the region. Structural functionalism actually talks about this the social dysfunction disrupt equilibrium.

Structural functionalism focuses on the adaptive nature of societies. It is observed that how rehabilitation initiatives enhance community resilience, helping communities not only recover but also adapt to face future challenges.⁶³ Such as different initiatives were taken by the government to mold public opinion to not help militants in the future, because it will harm them. Post-conflict rehabilitation initiatives in the Malakand Division work together as interconnected parts to restore peace and stability in the region. This perspective can provide information about the contributions made by various rehabilitation initiatives to the overall recovery and growth of the area.

5.4 Assessing the Ravages: Damage Needs Assessment in the Malakand Division

Malakand division is a strategically important area with its neighborhood to FATA and its tough terrain. As I discussed earlier that post 9/11 situation was a tough one for Pakistan because the country had faced challenges from fundamentalist's militants who were specialized at guerilla tactics of war. Thus this asymmetric warfare started in malakand division as well, thus to achieve long term sustained peace the government of Pakistan launched military operations in the area.

⁶² Gangwar, S. (2021, May 25). Structural Functionalism: Definition, Theories and Criticism. Sociology Group. <https://www.sociologygroup.com/structural-functionalism-meaning-theories>. P(5-10)

⁶³ Kingsbury, N., & Scanzoni, J. (2009). Structural-Functionalism. In P. Boss, W. J. Doherty, R. LaRossa, W. R. Schumm, & S. K. Steinmetz (Eds.), *Sourcebook of Family Theories and Methods*. Springer.

After the conflict, the Malakand Division was left in a situation of disaster and turmoil. Post conflict Rehabilitation work needed a thorough understanding of the extent and kind of damage done to the community's infrastructure and overall well-being. In order to determine how much the conflict has shattered the daily life in malakand division, it is critical to understand the stages of damage needs assessment. By conducting a thorough evaluation, gathering data, and conducting analysis, this assessment set the scene for a focused and knowledgeable approach to monitoring rehabilitation programs. The task of rehabilitation demanded a comprehensive understanding of the extent and nature of the damage done to the infrastructure and social fabric of the region. In order to quantify the impact of conflict on all aspects of life in the Malakand Division, this topic gets into the crucial stage of damage needs assessment (DNA). This study sheds light on the difficulties encountered towards rehabilitation and revival by looking at the Damage Needs Assessment method. These rehabilitation processes serves as the foundation for long-term peace and stability in the Malakand Division.

There were several fatalities, injuries, and severe property damages as a result of the fight between the military and the militants. Homes, crops, cattle, hospitals, educational institutions, water supply and irrigation systems, government structures as well as commercial buildings like stores, hotels, and companies, all experienced varied degrees of destruction. Although after the military intervention many of the areas were got back from militants, but there were still a hint of militants in the hideouts nearby. As a first step to win back the trust of locals, the Pakistani government (GoP) lifted limitations on IDPs' return to home in July 2009. After their return to the region government started an early recovery procedure to meet their needs. Furthermore, attempts were made to gradually reestablish administrative control in the impacted settled districts. The administration tried to address the problems of returning people in best possible manner; they were supported by international organizations as well. Their humanitarian operations include anything from rescue missions to giving the IDPs supplies like tents, blankets, food, and water. The government also provided cash assistance, transportation, and basic food necessities to IDPs in order to help them return home until the end of December 2009. After spending years living in camps, internal refugees encounter a number of difficulties when they return to their home regions.

5.4.1 The Damage Needs Assessment:

After the conflict the government of Pakistan requested Asian development bank and World Bank to help them in formulating the damages done by the conflict in malakand division, to launch a rehabilitation drive for long term recovery. The primary strategic goal of executing the Damage Needs Assessment (DNA) in the region was to establish a favorable environment for prompt recovery and rehabilitation, which have been severely affected by the crisis. This also includes the facilitation and return of internally displaced persons (IDPs). Henceforth the government with the help of these international organizations assesses the extent of physical destruction caused by the crisis, formulated strategic plans at the sector level to promptly reinstate both public and private infrastructure. It also calculated the necessary funds for the immediate repair and rehabilitation of severely damaged facilities and services, as well as the restoration of hopes for long-term employment in the region.

As I mentioned earlier that rehabilitation process in malakand division was much hectic and complex, that's why the government of Pakistan requested the World Bank (WB) and the Asian Development Bank (ADB) to lead a methodical Post Crisis Needs Assessment (PCNA). With the help of Provincial Relief, Rehabilitation and Settlement Authority (PaRRSA)⁶⁴ the ADB and WB compile the data of post crises assessment. For the immediate recovery and rehabilitation the estimated cost were 856 million dollars for the whole malakand division. This cost covers all the sectors such as social, physical and productive sectors. Social sector is composed of livelihood, health and education, had the highest total needs out of total estimated costs found by the collective survey of ADB and WB.

According to ADB and WB report there were enormous effect on the social sector which are discussed as follows.

5.4.1.1 Education:

Around Malakand division, the conflict and its aftermath had a significant impact on schools, colleges, and other educational institutions. The interruption of the educational system and the eviction of both students and staff were the results of full

⁶⁴ The organization formed after the conflict to address the issues and developmental works in the region.

and partial damage to these structures. The physical infrastructure of education was hit badly and many facilities were left unused. The disruption to education occurred due to displacement of people from the region. The conflict in the area led to a large number of families fleeing their homes in search of safety to nearby areas. This upheaval affected the entire educational system in the region. The difficulty for displaced teachers and students to find alternative educational facilities led to a reduction in the general quality of education because of overcrowding, a lack of resources, and a sense of insecurity.

The education sector in five affected districts of malakand division incurred a substantial estimated cost of damage amounting to Rs. 3,040.5 million (equivalent to US\$38 million). During the time of crises the number of government schools in the conflict affected districts of malakand division was 5347. Many of the schools were damaged completely due to the conflict. In all these districts the most affected were that of district swat, having substantial amount of schools damaged.

Area	Total schools	Damaged	Completely damaged	Partially damaged
KP	5347	409	237	190 ⁶⁵

Figure. i

The table shows that how much education was affected due to conflict in the malakand division. Malakand's long-term educational interruptions not only denied people of their right to an education, but also had an impact on society as a whole. Young children had to deal with school interruptions, which might have long-term consequences including fewer economic opportunities, a higher susceptibility to extremist ideologies, and a torn social fabric. The educational setback highlighted the need for extensive efforts to rebuild schools and restore educational services in the region.

⁶⁵ PRELIMINARY DAMAGE AND NEEDS ASSESSMENT. (2009). ADB and WB. (2005). Preliminary damage and needs assessment.

In conclusion, the conflict in Malakand division had a severe impact on education. For the people of Malakand, it was vital to rebuild their knowledge, hope, and possibilities for a better future as part of the restoration and rebirth of education in the region.

5.4.1.2 Health:

The health care delivery system of Malakand Division has combined of public and private delivery system. But in my study the information is largely limited to public sector because of the unavailability of private sectors in the region. According to an Asian development bank report in 2009 there was notable estimation of damage with in the health sector. The damage occurred to health sector in malakand division was Rs. 502.04 million. This estimated damage covers a range of harm, such as destruction of buildings, houses, offices, furniture, and vehicles utilized in healthcare institutions. It is critical to remember that these estimations may understate the full extent of the damage because they do not take into consideration the potential impact on private healthcare organizations.⁶⁶

The majority of secondary health care facilities did not receive much harm as compared to other BHUs and CHs. However substantial amount of losses occurred to various types of health units. Notably, several Basic Health Units (BHUs) have suffered full or partial damage, while a few Civil Hospitals (CHs) and Rural Health Centers (RHCs) have suffered minor damage. Along with these destructions some smaller healthcare facilities, such as community health clinics and civil dispensaries also experienced varied degrees of devastation during the conflict.

The numbers of health care facilities damaged during conflict in the five most affected districts of malakand division are as follows.

⁶⁶ PRELIMINARY DAMAGE AND NEEDS ASSESSMENT. (2009). Immediate Restoration and Medium Term Reconstruction in Crisis Affected Areas. Asian Development Bank and World Bank for Government of Pakistan.

District/Agency	Number of Health Facilities	
	<i>Fully damaged</i>	<i>partially damaged</i>
Malakand Division		
Swat	6	12
Buner	1	21
Lower Dir	9	7
Upper Dir	3	3
Shangla	-	1
<i>Sub Total</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>44</i>

Figure-ii

The conflict in the Malakand Division has caused horrific destruction to the field of health. A substantial number of businesses suffered harm of varied intensities, which affected the whole health industry. During conflict the interruption to the health infrastructure including hospitals, clinics, and health centers, has undoubtedly made it more difficult to provide the local population with the essential medical services they require. This crisis has physically damaged healthcare institutions, but it has also had a substantial impact on the impacted individuals and their access to healthcare. The discovered damages serve as a sobering reminder of the urgent need for comprehensive and targeted steps to repair the health sector, emphasizing the importance of initiatives like the Damage Needs Assessment. Making sure that the road to recovery includes not only the physical reconstruction of facilities but also the thorough restoration of the population's health and well-being is imperative in order to patch up the healthcare delivery system in the Malakand Division.

5.4.1.3 Housing:

The political and security upheaval in malakand division had a profound and major impact on the communities living here. As I discussed in previous chapters that extremist groups and insurgents intentionally used private homes as strongholds or hideouts. With the help of such hideouts in remote areas of the division they rose to power and influence. Sadly, during the military operations, some of them occasionally became targets of government officials who turned these residences into bases for their operations that caused considerable damage to private residences. Although the aim of these actions were to restore stability in the region, but the tactics used by the

militants were harming the locals thus it also caused a large internal displacement. If talk about the KP and FATA as a whole surprisingly, 2 million IDPs were forced to leave their homes. This mass exodus evolved at an exceptional rate of pace and was one of the greatest movements of crisis-affected persons in recent history of the country. These refugees sought refuge in camps established by governmental bodies in the nearby districts, aid organizations, and private benefactors or sought protection with close relatives.

Armed forces and militants frequently engaged in combat in homes vacated by fleeing citizens, because the militants used these homes as their hideouts. The conflict severely destroyed private property. These complex natures of violence create major concerns about the survival and recovery of the affected community, displaced people, and disaster in the area. As I delve into the damaging repercussions of conflict in the Malakand Division, these complicated dynamics of destruction and rehabilitation will undoubtedly serve as a guide for my research.

Due to the conflict in malakand division thousands of houses were destroyed mainly in the five more affected districts of buner, shangla, swat, lower dir and upper dir. The table given below⁶⁷ summarizes the damage done to housing sector in the region.

