

**SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS OF TERRORISM:  
A CASE STUDY OF TERRORISM IN DISTRICT SWAT OF KHYBER  
PAKHTUNKHWA, PAKISTAN**

**Safi Ullah Khan Marwat**

Assistant Professor, Department of History & Pakistan Studies,  
International Islamic University, Islamabad, Pakistan  
safiullah.khan@iiu.edu.pk

**Nasib Amin**

PhD Candidate, Department of History & Pakistan Studies,  
International Islamic University, Islamabad, Pakistan  
nasib.phdps7@iiu.edu.pk

**ABSTRACT**

*This research paper is focused on the socio-psychological factors responsible for terrorism in District Swat of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP), Pakistan. Poverty, disappointment, domestic disputes, easy access to weapons, ethnicity, regionalism, racism as well as religious extremism and interest in Jihad (Holy War) have been the main causes of terrorism in Swat. Socio-psychological values define the direction for a society. In KP generally, and its district Swat particularly, the domestic culture and environment and the war-like situation in its neighbouring Afghanistan for decades has fueled the terrorism. The KP's society has historical, cultural, religious and ethnic links with Afghanistan. Their mutual socio-psychological resemblance also matters a lot in this regard. Especially, after the incident of 9/11, the US-led forces declared the "war on terrorism" across the globe and, mainly, targeted al-Qaida and its sponsor, the Taliban government, in Afghanistan. As a result, there was an influx of Taliban and al-Qaida members ("terrorists" as termed by the US-led forces) in KP including its district Swat. Being an ally of US-led forces in her declared "War on Terrorism", Pakistan had to take action against this influx of "terrorists" coming from Afghanistan. Since the days of US-sponsored Afghan Jihad against the USSR in Afghanistan during 1970s-80s, the Afghan and Pakistani Mujahiddin (Holy Warriors) considered all infidels and their supporters as their "common enemy" in the line of Islam. As a result, after the 9/11 incident, both the Afghan and Pakistani Taliban joined hands against the "infidel-US". In Pakistan, they formed Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) and, soon, district Swat of KP became one of its strongholds. It challenged not only the authority of the then civilian government in Swat but even threatened the territorial integration of the state of Pakistan. To cope with this rising situation, the state adopted the "carrot and stick" approach towards TTP. Initially, the state-agencies negotiated with them and ensured them lucrative offers on their surrender to the state. Some of them accepted the states' offer and save their skin. Others did not surrender and met the wrath of the state. This paper narrates and analyzes that, 'how and why the socio-psychological factors were active behind the whole scenario of terrorism in district Swat of KP, Pakistan?'*

**Keywords:** Factors, Islam, Jihad, Pakhtunwali, Socio-Psychological, Terrorism.

**INTRODUCTION**

Swat is one of Pakistan's terrorism proven districts in KP which is also known as "Pakistan's Little Switzerland". It is located in the middle of the slopes of a mountainous range known as "Hindu Kush Ranges" in northern portion of Pakistan. Its location may be traced out through latitudes 34° to 35° north and longitudes 72° to 74° east. This mountainous valley is of much geo-strategic importance which may be termed as a junction of three important regions of the continent of Asia i.e. China in its north-east, Central Asia in its north-west, and South Asia in its south-east (Ali, Sheikh, Shakoor, Wazir, & Saeed, 2013).

Historically, it has been an important province of Persia for 200 years during the reign of famous Darius the Great-I (522 BC-486 BC) until it was conquered in 327 BC by the Greek invader Alexander the Great (356 BC-323 BC). The Mori family recaptured Swat in 305 BC. Perth's ruled over the area in 250 BC. After the first century BC, Swat served as one of the most important centers of Gandhara civilization. This valley is very beautiful and it was a very peaceable area to live in till the

11th century. The power disrupted the valley and was first occupied by Mahmud of Ghazni from Central Asia. The practice of land acquisition continued and after that the Swat Valley was taken over by *Yusufzais*. The Swat was established as an Islamic State in 1849 by Syed Akbar Shah with *Sharia* as its law. It was in disorder during 1878 to 1915. Syed Akbar Shah's nephew, Syed Abdul Jabbar Shah, was made as ruler of Swat by a local *Jirga* in 1915. But, he remained for a short period and, in 1917, another *Jirga* appointed Mian Gul Shahzada Abdul Wadud as the new *Wali* (ruler) of Swat. In 1926, the British government in India also recognized his rule and Swat as an independent state. After creation of Pakistan in 1947, Mian Abdul Wadud exceeded the state of Swat to Pakistan while maintaining considerable autonomy. At that time, the economy of Swat was based on agriculture and it was also a central point for commercial activities. In 1966, Pakistan extended a traditional salute of fifteen guns to the *Wali* of Swat. In 1969, the State of Swat was merged into Pakistan for once and all (Rome S. , 2022). According to the national census of 2017, the total area of district Swat is 5,337 square kilometers while its total population is 23,08,624 which are composed of different ethnic, linguistic, and cultural groups including *Pakhtuns*, *Kohistanis*, *Gujjars* and *Swatis* etc. (Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, 2022).

By the end of twentieth century, the peaceful environment of Swat shattered when a local religious figure named *Maulana* Sufi Muhammad started *Tehrik-i-Nifaz-i-Shariat-i-Muhammadi* (TNSM) to impose *Sharia* as law of the land in Malakand Division of KP. It resulted in a militant conflict of TNSM with Pakistani security agencies which ended in a peace-treaty between TNSM and state of Pakistan. Later on, in 2002, Sufi Muhammad's son-in-law, *Mulla* Fazl Ullah became the second *Amir* (head) of the TNSM. Once again, the TNSM combined with the TTP tended to militancy in Swat. But, again, it was crushed by Pakistani security agencies as earlier. In 2013, Fazl Ullah became the third *Amir* of TTP and continued his militant activities both in Pakistan and Afghanistan till his death in 2018. (Khan N. I., 2010) This whole war-like scenario in Swat for decades has affected the area tremendously. This research paper is to clarify the socio-psychological context as a cause of terrorism and fundamentalism in Swat.

## THE GLOBAL DIMENSIONS OF TERRORISM

In recent past, terrorism has been emerged as the most common global phenomenon. Its study is very massive, sensitive, and controversial. It is believed that today's human society across the globe is living in a multi-dimensional terrorism proven environment. They are either involved or affected, directly or indirectly, by this phenomenon. The word "terrorism" is so complex and complicated in itself that there is no universal consensus over its definition yet (Bruce, 2013). According to Article 3 of the 2010 UN Declaration on Measures to Eliminate International Terrorism, "Criminal acts intended or calculated to provoke a state of terror in the general public, a group of persons or particular persons for political purposes are in any circumstance unjustifiable, whatever the considerations ..." (UNO, 2020)

Practically, many countries across the globe are incapable of dealing with terrorism or even to define it properly. The "theory and practice" in respect of terrorism vary from time to time, country to country, and case to case. Globally, after the incident of 9/11, the terrorism was mainly linked to *al-Qaida* and *Taliban*. The terrorist activities, committed by the *al-Qaida* and *Taliban* specifically, were generalized and it was propagated that, in recent past, the terrorism had been originated and flourished within the Muslim world. Such an unjust and unfair propagation against the Muslims at international level fanned the sentiments of Islamic *Jihad* against all of the infidels of the globe (Corbin, 2017).

To understand the terrorism in its true letter and spirit, it may be analyzed in its multi-dimensions. Sometimes, in autocratic societies, it is an internal phenomenon of a state when its government opts for use of force against its internal opponents. It becomes fair enough if the government succeeds against its opponent but if it proves weak against them, then, not only the government but even the state has to pay for it in return. It results in a violent response of the opponents of the government and, slowly and steadily, it grows into terrorism. State violence against its own citizens, making them hostage, and murdering them ruthlessly provoke a wide spread anger and extreme antagonism among the general public against the state. It gives birth to groups of local terrorists' organizations. Internationally, physical occupation of territories and resources of weak states or any interference within their internal affairs by the big powers has also been one of the reasons of rising tide of terrorism across the globe. The occupied states or citizens tend to militant activities. Their supporters symbolize them as "freedom fighters" while their opponents call them as "terrorists" (Frey & Morris, 1991).