Area	Number of Houses Damaged		
	<i>Completely Damaged</i>	<i>Partially Damaged</i>	<i>Total</i>
Swat	3,738	4,387	8,125
Buner	1,126	990	2,116
Shangla	292	373	665
Lower Dir	233	428	661
Upper Dir	545	1,102	1,647
<i>Sub-Total (KP)</i>	<i>5,934</i>	<i>7,280</i>	<i>13,214</i>

Figure-iii

During the conflict in malakand division, the chronicle of destruction left its mark on the fundamental structure of habitations. Previously humble homes were transformed

into strategic strongholds and hideouts of militants, as these extremist and insurgent groups grew, and the private walls of homes bore witness to covert operations and confrontations. A landscape scarred by violence and the remains of homes used as battlefields emerged as a result of increased military participation. Families were uprooted from their cherished homes and forced to go on an unprecedented migration, leaving behind empty houses that unintentionally served as the conflict's focal point, because of militants infiltration into these houses. The conflict in region left behind a painful story. the houses that was once a place of dreams becomes a battlefield. According to surveys done by international organizations district swat was the most affected one.

5.4.1.4 Agriculture and other sectors:

Apart from the three sectors discussed above, other sectors were also badly affected during conflict, such as that of agriculture, livelihoods, energy, transport etc. The Malakand Division located in the heart of NWFP has been a center of the complicated situations marked by militancy, insurgency, and subsequent military interventions. Militancy and then military operations has permanently altered the socioeconomic environment of the region, having an influence on crucial sectors such as agriculture, infrastructure, energy, and essential services.

The crisis had a considerable negative impact on Malakand Division's economy, which is highly dependent on agriculture. More than 80% of the local people are dependent on livestock husbandry and agriculture. the turmoil destroyed the livelihoods of numerous families. Large-scale military operations in the region disturbed daily living, loss of valuable cattle and forcing the abandonment of agricultural fields. The resulted dislocation resulted in the loss of thousands of small animals, adding to the load on an already fragile business. While crops like wheat, maize, and vegetables threatened damage, farmers were left to struggle with uncertainty and financial hardship.

As like other sectors of livelihoods and agriculture, the road infrastructure in the region also got substantial amount of damage due to the conflict, curtailing mobility and access. Bridges, drainage systems, and slope protection structures suffered damage, while road surfaces were destroyed by shelling and induced bombs. Tanks tracks scarred road formations, and temporary blockades hindered transportation all

over the region. This deteriorating connectivity not only hampered daily life but also impeded trade and economic development.

Water Supply and Sanitation systems also got extensive damage due to conflict. water supply schemes and water delivery industry were hugely affected that create the shortage of pure water in urban areas. The partial or complete damage to around 30% of water supply schemes had some influence on resident's access to clean water and sanitary amenities. Many hand pumps, wells, and safe springs that were crucial for the community's water requirements were contaminated or destroyed. The upheaval made the region's water supply and sanitary services worse and shaky, adding more to the population's daily hardships.

Energy and Power Supply were also affected due to crises. The difficulty of the situation was made worse by the disruption of the energy sector as the availability of electricity declined throughout the region. As malakand Division rely on transmission lines and grid stations run by PESCO but due to crises damages occurred to transmission and distribution networks hampered the regular flow of electricity around the five most affected districts of malakand division. This disruption impacted daily activities and business operations. Attempts to resume the power supply were slowed by security concerns, which made the region's energy-related issues worse.

To conclude it is observed that the Malakand Division has experienced a wide range of effects from militancy and operations, including disruption, displacement, and devastation. Despite these difficulties, the local populace tried their best for the betterment of the society and worked tirelessly to rebuild their lives and communities. Consolidated efforts by federal and provincial authorities, assisted by the donor community, were crucial in easing suffering, facilitating rehabilitation. As the theory of structural functionalism stats that different structures of the community often worked together for the betterment of their society, just like that in Malakand Division all these stakeholders worked together and drags the damaged society towards a more stable and prosperous future.

5.5 Reconstructing Hope: Comprehensive Rehabilitation Initiatives in the Malakand Division

Through the lens of damage needs assessment (DNA) it is observed that how much malakand division was affected by militancy and then military operations. The long conflict affected the social, political and economic structure of malakand division. Beside all the impacts discussed above, there was psychological impact on the locals as well. However the process of peace building in the region started directly after the returning of IDPs. Once the conflict and military operations over, the primary objective of government was the rehabilitation initiation in the region.

This topic will shed light on the rehabilitation initiatives after the devastation done by conflict, government of pakistan with the help of international organizations and NGOs spearheaded the process. Overall we witnessed a determined response towards the problems highlighted by damage needs assessment. These initiatives represent a comprehensive response to the multifaceted challenges unveiled; it was not just about restoring the physical structures but the social fabric, the educational foundations, the healthcare accessibility, and the economic opportunities as well. Number of initiatives undertaken across sectors, each with an ambition of doing well for community. . It was all about collaborative efforts, conducted with precision and dedication that bring the charm of the region again and peace and stability.

5.5.1 International Organizations' Role in Post-Conflict Rehabilitation of the Malakand Division:

After the conflict there were absolute chaos, thus international organizations and foreign allies comes ahead with an ambition to heal, rebuild and reconstruct malakand division. The vital role that international organizations played in the process of regional rehabilitation is discussed in this topic. These organizations used their resources, expertise and dedication to address the matter. This exploration by these organizations facilitated the revival of essential sectors in the region. Every initiative shows the ability of group effort to improve the Malakand Division, from the fields of education and healthcare to economic empowerment and infrastructural development. These international organizations played a diverse role ranging from their strategic planning and capacity building endeavors to their crucial contribution, to closing gaps that might have otherwise presented huge obstacles. It becomes clear as we move

through the stories of collaboration, creativity, and resiliency that these alliances go beyond providing financial help to become caring connections that enable communities to recover their future.

The engagement of international organizations is evidence of unity in diversity to attain long lasting peace and stability. It is a story that illustrates the power of world cooperation, the unbreakable spirit of social goodwill, and the incredible impact that can be made when people come together for a common goal. From cooperation by international organizations to the transformation in the Malakand Division, this topic observed their remarkable contributions. As we examine the programs they have supported, it is observed that the deep impact of international solidarity as well as the everlasting mark on region's path to renewal has left behind.

5.5.1.1 Friends of Democratic Pakistan (FODP): Global Support for Rehabilitation.

Launch of FODP forum occurred to support large number of IDPs in the region. This forum was comprised of developed countries and blocs including US, UK and EU. Significant fundings were generated for assisting IDPs. After the conflict Pakistani officials meet the FODP to seek funds for malakand rehabilitation project. After the damage assessment by WB and ADB the FODP decides to give pakistan a fund of worth 2.5 billion dollars to address the damage done due to militancy in malakand region.

5.5.1.2 United Nations (UN) and Multilateral Agencies: Humanitarian Efforts

UN agencies were among the first to initiate operations in the region, their Collaborative efforts for aid, rebuilding, and reconstruction in the region were remarkable. In response to the critical situation, the United Nations swiftly initiated a flash appeal, urgently calling for a substantial funding amount of \$680 million in May. This appeal aimed to address the pressing needs and challenges that emerged from the crisis. Among the allocated funds, an initial estimate indicated that a significant portion of \$54 million was designated to be directed towards the early recovery plan.⁶⁸

⁶⁸ ("Pakistan: \$1bn Appeal for Malakand," 2009)

Specific agencies involved were The UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF), the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and IOM (International Organization for Migration).

UN world food program WFO also made significant contributions to the crises in Malakand division. In May 2009, after the military operation was launched in response to the terrorism, due to which more than 2.2 million people flee the region, and resided in nearby districts of Mardan, Swabi, Nowshera, and Peshawar. So to meet the requirements of both camp residents and those living outside, the World Food Programme (WFP) was instrumental in delivering food aid to Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs),

Working in collaboration with the Provincial Disaster Management Authority (PDMA).

WFP initially established a network of 58 food distribution outlets across different districts. These outlets facilitated the distribution of a significant amount of food, totaling 266,221 metric tons, to the affected population in Malakand Division. The aid packages provided essential sustenance, containing items such as 10 kilograms of sugar, flour, and rice, along with pulses, and sometimes additional items like matchboxes and milk powder.⁶⁹ This effort aimed to meet the immediate nutritional needs of both in-camp and off-camp IDP families.

Just like other UN organizations, IOM (International Organization for Migration) helped the IDPs, either by their collaborative efforts for rehabilitation with others or by appealing the international donors to help IDPs. IOM in collaborative efforts with local contractors initiated many projects for IDPs. These projects were part of Pakistan Humanitarian Response Plan (PHRP) 2009, supported by multiple donors. These projects focused on infrastructure rehabilitation and rebuilding efforts in Swat, Buner, Dir, and Malakand districts, with the goal of supporting displaced families returning to their original homes.

The projects cover various areas such as Establishment of a drinking water supply schemes, Surface treatment of roads and Construction of link roads in different remote areas of Buner. Similarly In Lower and Upper Dir, damaged Government Girls High School and Government Technical college were reconstructed along with the

⁶⁹ WFP OUTLETS FOR MALAKAND IDPs. (02,2010) <https://www.nation.com.pk/02-May-2010/wfp-closes-down-food-outlets-for-malakand-idps>

Construction of a flood protection wall in many areas.⁷⁰ Similar rehabilitation activities were also performed by IOM in swat and malakand districts, ranging from Construction of a concrete road and drains to Rehabilitation of water supply schemes. Unicef also constructed IT labs in different colleges and higher secondary schools with the help of funds provided by Saudi government.

Each project was overseen by a committee consisting of IOM field staff, district administration representatives, and influential community members. The purpose of these committees is to address security concerns during implementation and ensure community involvement. Apart from these IOM initiatives and rehabilitation efforts it also appeals international donors to contribute to IDPs rehabilitation.

5.5.1.3 World Bank's Multi-Donor Trust Fund (MDTF): Financial Support

The World Bank were also present in support of Pakistan at that difficult period of time. It established MDTF for conflict-affected areas, so that donors from across the globe donate in the fund, to support rehabilitation. The round 1 projects of MDTF were started in 2010 to support areas which come out of crises and conflicts. In which malakand division was the one. It initially focused on peace building and conflict prevention. With the help of MDTF, numbers of projects were started after the conflict which includes governance betterment, accountability of public service delivery, displaced persons emergency recovery projects and digital jobs in KP were the notable ones.

After the conflict many projects were initiated by MDTF in which the first one was “Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Emergency Roads Recovery Project” back in 2011. The initial cost of the project was US\$ 26.1 Million, which mainly focused on recovery of roads damaged by the conflict in malakand division. after the success of this project a second project of MDTF was launched in 2011, named governance support project, which mainly address the weaknesses of governance, this project was worth US\$ 8.75 million. The third project named “Strengthening Health Services in Crisis-Affected Districts of KP” launched in 2012 which worth US\$ 16 million.⁷¹

The Asian Development Bank (ADB) also plays a significant role in Malakand with a focus on reducing rural poverty and improving the lives of its inhabitants. ABD launches malakand reconstruction and developmental program (MRDP) which has

⁷⁰ Pakistan: IOM launches 13 infrastructure projects in Malakand Division. (2010, January 12). IOM.

⁷¹ MDTF, world bank <https://www.pakistanmdtf.org/our-projects/>

multifaceted functions that aim to bring about positive changes and sustainable development. A primary function of the MRDP was to uplift the living conditions of the rural poor, particularly smallholder and tenant farmers, and those without land. By introducing measures that lead to increased incomes and improved standards of living, the project strives to combat rural poverty. Through MRDP, ADB aims to address women issues in the area as well by enhancing their income-earning potential. This was a targeted effort to promote gender equality and ensure that women are active participants in the region's economic growth.

So just like WB, the ADB's functions in Malakand revolve around poverty reduction, women's empowerment, local governance, infrastructure enhancement, financial inclusion, and overall capacity-building. Through these multifaceted efforts, the ADB strives to create a positive and sustainable impact on the lives of the people in Malakand.

5.5.1.4 Bilateral and Multilateral Humanitarian Agencies: Targeted Assistance

Many Bilateral and multilateral organizations such as WFP, USAID and IRC focus on diverse sectors of health services, education, livelihoods and food security in the region.

If talk about international rescue committee IRC They provides initial support to IDPs and conflict affected people in malakand division, for this purpose it distributed cash grants in affected people. However, the IRC's commitment extended beyond the immediate crisis phase. As IDPs began to return to their homes following the resolution of the conflict, the IRC continued its efforts to facilitate their reintegration and rehabilitation. Recognizing the importance of sustainable livelihoods, the IRC focused on empowering these returning individuals by providing them with livestock and agricultural equipment. This strategic approach aimed to not only restore their means of subsistence but also promote self-sufficiency and economic recovery in the aftermath of the conflict. IRC provided fertilizers and wheat seeds to approximately 3 lacs of the conflict affected farmers. Furthermore, the IRC's involvement extended to infrastructure rehabilitation. The conflict had inflicted significant damage on link roads in the Malakand Division, impeding connectivity and access. In response, the IRC undertook the task of constructing and repairing these vital link roads. By restoring essential infrastructure, the IRC contributed to enhancing mobility, trade, and overall connectivity for the communities in the region.

5.5.1.5 Specific Initiatives and Collaborations: Addressing Unique Challenges

To support the IDPs in malakand division, notable projects were initiated by agencies like CARE International. They provide economic support to IDPs residing in camps. The Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) provide assistance in agricultural field. they also worked for the betterment of livelihoods and food security. Along side FAO Al-Khidmat provide educational efforts, and form easily accessible road side camps for IDPs. A charity wing of Jamaat-ud-Dawa, Falah-e-Insaniat Foundation, also participated in relief efforts by distributing daily usage items to IDPs.

The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) has also played a pivotal role in responding to the humanitarian needs arising from the conflict and displacement in the regions like Swat, Lower Dir, and Buner. As the first humanitarian organization to re-enter these conflict-affected areas, the ICRC demonstrated its commitment to providing assistance during critical times.

Collaborating closely with the Pakistan Red Crescent Society (PRCS), the ICRC extended its support to IDP camps and host families in Malakand Agency and Swabi. By distributing essential supplies to IDPs and their host families in regions like Mardan, Swabi, and Southern Buner, the ICRC aimed to alleviate the immediate needs of those affected by the conflict. ICRC also helped in re-establishing family links, because many people lost their families during conflict. It also established hospital for IDPs to treat patients affected by conflict. The organization worked on three levels. Firstly Assistance were provided to returnees and those resided in conflict zone. Approximately 397,000 people were facilitated at this level. Level 2 were about the Assistance for 90,000 IDPs living with host families. And level 3 include IDPs facilitation through PRCS in malakand, swabi and lower dir.⁷² In short ICRCs efforts were priceless for rehabilitation of IDPs and conflict affected people of malakand division, because it facilitated people in almost every aspect, from establishing hospitals to providing shelters.

5.5.1.6 Australian, Canadian, and Norwegian Contributions: Regional Support

The Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (Norad) and the Australian Agency for International Development (AusAID) joined forces in a collaborative effort to extend much-needed support to internally displaced persons (IDPs) affected

⁷² NWFP Humanitarian Crisis ICRC Activities. (May 2009). International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). Retrieved from <https://www.icrc.org/en/doc/assets/files/other/pakistan-may-2009-icrc.pdf>

by the crisis. Recognizing the urgency of the situation, these two influential development agencies combined their resources and expertise to address the needs of the displaced population in refugee camps. The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) also presents a comprehensive response to the crisis. They collectively address the issues faced by IDPs through their efficient coordination and emergency relief.

By converging the strengths of Norad, AusAID, CIDA, and other partners, this collaborative endeavor showcased the significance of international cooperation in times of crisis. The concerted approach not only demonstrated the agencies commitment to humanitarian values but also underscored the effectiveness of coordinated efforts in delivering meaningful assistance to those in dire need. Through these large-scale initiatives, emergency relief was made more effective.

5.5.1.7 British council: skill enhancement

British council actually works for internationalizing the higher education, teachers training and giving scholarships to needy students. In the realm of vocational education, the British Council aims to enhance the responsiveness of education and training systems to the evolving demands of the international education. In malakand division they primarily worked on teachers training to polish their skills, for this many seminars were conducted at serena hotel swat.⁷³

This approach by british council shows their commitment on improving the quality of education. Thus through these efforts, the British Council is contributing to the growth and development of education in the Malakand Division and beyond.

5.5.1.8 USAID: Significant Interventions for Post-Conflict Recovery

USAID, the United States Agency for International Development, has played a pivotal role in conducting efforts at facilitating post-conflict recovery. USAID focused addressing the multifaceted challenges that arise in the aftermath of conflict. wide spectrum of critical sectors were addressed, including health services, education, and socio-economic support to IDPs. Through strategic initiatives, USAID has actively contributed to the revitalization of health services in the area, ensuring that essential medical care reaches those affected by the conflict. Moreover, recognizing the pivotal role of education in fostering resilience and growth, USAID's interventions

⁷³ Personal interview (feb 2023) elimentry school teacher. Bagra buner.

in this realm have been instrumental in reinstating access to quality education for communities that have endured the ravages of conflict.

In addition to these initiatives, USAID has demonstrated its commitment to rebuilding the foundation of societies by investing in critical infrastructure. This includes initiatives aimed at reconstructing vital facilities such as public bathrooms and hand pumps in different areas. Cash grants and food items were also provided to the people. USAID played key role in rebuilding of hundreds of schools in Malakand Region, majority of these are in swat, dir and buner. The UAE Government also contributing to the reconstruction of 37 schools.⁷⁴

By these efforts USAID adds to restoration and rehabilitation efforts of the region after the devastation caused by militancy.

5.5.1.9 Collaborative Contributions: Other INGOs in Post-Conflict

Rehabilitation Efforts.

Number of international non-governmental organizations (INGOs) played a pivotal role in the post-conflict rehabilitation of Malakand Division. Their concerted efforts aimed to alleviate suffering and contribute to the restoration of affected communities. Some notable INGOs and their specific contributions include:

World Vision: This INGO Distributed essential item such as blankets and kitchen utensils to affected households.it also addressed immediate needs and provided comfort to displaced families.

5.5.1.10 Agency for Technical Cooperation and Development: This agency Provided crucial food packages to sustain families during their displacement. It also undertook essential infrastructure projects including sewerage system and drainage cleaning. Contributed to educational improvement by renovating schools and promoting a safe learning environment in district buner and swat. Supported water supply projects in the area, enhancing access to clean and safe water sources. Promoted sustainable livelihoods by distributing chickens, goats, and plant seedlings.

5.5.1.11 Islamic Relief International: this organization Played a vital role in providing shelters, ensuring the safety and well-being of affected families. It also

⁷⁴ The Reconstruction of 180 schools in Malakand Division complete soon, PaRRSA. (2012, February 14). Govt. Pakistan. ReliefWeb.

focused on child health initiatives to improve the health and development of the younger population.

5.5.1.12 Malteser International: malteser equipped local communities with essential skills to respond effectively to emergencies. Distributed first aid kits, enhancing the capacity to provide immediate medical assistance. It also distributed seeds and fertilizers, contributing to the revival of agricultural activities after the conflict.

5.5.1.13 Qatar Foundation: this QATAR based foundation Installed solar geysers (water heaters) in mosques, improving access to clean and heated water for the community. it supported the enhancement of facilities within religious spaces, benefiting both spiritual and practical needs.

5.5.1.14 Qatar Charity: it was involved in activities like, Construction of dug wells and improved streets and sanitation infrastructure, addressed critical water and hygiene challenges. This organization was much goal oriented and contributed to the overall improvement of living conditions in the conflict affected areas. It worked largely in rural areas. Additionally, Qatar Charity involved in assisting with the reconstruction of 3 schools in swat, dir and bunmer districts, **CARE** International contributed to 2 schools⁷⁵. Other organizations such as UN-Habitat, Save-The-Children, and GiZ each supported the rebuilding of one school.

5.5.1.15 Handicap International: it distributed hygiene kits and specialized tools designed to empower disabled individuals. Also contributed to improving the well-being and inclusivity of differently-abled community members.

These INGOs serve as an example of the commitment of the international community to the restoration and recovery of the Malakand Division. They participated significantly in the region's journey towards post-conflict security and prosperity through their numerous projects, which addressed urgent needs, improved infrastructure, encouraged sustainable livelihoods, and ensured the welfare of vulnerable populations.

⁷⁵ The Reconstruction of 180 schools in Malakand Division complete soon, PaRRSA. (2012, February 14). Govt. Pakistan. ReliefWeb.

5.5.1.16 OXFAM GB and Helping hand HHRD are British and USA based charitable organizations that worked to eradicate poverty from the region. They provide cash grants, rehabilitation of schools, drinking water projects and public bathrooms.⁷⁶

5.5.1.17 International Catholic Migration Commission (ICMC):

This international organization of Switzerland served IDPs of the Swat conflict. It facilitates people in the health sector by giving free medicines and hygiene kits to women.

5.5.1.18 MERCY CORPS, ACTED AND SPADO:

Mercy Corps is a global nongovernmental organization (NGO) that mainly facilitates people in the field of agriculture and livestock; it also worked for mother health and TB treatment in the region. Agency for Technical Cooperation and Development, commonly known as Acted, facilitates students of the area. This NGO worked in the education sector of Malakand Division as well as improving livelihood. Sustainable Peace and Development Organization (SPADO) however worked in different sectors, such as health and improving livelihoods. It distributed hearing devices, wheel chairs and shoes among the people.

5.5.1.19 HELVITAS, IDEA and CERD:

Helvitas is a Swiss based NGO, that facilitated people of District Swat after the conflict mainly in the health sector. Initiative for Development & Empowerment Axis (IDEA) also worked in Malakand Division with its main focus on health, livelihood and establishment of public bathrooms. CERD (Centre of Excellence for Rural Development) mainly addressed the issues of nutrition and food security faced by locals during and after the conflict.

The comprehensive overview of NGO activities presented above offers a valuable glimpse into the complicated web of collaboration that enveloped post-conflict Malakand. It is crucial, however, to recognize that the scope of this snapshot is not all-encompassing. Beyond the confines of this data, a multitude of other NGOs have played crucial roles in the region's recovery, leaving their indelible marks on the landscape of rebuilding and renewal.

⁷⁶ Personal interview: Mr Sajid (07/2022) principal of a private school at Buner.