## **SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL DIMENSIONS OF TERRORISM**

Beside the aforementioned factors, the nature of terrorism is also linked with the socio-psychological dynamics of human beings. At international level, terrorism is considered as a crime. But, the nature and motive behind committing this crime gives the definition of terrorism. For example, the crime committed through use of violence for personal gains or interests by an individual is not terrorism. However, the same crime done by an individual or a group of individuals collectively for a common group-gain or interest is terrorism. Similarly, as long as there is an ideology behind any crime, it is also terrorism. It refers to impacts of socio-psychological factors over human behavior (Pisoiu & Hain, 2017). According to the "Theory of Behaviorism", man is the child of his environment and his behavior is subject to the factors around him. Since his childhood, he adopts a socio-psychological behavior from his environment which, slowly and steadily, becomes his second-nature (Watson, 1925).

## **SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS OF TERRORISM IN DISTRICT SWAT OF KP, PAKISTAN**

Being a front-line state in the neighborhood of terrorism-proven Afghanistan during the post 9/11 era, Pakistan in general and its province of KP witnessed a worst type of terrorism. It was provoked by different internal and external factors. During this period, district Swat of KP was also hit by the tiding wave of terrorism. For the last one and half decades (2007-2022), a lot of research work has been produced about the rise, fall, and different factors behind the terrorism in Swat. But, socio-psychological factors behind this whole phenomenon in Swat have been discussed with lesser details which need to be highlighted and analyzed comprehensively. Hence, the central theme of this research paper is to narrate and analyze the socio-psychological factors behind the terrorism in Swat.

Majority of the population of Swat are ethnically *Pakhtuns* and Muslims by faith. Socially, they prefer to follow their centuries old traditions and code of life known as *Pakhtunwali* (Khan, Faheem, & Gul, 2019). Religiously, they consider themselves as true believers and defenders of Islam. They consider a great resemblance between *Pakhtunwali* and Islam (Jan, Dr. Muhammad, & Aman, 2015). But, it is not so. Though, some convergences are there, but, there are also clear divergences between the two (Naz & Rehman, 2011). In his book *Pathan: A Sketch*, the famous Pashto poet and writer Abdul Ghani Khan (elder son of Abdul Ghaffar Khan alias Bacha Khan) has drawn very clearly and beautifully the complex and complicated sketch of a typical traditional *Pakhtun* in the context of his socio-psychological and behavioral approaches. He narrates him as under,

"...I want to bring him to you and make him talk to you - of his struggle and his dreams, of love and feuds, his field and his watch-tower, his new rifle and his old wife...He will talk to you about his customs so that you may understand his laws. He will talk of dacoities, raids and duels so that you may know the power that drives him. He will talk to you of priests and magic and charms so that you may know the darkness in his heart...The Pathan has a tender heart but tries to hide it under a rough and gruff exterior. He is too good a fighter to leave his weakest part uncovered. "Don't be so sweet," he says, "that people may swallow you up, nor so bitter that people may spit you out." So he covers his sweetness with bitterness, self-preservation pure and simple. His violent nature, strong body and tender heart make a very unstable combination for living but an ideal one for poetry and colour. He keeps a rough face because he does not want you to see his soft eyes. He would rather you thought he was a rogue than let you see him weep his eyes out for his wife. His father and mother try to inure him to the hardness of their own lives. "The eyes of the dove are lovely," they tell him," but the air is made for the hawk. So cover your dove-like eyes and grow claws."