These unaccounted NGOs, while lacking specific data representation, are no less significant. Their contributions might have ranged from small-scale community initiatives to large-scale projects, each imprinting its own unique narrative of dedication onto the region. Even without quantifiable metrics, their efforts are much valuable to the shared commitment towards rehabilitation of the region. The story of Malakand is not only about numbers but also about the intangible spirit that binds humanity in times of adversity. It's a story that encompasses the full spectrum of human efforts, from the meticulously quantifiable to the quietly profound, all working in harmony to uplift a community and pave the way for a brighter tomorrow.

5.5.2 Non-Governmental Organizations in Post-Conflict Rehabilitation:

A symphony of municipal and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) resounded in the five most affected districts of Malakand Division following the upheaval, representing the spirit of grassroots resiliency and cooperative efforts. They devoted themselves to rebuilding of the social fabric, restoring livelihoods, and paving the way for lasting peace and prosperity. These NGOs started the initiatives that cover a diverse spectrum of rehabilitation in the region. They worked tirelessly from rebuilding schools and healthcare facilities to reviving local economy. Worked on strengthening livelihoods and enabling people to stand on their feet. Markets were given new life by microfinance programs, technical education, and skill development initiatives, enabling individuals to reconstruct their lives with fresh energy.

However they also worked on bringing harmony back to the society. They became agents of change. And overcame differences in relationships that had been damaged by conflict, by promoting communication and understanding. They give much preference to harmony across society, through intercommunity gatherings, conflict resolution seminars, and lobbying for peace. The varied levels of their dedication shows that these organizations aren't just change agents; they're also living examples of a determined spirit. Their collective efforts were much evident in the conflict affected malakand division. They worked for the communities to rise, rebuild, and reclaim their future. Thus by all these actions these organizations were involved in bringing the peace and prosperity to the region. Some of notable NGOs that worked for rehabilitation in post conflict malakand division are as follows.

5.5.2.1 Carvan, Lasoona, and Hujra: Legacy of Local Impact

The post-conflict landscape in the Malakand Division saw the emergence of several noteworthy non-governmental organizations (NGOs), each playing a pioneering role in the region's betterment. Carvan, Lasoona, and Hujra worked tirelessly for the progress in the region. They help people and communities to stand on their feet once more. These three NGOs worked for the development of the region. They largely focused on education, health care and social welfare.

Carvan spearheaded transformative initiatives that spanned women empowerment and healthcare. This organization aimed to help the women of the society by giving them sewing machines. Through collaborative endeavors with local communities, Carvan became a symbol of empowerment, embodying the spirit of unity and shared responsibility. **Lasoona's** enduring presence in the region has been synonymous with progress, worked for the betterment of agriculture, livestock, and sustainable development. This organization provided fertilizers to farmers to help them improve their economic situations. Lasoona also provided farming tools and arranged vocational training programs for self empowerment.

The other organization named **Hujra** emerges as a catalyst for positive change, particularly in the sphere of social empowerment. This organization provided seeds and fertilizers to conflict affected people of district swat and buner. Training were also given to people to increase their crop productions. As its name shows, it worked for the unity among people and tried to bring the charm of pushtoons gathering back, this organization started initiatives of planting fruit plants in the region as well as distributed fertilizers among people. It stood as a bridge between aspirations and reality, nurturing partnerships that revitalized communities and breathed new life into the social fabric.

After all Carvan, Lasoona, and Hujra have contributed significantly to the growth of Swat and neighboring districts via their collaborative efforts and tireless dedication, and they have set an example for community-driven reconstruction from armed conflict.

5.5.2.2 Abaseen, HOPE, and Hands: Enriching Rehabilitation Efforts

The landscape of post-conflict rehabilitation in the Malakand Division witnessed the emergence of several dynamic organizations, including Abaseen, HOPE, and Hands, each playing a pivotal role in advancing the region's recovery. By implementing

revolutionary initiatives and programs that cover community development, employment, and education, these organizations have created an array of transformation.

In the context of rehabilitation abseen was the organization which worked for the social cohesion and economic empowerment. Also by creating learning environments ssssand creating opportunities for skill development, Abaseen has nurtured a culture of resilience among the community. It not only worked for restoring economic stability but also give the people hope for a brighter future through its initiatives. HOPE also gives multifaceted approach to rehabilitation in malakand division. The organization's endeavors span education, healthcare, and social welfare, addressing the diverse needs of a community grappling with the aftermath of conflict. Hands, too, has played a significant role in enriching post-conflict rehabilitation efforts in malakand division. Through its innovative programs, the organization worked for the betterment of society through vocational training, and community engagement. By empowering people with skills and knowledge this organization gives more strategic approach to fostering self-sufficiency and resilience. Collectively, Abaseen, HOPE, and Hands give their best to uplift society through their initiatives in post-conflict revival. Their commitment to education, employment, and community development brings a positive change to post conflict rehabilitation efforts.

5.5.2.3 Returning to Rootedness: Local NGOs After Conflict.

The aftermath of conflict in the Malakand Division saw a great work of local non-governmental organizations (NGOs), as internally displaced persons (IDPs) began to journey back to their homes. These local NGOs swiftly reestablished their presence, reflecting a collective commitment to aid in the region's recovery. They provide people employment and also gave cash grants to locals. With IDPs returning home, these organizations facilitated them in transport and then by giving food items.

5.5.2.4 *Al hamra* is local NGO worked on building latrines in public areas. It also installed solar geysers at mosques. The Initiative for Development and Empowerment axis, a dedicated local non-governmental organization worked on the renovation of educational institutes in the areas of swat and buner. This NGO brings programs that equipped local farmers with invaluable knowledge and skills and enabled them to harness the potential of peach growing. Because that will flourish their economic

situations. This strategic approach not only empowered individuals with practical expertise but also contributed to the overall economic resilience of the community.

Uqaab welfare also worked in post conflict rehabilitation activities. This organization distributes hygiene kits and water tubs among people.

5.5.2.5 Children rights committee worked on the pure water related problems, and thus provide hygienic pure water to some of the remote villages.⁷⁷

As local NGOs resumed their activities, their projects included community well-being and development. By giving preference to education, healthcare, livelihood opportunities, infrastructure, farming and agriculture. These initiatives were of great importance in bringing the peace and stability back to the region. Their ability to adapt, and continue their activities highlight their crucial part in determining the course of post-conflict rehabilitation. As these organizations worked hand in hand with the returning IDPs, their efforts had a profound impact on local population.

5.5.2.6 Empowering Mothers and Children: ECE by SAVE THE CHILDREN

Save the Children, a prominent non-governmental organization (NGO), played a pivotal role in the post-conflict rehabilitation of the Malakand Division, with a specific focus on children's well-being and mothers health. Their main focus was on early learning, offering responsive caregiving, and ensuring access to high-quality health and nutrition services. The organization embarked on a multifaceted initiative aimed at addressing the unique needs of children in the region, especially in the aftermath of the conflict. This organization worked on the establishment of safe and conducive learning environments for primary school children.

Save the Children recognized the importance of providing children with appropriate spaces to engage in recreational activities and play, which are crucial for their cognitive and emotional development. On the principles of ECE Save the Children aimed to equip children with essential skills and knowledge from an early age, preparing them for future educational hurdles. In this regard, the organization set up dedicated rooms equipped with playing materials, offering children the opportunity to engage in play-based learning. In each primary school of the region they established at least one room for the cause.

⁷⁷ Impact Evaluation: Community Resilience in Malakand. (December 2015). OCHA.ReliefWeb.

5.5.2.7 Sarhad Rural Support Programme (SRSP): Grassroots Empowerment

Sarhad Rural Support Programme (SRSP) is a non-governmental organization working in Khyber Pukhtunkhwa to combat poverty in the region, based on the rural support program (RSP). Along with addressing poverty SRSP has undertaken a substantial mission of fostering sustainable livelihoods and reducing economic disparities. In Malakand Division it worked with village committees to alleviate poverty. They received substantial amount of funds from provincial government and EU in this regard.

Due to challenges created by conflict in Malakand Division, a concerted effort has been undertaken to facilitate the sustainable enhancement of public services and overall community well-being. Sarhad Rural Support Program (SRSP), in collaboration with the Government of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) and with vital support from the European Union (EU) addresses these issues. Through the policy of Community-Driven Local Development (CDLD), SRSP tried for community uplift, because it was its core objective. Through CDLD initiative sustainable progress were targeted especially. This ambitious goal is achieved through the active participation and engagement of local communities, who are not merely beneficiaries but integral partners in the development process. CDLD policy were implemented initially in seven districts, Chitral, Dir Upper, Dir Lower, Malakand, Shangla, Swat, and Buner.

To facilitate the comprehensive implementation of the CDLD policy, the European Union lends crucial support to community mobilization, project design, and the estimation of costs for identified initiatives. The EU's contribution enhances the capacity of community organizations to conceptualize and plan projects that hold the promise of sustainable impact. The collaboration between SRSP and the EU extends beyond project facilitation. Together, they are working to provide essential social mobilization support to the Government of KP. This strategic partnership ensures that the CDLD policy is seamlessly integrated into the broader framework of governance and development initiatives.

SRSP facilitate and addresses the problems of people in 2007 terrorism , 2009 army operations , IDPs facilitation, 2010 flood, socio and economic losses of malakand, trust deficit btw community and public institutions.⁷⁸ Through CDLD policy a large number of initiatives were taken in the sectors of infrastructure, agriculture , health,

⁷⁸ SRSP Annual Diary. (2018). CDLD: Community-Driven Local Development Policy by the KP Government

education and tourism. Through SRSP official website more than 4000 of projects had been initiated in the 7 districts Chitral, Dir upper, Dir Lower Malakand, Shangla, Swat and Buner.

35% of these projects were about road renovation and construction. 21% were about works on the streets and 19% were about the drinking water schemes.⁷⁹ beside this the organization also give allocate funds to health and education sectors.

Working on the betterment of education, healthcare, livelihoods, and social welfare, these organizations played a vital role in weaving the fabric of revival in the Malakand Division. Their efforts demonstrate both the region's resiliency and the effectiveness of regionally led initiatives in constructing a brighter future.

5.5.3 Government of Pakistan's Endeavors in Post-Conflict Rehabilitation:

The Pakistani government played a crucial role in formulating a comprehensive response to the Malakand Division's rehabilitation needs as the conflict once over. In order to restore, empower, and revitalize the communities that had survived the storm of turmoil, the government undertook a number of multifaceted projects, which are described below. The government's role emerges as an integral part of rehabilitation, supported the area's journey towards lasting peace and prosperity. From restoring essential public services like healthcare and education to investing in livelihood restoration and economic empowerment, the government's comprehensive efforts showed its pivotal role in laying the groundwork for sustainable progress. These initiatives undertaken by government of pakistan for rehabilitation covers a broader spectrum of revival, ranges from strategic coordination to economic revival and from security enhancements to skills development.

How ever according to provincial government official there were limited funds for complete rehabilitation of malakand division. The provincial government has chosen to allocate funds from various districts to support the construction of 65 schools in Swat. However, this decision has raised concerns as it is perceived to come at the cost of neglecting other districts that also require similar attention and resources.⁸⁰ To promote tourism in the area after the conflict, KP government took many initiatives such as allocation of 5billion rupees for road construction and renovation in remote areas of malakand division. Many governmental organizations and entities worked in

⁷⁹ Retrieved from official website of SRSP. <http://aw1.srsp.org.pk/site/cdlld>

⁸⁰ "Pakistan: \$1bn Appeal for Malakand," 2009

the aftermath of the conflict to facilitate the locals, in which key entities are as follows.

5.5.3.1 Special Support Group (SSG): Coordinating Emergency Assistance

In alignment with the preceding discourse, the establishment of the Special Support Group (SSG) emerges as a strategic move by the Government of Pakistan with the help of Pakistan army, to ensure efficient and streamlined emergency assistance for those displaced by the conflict. This group operated in the region under the umbrella of the Prime Minister's Secretariat, functioned as a pivotal coordination hub. Its primary objective was to facilitate the people directly in five most affected districts of malakand division. This group also performed the function of coordination between provincial and federal government during their rehabilitation efforts for IDPs. According to head of special support group more than 0.4 million of affected people from malakand division had been given cash grants. SSG and PaARSA were also the potential responsible organizations in implementing the UNDP initiatives after the conflict.

The SSG's role defined the government's commitment to show a comprehensive response to the situation. It made efforts to provide swift relief and support to individuals affected by the turmoil. Through this coordinated approach, the government aimed to contribute to the Malakand Division's post-conflict rebuilding and rehabilitation. By coordinating emergency assistance this initiative of special support group meet the immediate needs of the displaced population as well.

5.5.3.2 Provincial Reconstruction & Rehabilitation Authority (PaRRSA):

After the conflict in malakand division the Provincial Reconstruction & Rehabilitation Authority (PaRRSA) emerged as a pivotal entity dedicated to addressing the multifaceted process of recovery and reconstruction. It had been embedded within the framework of the Provincial Disaster Management Authority (PDMA).it was established with a strategic purpose to facilitate coordination and supervise the process of recovery and rehabilitation. As an integral component of the PDMA, PaRRSA's inception was driven by the imperative need to expedite recovery efforts with efficiency and ease.

As I discussed earlier that PaARSA worked on immediate basis in malakand and it is observed through their immediate reconstruction of schools in many areas. Data

reveals that approximately 180 schools in Malakand Division were constructed at the end of 2018. The organization's goals went beyond simple facilitation. It included a constant commitment to unifying the contributions of various stakeholders, resulting in a synergistic alignment of resources, knowledge, and tactics. As discussed earlier, PaRRSA took on the role of a conductor in the conflict-affected areas to facilitate the process of rehabilitation in the best possible manner, and to foster a resilient environment that could withstand future uncertainties. PaRRSA not only acted as an initiator for swift transformation but also created the framework for an environment of stability and prosperity in the future.

5.5.3.3 Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Reconstruction Program (KPRP):

It was formerly known as the Malakand Reconstruction and Recovery Program (MRRP) and was established to support the Government of Pakistan's endeavors to rebuild public infrastructure that had been destroyed due to the conflict during the Taliban insurgency and the devastating floods of 2010 in the Malakand Division of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) Province. This program operated under the USAID Assistance Agreement, which facilitated the implementation of Emergency rehabilitation in the affected areas. The primary focus of the KPRP was on reconstruction and recovery efforts in six districts of the Malakand Division (Swat, Malakand, Upper Dir, Lower Dir, Buner, and Shangla).

The implementation of KPRP was carried out by the Provincial Reconstruction, Rehabilitation, and Settlement Authority (PaRRSA), in collaboration with various government departments and agencies such as the Communication and Works Department (C&W), Flood Damages Restoration Directorate (FDRD), Irrigation Department, Pakhtunkhwa Highways Authority (PKHA), and Public Health Engineering Department (PHED), all falling under the Government of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (GOKP).

The program's activities encompassed a range of critical initiatives, including the rehabilitation and reconstruction of damaged public facilities and infrastructure, such as roads, schools, hospitals, and water supply systems. These efforts aimed to restore the essential services that were disrupted due to the conflict. To address the above-mentioned damage, an initial budget of \$85.19 million was allocated, which increased

after the success of initial program.⁸¹ The KPRP aimed to help revitalize and improve socio-economic circumstances, infrastructure, and overall condition of the residents of the Malakand Division and the surrounding areas by collaborating with government departments. In the wake of the difficult circumstances the region faced, the KPRP's comprehensive approach was crucial in assisting the larger efforts of rehabilitation and recovery.

5.5.3.4 Early Recovery in Livelihoods and Agriculture Programme (ERLAP):

After the crises, just like other other organizations, ERLAP was formed to assist the restoring of agricultural production, improvement of local governance and addressing the crises of food. Before the crises in the region malakand division was one of the rich area in fruit production, there were efficient mechanism of fruit production and transportation. To address all these losses and facilitate agricultural restoration in the area ERLAP project was launched in march 2010. This project was funded by Italian government initially.⁸²

The project focuses on restoration of agricultural sector in the area, many types of fruit plants were distributed among the people, this was a strategic move aimed at restoring the agriculture of the region. Additionally, the project extends a helping hand to the affected communities through the provision of cash grants, a proactive measure designed to empower individuals and uplift their livelihoods. ERLAP extended its support to 18,514 dedicated farmers with advanced production techniques. These comprehensive agriculture packages encompassed an impressive allocation of 458 tons of essential cereal crops, nutrient-rich vegetables, and seeds. Along this support, 1642 tons of fertilizers were also given to farmers.

Recognizing the significance of orchard farming in the region, ERLAP significantly contributed to the revival of hill orchards. A commendable effort entailed the distribution of 295,754 fruit plants, to increase the agricultural production. Thousands of tons of fertilizers were given away to orchards growers. Notably, ERLAP embarked on capacity building endeavors, empowering 10,603 orchard growers with enhanced skills and knowledge to ensure sustained success.

⁸¹ Husain, T., Khan, A. I., Garner, D., & Khattak, A. I. (2014). Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Reconstruction Program Mid-Term Performance Evaluation Report. USAID, Pakistan.

⁸² Italian-funded project to help restore Malakand agriculture. (2010, December 9). From the Newspaper. Retrieved from <https://www.dawn.com/news/589763/italian-funded-project-to-help-restore-malakand-agriculture>

As ERLAP charts a course toward agricultural restoration and community revitalization, it epitomizes a concerted effort to sow the seeds of renewal, restoring the vitality that once coursed through the region's bountiful landscapes.

5.5.3.5 Relief, Rehabilitation & Settlement Department, RRSd:

The establishment of the Relief, Rehabilitation & Settlement Department during the period of 2011-12 reflects a profound shift in the provincial government's strategy towards disaster management and post-conflict rehabilitation. The objective of the department was to address the socio economic problems created by conflict, that's why the Creation of this department termed as a paradigm shift in disaster management and post conflict rehabilitation. The department is primarily controlled by a set of regulations designed to build safer and more disaster-resilient communities. To achieve this, preventative measures are used, such as community awareness campaigns, emergency management, and extensive training. The department systematically combines these elements to lessen the effects of catastrophes and disasters, thereby minimizing potential threats to infrastructure, people's lives, and way of life.

In coordination with other key entities, this department executes plans for various purposes, such as disaster response through the Provincial Disaster Management Authority (PDMA). Additionally, it facilitates post-conflict recovery and rehabilitation operations, with support from the Provincial Reconstruction & Rehabilitation Authority (PARRSA). The Emergency Rescue Service (1122) further amplifies the department's reach by ensuring swift and effective response during emergencies, contributing to reduced casualties and enhanced community resilience.⁸³ Overall this department not only addresses the post conflict problems but also prepare the society to be aware of the natural disasters as well.

5.5.3.6 Counter Terrorism Department CTD:

If it comes to eradicating militancy and bringing the peace and stability in the region, CTD played an important role in the region. Talking of counterterrorism efforts, each province in Pakistan has established its own Counter Terrorism Department (CTD) under the umbrella of respective police departments. Drawing insights from the approved counterterrorism strategy, it becomes evident that CTD in the Malakand

⁸³ Relief Department of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Retrieved from <https://reliefdepartment.kp.gov.pk>

Division, much like its counterparts, grapples with the multifaceted challenge of addressing terrorism, radicalization, and ensuring lasting peace.

CTD involved in arresting many key militants in malakand division. This development sheds light on the continuous efforts of CTD to counteract militancy and maintain security, for example the particular arrest of ihsanullah by CTD in malakand division shows the departments hawk-eyed observation of the region. Ihsanullah was a key figure responsible for numerous acts of militancy across the Malakand division.⁸⁴ The charges against him encompass a range of serious offenses, including attacks on sensitive government installations, targeting security forces and explosive-related incidents. and planning assaults on law enforcement personnel.

In the wake of conflict, CTD in the Malakand Division emerges as a pivotal player in the region's recovery and rehabilitation. CTD's role also extends beyond the enforcement of counterterrorism measures. A progressive approach is exemplified through collaborations with institutions who worked for social welfare. This initiative seeks to equip students of madrassas with practical skills, facilitating their integration into the workforce upon completion of their religious education. By bridging the gap between traditional religious environments and mainstream education, thus they aimed to work on social integration and welfare as well.

5.5.3.7 National Security Division (NSD) and AFIRM:

The National Security Division (NSD) is all about strategic policy planning and national security. after conflict it was important to address the issues of resurgence, thus NSD comes to the party with its comprehensive approach. By addressing these issues it provided administrative and intellectual support to the National Security Committee (NSC)⁸⁵. NSD also promotes the creation of conditions that are favorable to post-conflict rehabilitation through enhancing international collaboration on security issues. more ever the mission of NSD is to promote good governance, transparency and accountability, which was the driving factors of militancy in malakand division. By aligning itself with Pakistan's broader vision of an Islamic welfare state, the NSD indirectly contributes to the region's post-conflict rehabilitation through regional connectivity. Its efforts are instrumental in creating an environment

⁸⁴ CTD Nabs High Value Target in Malakand. (2021, September 29). Tribune. Retrieved from <https://tribune.com.pk/story/2322379/ctd-nabs-high-value-target-in-malakand>

⁸⁵ a pivotal decision-making forum in the country working on national security matters.

that fosters enduring peace, stability, and socio-economic development in the Malakand Division.

Apart from NSD the Armed Forces Institute of Rehabilitation and Medicine (AFIRM) plays a crucial role in post-conflict rehabilitation, particularly in the context of the Malakand Division. AFIRM primarily deals with helping those who are suffering from Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) as a result of the conflict. AFIRM helped thousands of individuals cope with the psychological and physiological impacts of conflict-related trauma, which is a critical aspect of post-conflict recovery.⁸⁶

5.5.3.8 TEVTA: Empowering Through Education and Skills

The Technical Education and Vocational Training Authority (TEVTA) is a significant national institution established in 2013 with a multifaceted purpose that aligns with post-conflict rehabilitation efforts in the Malakand Division. The main purpose behind the establishment of TEVTA was to prevent the youth of the region from radical ideologies. For that very purpose TEVTA aimed to provide technical and vocational education, such as providing skills and engagement in small business activities.