He becomes a hawk...When the Pathan is a child his mother tells him, "the coward dies but his shrieks live long after," and so he learns not to shriek. He is shown dozens of things dearer than life so that he will not mind either dying or killing. He is forbidden colourful clothes or exotic music, for they weaken the arm and soften the eye. He is taught to look at the hawk and forget the nightingale...The politics of the Pathan centre round gold and power, hunger and ambition...every Pathan imagines he is Alexander the Great and wants the world to admit it. The result is a constant struggle between cousin and cousin, brother and brother and quite often between father and son. This has proved his sole undoing through the ages. They have not succeeded in being a great nation...A violent temperament, a domineering nature and abysmal ignorance are his only sources of inspiration. When' he cannot be the Lord Mayor of Delhi, he develops a great contempt for Delhi and a great love for his two-and-a-half

mud houses, where he can and does function as Lord Mayor. He loves his own freedom, but hates to give freedom to anyone else...He has great ambition and no patience; that is why he usually dies rather young. He has a great heart and a thick head; that is why he makes a charming friend and a fine host. He has a proud head and an empty stomach; that is why he is a great dacoit. When he has to choose between ransom and alms, he chooses ransom, because he is a man and not a worm...When a social system fails to provide for his dear ones, he tramples it down under his grass sandals. When a political arrangement decides to starve him and overfeed another he shoots holes into it...

The Pathan loves to steal because he hates to beg...He would rather break his head than sell it with that genteel submission so common in civilised man. These two hundred years the British have bribed and corrupted him. They bought up his priests and Khans and Faqirs. They purchased the tin-gods he worshipped, paid him with Indian gold in the service of English folly and asked him to put out his eyes and his spirit. It worked in bits and for a while...The sole role of the political department of the Government of India under the British was to try to teach the hawks of Khyber the wretched ways of the crow and the vulture. It seduced the lowest and the greediest of the tribe and gave them importance and bought influence for them. A tool must be important and influential. All influence in the tribes belonged to the Khan and the Priest-one is the lord of this world, the other claims the lordship of the next. The Political Service supplied the tribes with divine looking priests, who put on the uniform of Allah's servant to serve the devil. They perverted the tribesmen's intense devotion to "God into an intense hatred of his brother. The used his childish faith and honesty in the service of deceit and corruption. The British succeeded beautifully. The Pathans were too busy cutting one another's throat to think of anything else. There was blood and darkness everywhere. The Empire was safe and the Pathan damned..." (Khan G. , 1947)

The aforementioned characteristics of a typical traditional *Pakhtun* character have been envisaged by a *Pakhtun* nationalist poet and writer, Abdul Ghani Khan, which may be biased, prejudiced or a one-sided depiction. They may vary from individual to individual, time to time, space to space, and situation to situation. But, analysis of the socio-psychological factors behind the rise of terrorism in district Swat of KP portrays almost the same scenario. Swat has been abode of a typical traditional *Pakhtun* and Muslim dominant society having an obsession for their social code of life, *Pakhtunwali*, and their faith, Islam. Majority of its population is dwelling in rural area. It has agro-based economy with some sort of industry, trade, commerce, services, and tourism etc. Majority of the villages in Swat are dominated by *Pakhtun* tribes or sub-tribe majority of whom are *Yousafzais*. They have their own respective tribal or sub-tribal elders, a *Hujra* (a common place for social gatherings of the villagers), a *Jirga* (a common consultative and reconciliatory body composed of tribal and sub-tribal elders), and a *Jumat* (a common mosque for daily five-prayers and other religious activities). Earlier, the society was tribal where each tribesman had equal rights under *Pakhtunwali*. As a whole, a village was to be under a single tribal chieftain who had an absolute authority bestowed upon him by the *Jirga*. However, different sub-tribe elders had equal representation within a *Jirga* or any other affairs of the village. A typical tribal *Pakhtun* "loved his old wife and new rifle". He was always ready to kill or die in the line of his honor which is often linked to *Zanana* (women's) or religious affairs. Initially, the *Mulla* (head of the daily five-prayers in the mosque and other religious affairs within the society) was subservient to the villagers and the *Khan* (tribal head of the village) who fed him and his family on daily basis and, besides, paid him in cash or through cash-crops or food-grains on monthly or annual basis. Religiously, though, the villagers including the *Khan* had a great reverence for him. But, he had no role in tribal affairs. Socially, to be a *Mulla* was considered of low profile within a typical traditional tribal society of *Pakhtuns*. Hence, most of them were non-*Pakhtuns* belonging to outside the *Pakhtun* society genealogically (Khan Z. , The mullah and the Pakhtun, 2017).