TEVTA worked on skill development to attain economic empowerment and sustainability. The philosophy behind this initiative was to prevent individuals from extremist ideologies, because individuals who are gainfully employed and financially secure are less susceptible to extremist narratives. By bringing these initiatives it tried to make the society self-sufficient and economically independent. All of these initiatives contribute to the reduction and eventual elimination of radicalization from society.

In the context of the Malakand Division, TEVTA's work and initiatives played a pivotal role in fostering resilience and stability in the aftermath of conflict. By nurturing a generation of skilled and empowered individuals, TEVTA contributes to the broader goals of post-conflict rehabilitation, aligning with the comprehensive efforts to rebuild communities and promotes lasting peace and prosperity in the region.

News Correspondent. (2022, November 09). Plan on anvil to rehabilitate drug addicts in Malakand. The News International. Retrieved from <https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/1007995-plan-on-anvil-to-rehabilitate-drug-addicts-in-malakand>⁸⁶

5.5.3.9 Compensation Paid to the Dead and Injured:

The road to recovery after the conflict can often be difficult and exhausting, but it is made easier by the beacon of compensation, which acknowledges loss and extend support to the affected ones. Home and Tribal Affairs Department of provincial government largely committed to nurturing recovery and renewal thus supported the directly affected ones by giving compensation.

During the conflict there were many casualties and injuries in the area. Home and tribal affairs department provide cash grants to affected people to immediately address their losses. According to data acquired from the DC Office in Buner⁸⁷, a sum of Rs. 4,400,000 was distributed among 39 deceased individuals and 17 injured persons. These funds were allocated by the Home and Tribal Affairs Department in 2009, with Rs. 3,900,000 designated for the families of the deceased and Rs. 55,000 provided to those who sustained injuries.

After another tragic incident that claimed the lives of 50 individuals and left 29 injured in Buner district, the Home Department once again took swift action. A total sum of Rs. 25,800,000 was dispatched to the Commissioner of Malakand. Among this allocation, Rs. 15,000,000 was disbursed to the families of the deceased, while Rs. 2,900,000 was dedicated to aiding those who sustained injuries. Furthermore, in the heart-wrenching incident, a government servant who was the sole income of his family, falling victim to a terrorist attack. A sum of Rs. 1,000,000 was extended to his family. This amount aimed to alleviate the immediate financial burdens brought upon them by this devastating loss. An amount of 1 crore had also been paid to the family of late SORAN SINGH, who was also killed by terrorists on 22 April of 2016. Based on the data obtained from the DC Office in Buner, it is apparent that an approximate amount of 5 crore rupees had been provided by the Home Department to address the immediate needs of the deceased and injured individuals till now.

The Home and Tribal Affairs Department emerged as a source of strength, providing immediate aid to the affected population, amid the turbulent environment of battle, where lives were destroyed and communities resisted adversity. The information given above emphasizes the crucial role that the department played in quickly acting to lessen the effects of terrible events and directing financial assistance where it was most needed. The department actively set out on its objective to offer comfort through

⁸⁷ Obtained from deputy commissioner office BUNER.

financial assistance. The assistance shows a resolute commitment to support those who bore the brunt of conflict's brutality in Malakand Division.

The government of Pakistan efforts and initiatives shows its commitment towards the broader strategies of post conflict rehabilitation such as from economic compensation to psycho-social support and from infrastructure revival to community engagement. While the data above shines a spotlight on Buner, it resonates as a common thread across the wider tapestry of Malakand Division. Just as compensation extended its compassionate touch in Buner, similar initiatives, although not explained here due to data limitations, spread across districts like Swat and Dir. These acts of empathy form a collective mosaic of support, embodying the government's unwavering commitment to relieve immediate suffering and creating a network of resilience and recovery throughout the region.

5.5.4 Pakistan army: Comprehensive Efforts in Post-Conflict

Rehabilitation

After the conflict in Malakand Division a pressing need for grassroots-level interventions and comprehensive rehabilitation emerged, so to address these challenges Pakistan Army steps in to play a pivotal role ahead. The Pakistan Army performed a multifaceted role, which ranged from immediate relief to sustainable development. After the conflict, the affairs of Malakand Division were not under control of the civil administration for about a year. The army was handed over the task of development and relocation during the relief phase. The military started many operations to assist civilians to meet their urgent needs after the displaced people (IDPs) began to return. The Pakistan Army's considerable involvement in post-conflict rehabilitation shows its dedication to reestablishing not only structures and institutions but also the fundamental structure of the communities that had experienced turmoil. Through the efforts and initiatives like coordinated relief, infrastructure restoration, DE radicalization programs, and cultural revival, the military breathed life into the conflict affected society. Following are some notable initiatives taken by Pakistan Army after the conflict.

5.5.4.1 Coordinating Relief and Rehabilitation:

Military played a pivotal role in coordinating immediate relief efforts to returning IDPs. They swiftly responded to the immediate needs of the affected population. They

guaranteed that essential humanitarian aid reached the displaced individuals promptly. Beyond the role of immediate relief efforts, the military took on the responsibility of coordinating resettlement and development initiatives in the aftermath of the conflict. These initiatives addressed the physical rehabilitation of communities as well as provided strategic planning required for the sustained recovery of these communities. By assuming a leadership role in these aspects the military contributed to a smooth shift from conflict-induced challenges to the steady restoration of governance and public services under civil administration. These efforts of coordinating the resettlement and addressing the governance issues, shows the commitment of military to the comprehensive rehabilitation of the affected population.

5.5.4.2 Infrastructure Restoration:

Pakistan army played an important role in infrastructure restoration. Because after the armed conflict in the region, there were immediate need of rehabilitation. Recognizing this urgent need for rehabilitation and recovery, Pakistan army allocated more than Rs.500 million to undertake key infrastructure restoration, the scope of these restoration activities ranges from mosques to roads. Because during the conflict Taliban fighters not only attacked the government installations but also attacked educational institutions, attacked networks of roads to disconnect various regions and also targeted mosques to create fear among the people. Through their infrastructure restoration initiatives, Pakistan army addresses all these issues. Many educational institutes were upgraded and many were renovated as well. Pakistan army also took initiatives of providing books and establishing well equipped libraries in the region.⁸⁸ These initiatives demonstrate a dual focus, not only rebuilding physical structures but also reinstating essential services and facilities that play a pivotal role in enhancing the overall well-being and resilience of the community.⁸⁹

5.5.4.3 Peace Committees and Collaborations:

After the conflict Pakistan army made significant efforts to promote inter communal harmony and established peace committees. These committees were formed with the goal of inspiring cooperation and solidarity among local residents. The military also supported the Provincial Reconstruction & Reconstruction Authority (PaRRSA) and

⁸⁸ Personal interview. Momin Khan, education officer. Amnawar Buner.

⁸⁹ Nawaz, S. (2011). *Learning by Doing: The Pakistan Army's Experience with Counterinsurgency*. Atlantic Council of the United States.

other aid groups involved in reconstruction efforts. The Army's ability to overcome initial obstacles and uncertainty, which permitted coordinated humanitarian assistance, was a significant role. This cooperative approach gave the affected communities a sense of responsibility and engagement, which also made it simpler to effectively complete several restoration initiatives. These committees were on the local union council level and then form district level committees, which at time of dangerous situations were allowed to approach army officers directly.⁹⁰ An interview had been conducted with the member of peace committee, said that village defense committees (VDC) were established for coordination with security officers, with an aim of addressing the concerns of local people at grassroots level.

Through these peace committees and collaborations, the Pakistan Army played a significant role in building peace, cooperation, and community-driven recovery in malakand division.

5.5.4.4 DE radicalization Program:

The Pakistan Army initiated a comprehensive de-radicalization program as part of its post-conflict rehabilitation efforts. This program was initiated with the help of provincial government worth 4.4 billion rupees. This programme aimed to address the individuals (ex combatants and civilians) who had been affected by the conflict. The program consisted of three projects: Sabaoon, Mishal, and Sparlay. Overall, the de-radicalization program of pakistan army sought to address the psychological and ideological dimensions of post conflict rehabilitation. By offering reintegration, rehabilitation, and psychological support initiatives, they aimed to steer individuals away from radical ideologies and contribute to their successful reintegration into society.

5.5.4.4.1 SABAWOON:

Sabawoon was all about the rehabilitation of juveniles. This project focused on the reintegration and rehabilitation of young people who had been radicalized or coerced into joining militant groups. It aimed to provide them with educational and vocational opportunities, counseling, and psychosocial support to help them reintegrate into mainstream society. A well-known psychiatrist of pakistan was hired by army for the assistance, but he was killed by militants in 2010.

⁹⁰ Commissioner Office Malakand Division. Government of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Retrieved from <https://cmd.kp.gov.pk>

5.5.4.4.2 MASHAL:

The Mishal project specifically about the rehabilitation of ex combatants aged eighteen and above. These militants were identified as low-cadre militants directly involved in acts of sabotage. This initiative focused on a multifaceted approach to address their radicalization and facilitate their reintegration into society. Actually there were three categories of captured militants, white, grey and black. In which black were the most wanted ones, involved previously in some serious state against activities. Grey category had militants of low cadre, involved in ideological support towards militants. So in mashal grey type of captured militants were rehabilitated. Just like the initiatives and projects of TEVTA mashal also provided psychological and vocational training to the rehabilitees to integrate them into the society because by providing financial resources, the project aimed to reduce the economic vulnerabilities that often make individuals susceptible to joining extremist groups.

5.5.4.4.3 SPARLAY:

This project particularly focused on the family members of ex-combatants. The intended function of Sparlay matches in with broader initiatives to combat radicalism and advance a peaceful and stable society. The Sparlay project aims to have a beneficial spillover effect, promoting a more peaceful society and aiding the whole process of post-conflict rehabilitation by including the family members of ex-combatants and giving them de-radicalization training. In the context of Swat, the idea of establishing a Sparlay center was proposed. However, due to cultural norms and perhaps other contextual factors, the implementation of this center did not materialize at all.⁹¹

5.5.4.5 Infrastructure Milestones:

Pakistan army played Pivotal role in completion of significant infrastructure projects in malakand division. The establishment of Sheikh Khalifa bin Zayed Al Nahyan Bridge over the river of swat held paramount importance in rebuilding the region's social and physical foundations.

Recognizing the essential pillars of sustainable recovery, the army directed strategic investments towards critical sectors such as education, healthcare, and connectivity. These investments aimed to not only restore essential services that contribute to the

⁹¹ Personal interview (july 2022) M hamid. LG officer. Peshawar.

overall well-being of the community but also to catalyze the region's resilience and progress. The establishment and enhancement of educational institutions, along with advancements in healthcare facilities, played a central role in fostering a sense of hope and renewal among the populace. They had constructed 49 educational institutions and 24 water supply schemes.⁹² They also shared their experience in construction of university of swat and swat express way, which costs billions of rupees respectively.

5.5.4.6 Cultural Revival and Peace Festivals:

With the aim of thorough post-conflict rehabilitation, the Pakistan Army accomplished noteworthy achievements for cultural rebirth and encouraging community engagement through vibrant peace festivals. These activities were organized with the double aims of reviving tourism and improving local revenue.