Even, *Pakhtuns* felt ashamed of having any matrimonial relations with them. Since ancient times, the people of Swat lived under this socio-psychological mind-set. They were a loose-knit tribal society (Khan S. , 1970). They remained loyal to their tribal *Pakhtunwali* and faithful to their religion (Islam). They were violent, arms-loving, and always ready to fight, sometimes, for the sake of gaining a tribal pride while fighting in any inter-tribal feud or *Tarburwali* (enmity among cousins) bravely. Other times, they did not hesitate to fight in the name of *Jihad* (Holy War) against any "foreign infidel" occupying forces. Hence, as a result of living within such a socio-psychological environment for centuries, violence, militancy, and non-patience became their second nature. They did not hesitate

to fight violently. And the reason might be a pity tribal issue, feminine-type feeling of honor, or a spirit of *Jihad* which is perceived by them as a greater noble cause.

With the passage of time, like other parts of KP, the *Pakhtun* society in Swat has also been evolved from a tribal to a heterogeneous and pluralistic one, where each individual of the society enjoys even social status having equal constitutional and democratic rights. As a result, the *Khan* and the *Mulla* have been emerged as equally important and influential figures within the *Pakhtun* society (Khan S. , 2017). Even, some *Mullas* of *Pakhtun* origin became well-known and influential socio-religious and political figures of Swat. One of them was Abdul Ghafoor (1794-1877) alias Saidu Baba as well as *Akhund* (Islamic scholar) of Swat. Ethnically, according to one account, he belonged to “*Safi*” (a sub-tribe of *Mohmand* tribe of *Pakhtuns*) (Islam, 2014). But, some of the scholars are also of the view that, genealogically, Saidu Baba was not of a *Pakhtun* origin but a non-*Pakhtun Gujjar* (Rome S. , 1992).

During nineteenth century, he emerged as a source of spiritual and political inspiration for the people of Swat. They became his *Mureeds* (disciples, followers) in hundreds and thousands. He led them towards a practical *Jihad* against the Sikhs in 1835 on the request of the then *Amir* of Afghanistan, Dost Muhammad Khan, and then against the British in 1863 during the *Ambela* Campaign. In 1849, the British annexed Punjab including the present days Peshawar Valley sharing its border with the Swat Valley. Saidu Baba was a visionary man who took British annexation of Peshawar Valley as a direct political threat to the Swat Valley and adjacent *Pakhtun* dominant areas. He was of the view that those areas might be the next soft-target of British under their “Forward Policy” in the north-west of British India. Therefore, in the same year of 1849, he convened a grand *Jirga* of the tribal elders of the areas of Swat, Buner, Dir, and Bajur in Saidu Sharif. He urged them to establish a common strong central government to combat any possible “external threat” jointly. The tribal elders agreed to his arguments. They asked him to come forward and lead them in a common government. But, being more interested in religious and spiritual affairs of the people of Swat, Saidu Baba refused to take any political position in the proposed government of Swat. Instead, he proposed the name of Syed Akbar Shah who was descendent of Syed Ali Tirmizi alias Pir Baba (1502-1583). The tribal elders agreed upon his proposal and Syed Akbar Shah became the *Amir* of the newly born state of Swat (Islam, 2014).