An example of this effort was the conducting of skiing activities at Malam Jabba, by conducting this festival army aimed to attract visitors from far and wide. In district swat aman festivals were held in kalam, however in district buner aman mela were held in daggar and gokand. Same type of aman mela was held at shangla district with the help of army. These festivals served as a platform for cultural exchange, artistic expression, and communal celebration. Collaborating closely with the Provincial Reconstruction & Rehabilitation Authority (PaRRSA), these peace festivals were also harnessed as opportunities for sustainable peace building in the region.

These all initiatives show the dynamic role of Pakistan Army in post-conflict rehabilitation. Each initiative not only addresses immediate needs but also lays the groundwork for enduring peace and stability. From infrastructure revival to fostering cultural unity, the Pakistan Army emerges as a vital force for post conflict rehabilitation. Their initiatives projected a message of hope and resilience to the broader world, laying the foundation for a brighter future in the aftermath of conflict.

5.5.5 Rehabilitation programs for women:

Significant efforts were made to empower local communities after the conflict. Enhancing technical skills and promoting women's empowerment were the key efforts made in this context. Different local NGOs provide skills to the locals such as

⁹² A YOUSUFZAI. The Role of Pakistan Army in the Rehabilitation and Peacebuilding in Swat. HILAL publication.

welding, electrical work, and plumbing with the aim of making people independent and economically strong.

For women, specialized training initiatives were introduced by different NGOs focusing on skill development, which not only contributed to their economic empowerment but also enhanced their role within their communities. Embroidery, kitchen gardening, and poultry rearing were among the areas where women received dedicated training, enabling them to actively participate in income-generating activities. The distribution of items, such as poultry, seeds, fertilizer, and sewing machines, improved the skills of women and enabled them to launch their own small businesses and enhance the welfare of their families. These initiatives were of great importance because they not only provide immediate assistance but also give economic independence to women in the long run.

Women education was largely affected due to the conflict, because militants targeted female schools specially in the area. Many steps were taken for compensation such as Programme for Peace, Rehabilitation and Integrated Development (PRID) in collaboration with national and international donor agencies worked for uplifting vulnerable and less developed communities through social development initiatives. The organization provides education and skill-building programs that enable women to take charge of their lives, contribute to their families' well-being, and play active roles in their communities. by these initiatives PRID not only enhance the socio economic status of women but also contribute to a more equitable society.

CARAVAN is an NGO that provide sewing machines to women in the region. Al khidmat foundation provides kitchen kits to women to address their economic needs after the conflict. Agency for Technical Cooperation and Development also support women in malakand division by distributing livestock and seeds. Another international organization IRC also provide seeds and kitchen equipment's to women. HANDICAP international provide hygiene kits to women and also initiates hygiene related programs for women to avoid women related diseases.

The **Aurat Foundation** also played a vital role in supporting and empowering women and girls affected by the conflict, particularly those resided in the IDP camps, the foundation prioritized the needs and well-being of women within these camps. the foundation organized skill-building workshops, including tailoring and embroidery,

for 60 women. This initiative aimed not only to enhance their practical skills but also to empower them economically. Additionally life skills training were provided to 110 young girls and women, equipping them with essential knowledge and capabilities to navigate their circumstances effectively. the foundation also hired a psychologist who conducted psychosocial sessions for 85 women and young girls. This critical intervention aimed to address the stress and trauma experienced by these individuals.

SRSP also worked on women empowerment in malakand division and start projects to bring gender equality. SRSP formed 43,279 Cos with 32% women quota, it also ensured 45% girls enrollment in CBS.⁹³

Women's role and rehabilitation is a complex narrative in the context of malakand division conflict. The role of women emerged as multi-faceted, because some women were involved in supporting talibans ideology and also supported them financially. On the other hand some found themselves caught in the crossfire of radical ideologies and violence. The absence of dedicated rehabilitation centers or comprehensive programs further complicated the situation. Although some NGOs made efforts to provide relief and vocational training to women with an objective of molding their minds from radical ideologies. The military also recognized the potential for molding women's minds and played a role in their empowerment. Because the absence of exposure to national and international media left women vulnerable to radical ideologies, exploited largely by mullah radio. Pakistan army with the help of some renowned physiologists worked on it to facilitate women coming out of radical ideologies. Many international and local NGOs adressed this problem to mold women minds of the region from radical ideologies, in which Some notable NGOs are CHURCH WORLD SERVICE, HUIRA, LASOONA, UQAAB WELFARE and many others. These all provide women cash grants, kitchen equipment, Sewing machines and hygiene kits

5.6 DISCUSSION:

After reading all the literature and analyzing the interviews from the field it is showed that the collaboration between international organizations, NGOs, the government, and the Pakistan Army aimed to address various aspects of recovery and development in conflict-affected areas, ranging from immediate relief to long-term rehabilitation

⁹³ SRSP Annual Diary. (2018). CDLD: Community-Driven Local Development Policy by the KP Government.

and sustainable peace building. Infrastructure and social norms institutes that were demolished by militants were reconstructed. This chapter on post-conflict rehabilitation casts a spotlight on the initiatives undertaken by international organizations, NGOs, and the government of Pakistan, it also however reveals the complexity of the challenges faced by the local populace. According to a proportion of locals these initiatives were much limited and there is the need of fair distribution of funds to locals, because to them corruption is the major problem malakand division have.

The involvement of international organizations in post conflict rehabilitation gives hope to the affected people, offering aid and assistance. Yet, a prevailing sentiment of disappointment surfaces when juxtaposed against the initiatives of the government of Pakistan. Interviews conducted with locals unveil a dichotomy of perception, a perception where the warmth of international support contrasts with the perceived shortcomings of the domestic administration.

The narrative that emerges from the voices of the people gives a clear picture of how expectations have changed across time. The government helped people in early stages of post-conflict rehabilitation by providing health facilities and food to returning internally displaced people (IDPs). However, the opinions of the locals suggest that some needs have not been satisfied during the later stages of reconstruction. It is emphasized that the government's support looks to be waning in the areas of infrastructure and agricultural land rehabilitation. The lack of compensation for lost crops casts a shadow and pushes some people into severe financial hardship.

The voices of the people show eagerness for a better future. They want economic stability and employment. Many people are looking for possibilities outside of the region due to the disruption caused by conflict, which has left a hole in the local economy. Those who are still residing are in search of meaningful work and sources of support. By analyzing the government's role here, shows a loss of interest in long term rehabilitation of the region, because it initiated just immediate programs for IDPs and the rest were largely neglected.

In the bigger picture of rebuilding after conflict, this chapter gives a detail of damages done and rehabilitation in malakand division. It also shows two opposing situations like both hope and disappointment, help and things that didn't happened as expected.

It also gives a look that how local people see things and what those from outside and inside the area wanted to do.

CHAPTER: 6

6.1 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS:

The exploration undertaken in this research paper has showed the complicated link of conflict, militancy, and post-conflict rehabilitation within the Malakand Division. As we draw the threads of this comprehensive study together, the contours of a complex narrative emerge, bearing witness to the profound impact of violence on a region's social fabric and the resolute efforts to restore its lost harmony. Between the echoes of a disastrous past and the aspiration for a brighter future, the Malakand Division stands as a model of the challenges and opportunities inherent in the realm of conflict resolution and rehabilitation. The first chapter of my work includes the objectives of the study and also gives its significances. While examining the path that this research has taken, it becomes clear that the influence of militancy on Pakistan, especially in the northern region of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, has left a deep and significant mark. The consequences of the conflict have revealed a complex and challenging situation that has deeply affected the lives of individuals who have experienced its chaotic journey. At the height of terrorism's grip on the Malakand Division, the emergence of militant groups such as Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) and Tehreek-e-Nafaz-e-Shariat-e-Mohammadi (TNSM), led by Sufi Muhammad, marked an era of ideological dissemination through pamphlets and by the use of FM radio. In response, the Pakistan Army took a decisive stance against these groups, driven by the imperative to protect the state's sovereignty. Military operations were launched that results in a significant population displacement and the emergence of internally displaced people (IDPs).

In the middle of these chaotic conditions, the Pakistani government, along with foreign NGOs, launched rehabilitation projects to give the impacted population much-needed support. The initiatives were, however, harmed by militant's violent tactics, who aimed to restrict the movement of locals from the region and used them as human shields against state operations. After the military operations, Pakistan army eradicated militancy from the region, thus these residents returned their homes. But they faced a lot of problems because of the destruction caused by the conflict.

In effect, this research shed light on the disparity within the realm of post-conflict rehabilitation strategies, an imbalance underscored by the government's 'top-bottom' approach. This approach, while aiming to rebuild, inadvertently sidelines the distinctive perspectives and nuanced requirements of the local populace. Also the prioritization of immediate relief, however vital, often obscures the pivotal objective of establishing a foundation for enduring peace and stability. This stark contrast prompts an imperative need to delve deep into the underlying factors that engender such variance between central policies and the realities on the ground. The crux of this study has been to unfurl these complexities, employing a multidimensional analysis that not only encapsulates the nuances of the past but also illuminates a path toward designing rehabilitation strategies, strategies capable of bridging the gap between short-term relief and the aspiration for the long term rehabilitation after the conflict.

The research extends beyond just academic pursuits. Instead, it aims to explore experiences, goals, and difficulties faced in real life by those who have been directly impacted by the complicated dynamics of militancy and its effects. The conflict's historical backdrop has been covered. It highlights crucial historical events like the growth of extremist ideas, the creation of militant organizations like the TTP, and the military operations, that had a profound impact on the stability of the region. The second chapter of the work is about the historical background of militancy. Because the root causes of militancy in malakand division is linked to the situations of neighboring Afghanistan which was the hotbed of militancy and terrorism. The aftermath of the US-led war on terror resonated strongly across the border, as the repercussions of this global conflict reverberated throughout Pakistan. The chapter revealed the direct impacts of war on terror on Khyber Pakhtunkhwa's northern region, particularly Malakand Division due to its strategic location. However, the complex nature of the phenomena of the Talibanization goes well beyond merely militancy; regional socio-political dynamics and sectarian conflicts worsen the problems. Extremism and militancy's soaked to malakand division from across the border, molded the regions social structure. A significant chapter unfolded in the region's history when Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) emerged as a force under the influence of various factors. The nuanced relationship between external influences,

local conditions, and the formation of militant groups has been explored, revealing the intricate interplay of factors that contributed to the rise of Talibanization.

This chapter illuminates a crucial piece of the puzzle, providing insights into the broader context that paved the way for the subsequent rehabilitation efforts. It emphasizes how important it is to treat both the immediate effects of militancy as well as its deeper causes, ensuring a more comprehensive and long-term strategy to post-conflict rehabilitation.

Talibanization in Malakand Division is explained briefly in this work focusing on the roots of extremist ideologies, the rise of militant groups, and their deeply entwined connections. From the historical backdrop of militancy in Afghanistan to the subsequent ripples it sent across Pakistan's northern region, the third chapter delved into the intricate web of factors shaping the landscape. Central to this narrative was the Tehreek-e-Nafaz-e-Shariat-e-Mohammadi (TNSM), a pivotal force in shaping the ideological underpinnings of the region's conflict. The ties between TNSM and Afghan Taliban added a transnational dimension to the insurgency, amplifying the complexity of the scenario. This nexus culminated in the formation of Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), a force spearheaded by Mullah Fazlullah.

Fazlullah's influence extended beyond conventional boundaries through his powerful FM radio broadcasts. His speeches not only propagated extremist narratives but also fanned the flames of violence, reshaping a landscape once marked by relative peace into one marred by turmoil. The transition from a platform of potential peacemaking to one of violence underscored the resilience and adaptability of these groups in the face of external pressures. As the study illuminated, this transformation was marked by major attacks that shook the very foundations of the country and the region. The consequences of these attacks reverberated through society, challenging the resilience of the local populace and redefining their daily lives. These events, together with the historical, ideological, and operational dimensions described in this chapter, laid the groundwork for a more comprehensive understanding of the region's journey through conflict and into rehabilitation.

By weaving together the intricate threads of Talibanization in Malakand Division, the research not only contextualizes the immediate aftermath of conflict but also offer

insights into the motives and mechanisms that drive such movements. Understanding the origins, dynamics, and shifts within these groups is pivotal for formulating effective policies that address the challenges of rehabilitation and long-term stability.

As we traverse the intricate paths that lead to militancy's foothold, the chapter 'Drivers of Militancy in the Region' uncovers a labyrinth of interwoven factors that combine to propel the insurgency. Socio-economic conditions, often marred by poverty and limited opportunities, create an environment susceptible to extremist ideologies. Radicalized madrassas, functioning as ideological incubators, amplify these sentiments, fostering a breeding ground for militancy. Weak governance exacerbates the situation, as the absence of state services and justice mechanisms further erodes public trust.

The issue of unemployment in the region was also a driving factor of militancy in the region which was exploited by militant groups for their advantage. Across porous borders, militant infiltration and cross-border support complicate the challenge of containing the insurgency in the region. The convincing power of radio broadcasts resonates deeply, particularly with women who, due to their unique societal roles, are vulnerable to manipulation. As we illuminate these influences, it becomes evident how a maelstrom of factors converges to nurture and sustain the momentum of militancy.

A closer examination of peace accords reveals an unforeseen dynamic, the provision of negotiated settlements sometimes emboldens militant factions, enabling them to consolidate their position and reassert their authority. These accords, although intended to bring about stability, can paradoxically grant legitimacy and a platform to groups that thrive on violence. Furthermore, the lingering effects of conflict ripple through the lives of internally displaced people (IDPs), burdening them with trauma and myriad challenges.

By delving into the drivers of militancy, our inquiry magnifies the interconnectedness of these catalysts, providing a deeper understanding of the region's susceptibility to extremist ideologies. This comprehension equips us to devise holistic strategies that tackle the root causes, moving beyond superficial solutions to address the socio-economic, governance, and gender-related dimensions that fuel militancy's flames.

The collective unraveling of these drivers underscores the need for comprehensive approaches that weave economic opportunities, education, effective governance, and gender empowerment into a cohesive fabric of stability. Informed by these insights, our pursuit of rehabilitation and lasting peace pivots towards interventions that fortify society against the corrosive forces of militancy."

After the conflict the phenomenon of internally displaced persons (IDPs) emerges as a reminder of the human cost of conflict in this context. Families uprooted from their homes, communities fragmented, and lives forever altered, these narratives are a testament to the resilience and courage displayed in the face of adversity. However, beyond the immediate impact, the IDP experience also highlights the complex situation of rehabilitation, where the challenges of reintegration and rebuilding intersect with the complex realities of governance, security, and societal healing.

As the research has demonstrated the rehabilitation efforts after the conflict which presents a multifaceted approach of collaboration, discrepancy, and evolving aspirations. The "top-bottom" approach, applied in this context often encounters a mismatch between central policies and on-ground realities. These existing differences or disagreements emphasize the crucial need to consider the local people as equal collaborators in determining their own destiny. Because involving the local community in decision-making processes is essential for achieving meaningful and sustainable outcomes. the perspectives and opinions of the local population, which are often overlooked or marginalized, need to be heard and incorporated into the creation of policies. This approach ensures that rehabilitation efforts are tailored to address the unique requirements and challenges faced by the community.

The last chapter of the study is about to navigate the wreckage left in the wake of conflict. The chapter 'Damages and Rehabilitation in the Region' meticulously uncovers the far-reaching devastation endured by Malakand Division. This litany of destruction encompasses a broad spectrum, from the dismantling of educational and health institutions to the decimation of vital agricultural infrastructure. This grim tapestry of losses, intricately woven, casts a stark light on the monumental challenges faced by the region's inhabitants. Despite this destruction, glimmers of hope emerge in the form of collaborative efforts by international stakeholders. Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), United Nations (UN) agencies, International NGOs (INGOs),

and various nations collectively extend a hand of rehabilitation. Their interventions symbolize a testament to the human spirit of resilience, a spirit that transcends borders and unites in the common pursuit of restoration.

Based upon the structural-functionalism theory, the research delves into the mechanics of rehabilitation, recognizing that societies are intricate webs where each strand contributes to the overall fabric of functionality. This lens reveals how rehabilitation initiatives, orchestrated by a multitude of actors, converged to rekindle the embers of normalcy in the aftermath of devastation. Schools rebuilt, communities reconnected, and essential services reinstated made the wheels of recovery in motion.

Yet, shadows linger even in the radiance of recovery. The lack of a comprehensive, long-term policy from the government reverberates as a recurring theme, overshadowing the collective efforts invested in rehabilitation. The myopic focus on immediate relief over initiatives for long-term peace and stability underscores a critical gap in our trajectory.

The wide-angle perspective of our findings paints a compelling image as we take a step back and look at it. The contradiction that impacts post-conflict rehabilitation is exemplified by the sharp contrast between the sincere efforts of foreign collaborators and the lack of an effective local plan. This gap emphasizes how crucial it is to involve local communities not just as receivers of rehabilitation but also as builders of that rehabilitation, giving them a voice that reverberates down policy corridors and shapes policies that are infused with empathy and intellect.

This all discussion shows a clear gap between the long term and immediate policies of the government towards rehabilitation, It gives a lesson of mere commitment and resilience. Through learning from the rehabilitation efforts, the research aims to contribute to a future where the impacts of conflict are minimized. The commitment to creating a robust and adaptable rehabilitation strategy also gives the significance of the research's contributions.

As the research go through the exploration of the complex landscape of post-conflict rehabilitation in Malakand Division, it becomes evident that the challenges faced in the aftermath of conflict are multifaceted and deeply intertwined. The journey through the chapters of this study has uncovered the intricate web of factors that contribute to

the persistence of militancy, the repercussions of conflict, and the subsequent rehabilitation efforts. Throughout our investigation, we have cast a spotlight on the limitations of short-term strategies and the imperative for sustainable and inclusive approaches.

The case of the Malakand Comprehensive Stabilization and Socio-economic Development Strategy, launched by the Government of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in August 2009, stands as a prime example of the pitfalls of short-term perspectives. While the strategy correctly acknowledged the urgent needs of the region and prioritized security, governance, and basic services, it fell short in ensuring the sustainability of interventions and the integration of community ownership and participation. Furthermore, its limited integration with interventions in the broader context of Pakistan hindered its effectiveness. Critiques of donor support for the strategy, which favored a short-term stabilization approach, underscore the need to shift focus towards long-term development and security improvements led by a strong and democratic government.

This serves as a testament to the necessity of the work's conclusions. It has illuminated the challenges that arise when rehabilitation efforts lack long-term vision and the meaningful inclusion of local perspectives. As we have seen, merely addressing the immediate aftermath of conflict is insufficient to ensure lasting peace, stability, and prosperity. The voices of the affected community must resonate in policy corridors, guiding the design of comprehensive strategies that respond to the nuanced needs of the region. By learning from the lessons of the past and adopting a holistic and sustainable approach, the research paves the way for genuine healing, community-driven development, and the realization of a peaceful and prosperous future.

Moreover, the post-conflict rehabilitation is not just about the material reconstruction but also with the likes of education, gender equality, economic revitalization, and sustainable peace. The journey of restoring what was lost, offers opportunities for holistic transformation. This transformation is not just confined to the physical or infrastructural landscape; it extends to the revival of social norms, the empowerment of women, and the building of an environment that is inhospitable to the seeds of extremism.

The implications of this research reverberate beyond the geographical confines of the Malakand Division. It resonates with conflict-ridden regions worldwide, where the stories of resilience and rehabilitation remain. The lessons garnered from the interplay of insurgency, conflict, and the pursuit of peace cast a spotlight on the imperative of locally engaged, inclusive strategies. Unlike the conventional paradigm of top-bottom approach, the need of the society is active involvement of the community as explained by the theory of structural functionalism. There is also a need of fair and just practices and a long-term perspective that goes beyond just addressing the immediate consequences of conflict. It suggests a holistic and sustainable way forward for the affected region.

This study, enriched by the voices of the affected, adds a layer of understanding to the broader discourse on conflict studies. It offers methodological insights, human narratives, and a nuanced comprehension of the intricacies inherent in the realm of conflict and its aftermath. In doing so, it lays the foundation for future research endeavors, opening doors to the exploration of long-term rehabilitation impacts and innovative restorative justice mechanisms.

6.1.1 Recommendations:

It is crucial to understand that post-conflict rehabilitation is a challenging endeavor that necessitates a comprehensive approach. The difficulties and complexities exposed throughout this study highlight the requirement for deliberate and careful interventions that take into account the complex dynamics of conflict-affected communities. The suggestions that follow provide a comprehensive framework for managing conflict's repercussions and promoting long-term stability.

1. The government should formulate comprehensive and long-term policies that extend beyond immediate relief efforts. These policies should prioritize the sustainable development of conflict-affected regions, focusing on education, healthcare, economic opportunities, and social infrastructure.
2. Implementing restorative justice mechanisms can contribute to healing and reconciliation within conflict-affected societies. Restorative justice practices can address grievances, foster community cohesion, and provide opportunities for former militants to reintegrate into society.

3. Prioritize socioeconomic development initiatives that address the underlying factors contributing to militancy. Focus on improving education, healthcare, employment opportunities, and basic infrastructure to uplift the standards of the population.
4. Enhance local governance structures and institutions to ensure effective service delivery, transparent decision-making, and citizen participation. This will help build trust between the government and the people.
5. Establish counter-radicalization programs that involve religious scholars, community leaders, and educators to challenge extremist narratives and promote moderate interpretations of Islam.
6. Collaborate with religious institutions to modernize madrassa curricula, ensuring a balanced education that includes not only religious teachings but also essential subjects like science, mathematics, and social studies.
7. Promote education, particularly for women and girls, to counter the influence of extremist ideologies. Launch awareness campaigns that emphasize the importance of education, tolerance, and inclusivity in building a resilient society.
8. Collaborate with neighboring countries, particularly Afghanistan, to enhance border security and intelligence sharing, which can help prevent the cross-border movement of militants.

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