Since 1849 (the year of first modern state of Swat) till 1969 (the year of merger of the state of Swat into the state of Pakistan), the history of the state of Swat witnessed many ups and downs. Though, it was a journey from antiquity to modernity which was necessitated to be uniformed but it polarized the population of Swat into urban and rural dwellings. The urban population evolved into a relatively modern and enlightened *Pakhtun* society having some access to worldly facilities and control over resources. As a result, their socio-psychological approaches evolved from rigidity to flexibility reflecting a vivid liberalism and secularism in their theory and modernity in their practice. On the other hand, the people of Swat living in rural dwellings, though, witnessed a little bit change in their socio-psychological outlook but not at par with their brethren in urban areas. They still remained conservative in their socio-psychological approach while idealizing their pseudo-type love for their *Pakhtunwali* and Islam despite the fact that, like their brethren in urban dwellings, they too were eager to evolve their society into a modern one if they were provided a chance. But, they could not get that chance, especially, after their merger into Pakistan. With a reversed gear, their situation rapidly worsened after the Russian invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, rise of Taliban during 1990s, and US-led war on terror after the incident of 9/11. The impacts of all these developments were far-reaching upon the people of Swat in the context of their socio-psychological approaches which played an important role in the rise of terrorism in Swat. The first socio-psychological factor was that their love for *Pakhtunwali* and Islam compelled them to declare *Jihad* shoulder to shoulder with their *Pakhtun* and Muslim brethren both in Afghanistan and Pakistan against their self-perceived common enemy, first, against the USSR and, then, the US. Most of them had rifles and ammunitions at their homes and they were self-trained to operate them against their “enemy”.

Psychologically, they were eagerly ready to kill or die in the name of a “greater cause” for *Pakhtunwali* and Islam. No doubt, their *Jihadi* leadership fully utilized the ethnic as well as Islamic card for their motivation in this regard. Religiously, the people of the state of Swat had experienced a “special sort of Islamic Sharia”. After their merger into Pakistan, they had lost their hope to have it again. But, emergence of TNSM in 1990s and their nexus with the TTP and Afghan Taliban gave them a new hope to have an “Islamic system” to satisfy their religious aspirations at least theoretically if not practically. Ironically, with exception of its encounters with the TNSM in early 1990s, the state of

Pakistan turned an un-noticing eye upon their activities between Pakistan and Afghanistan without any hindrance. Psychologically, it made them more daring. It was an extreme form of religious fanaticism. The “master-minds” of the “great-game” tactfully and successfully shaped the violent and emotional socio-psychological approach of *Pakhtuns* into a *Jihadi* approach for their own interests. However, with the passage of time, they are understanding and unfolding the factual position behind the whole phenomenon (BBC-Urdu).

## CONCLUSION

Terrorism has been a debatable phenomenon across the globe in recent past. After the incident of 9/11, it has been linked to the Muslim world tactfully due to the prevailing concept of *Jihad* (Holy War) among the Muslims against the infidels as a part of their faith. On the same lines, it has been a challenging issue in Pakistan generally and among *Pakhtuns* across the Durand Line (both in Pakistan and Afghanistan) particularly. Meanwhile, Swat (a former princely state and a present district of KP in Pakistan) witnessed the rise of a severe tide of terrorism during the first decade of twenty first century despite the fact the area had been passed through an enlightened and progressive period of developments as a modern princely state (1915-1969) under the rule of Miangul Abdul Wadud alias Badshah Sahib (1915-1949) and his son Miangul Abdul Haq Jahanzeb (1949-1969) respectively followed by a provincial government of KP through a district administration (1969-present). Different scholars have explained the factors behind the rise of terrorism in Swat differently. Most of them have linked it to religious extremism and fanaticism prevailing among the masses of Swat. No doubt, religion is one of the main aspects of the whole scenario. But, in their explanations, the missing link is that there was a combination of socio-psychological factors behind terrorism in addition to religious sentiments among the masses of Swat.

Those socio-psychological factors were mainly driven by their traditional love for *Pakhtunwali* and Islam. For example, a typical traditional *Pakhtun* of Swat might be ready to pick his rifle and kill or die, sometimes, in the name of his self-perceived tribal honor over a tribal dispute or a feminine issue and, other times, for any greater cause in the name of Islam. Socially, he is arms-loving and self-trained to operate them on his finger-tips. Psychologically, he feels pride to look into the eyes of death because he considers his life as the least price to be paid necessarily to save his honor. He prefers to die rather to be dominated by his enemy who may be either his own *Tarbur* (cousin) or any “foreign infidel” or their supporters at home. Since 1849 till 1969, they experienced a mild form of Islamic *Sharia*. They had a great divine reverence for their religio-political leadership. Their encounter with British India in their neighborhood further sparked religious and *Jihadi* sentiments among them. With this historical background, in recent past, they were much responsive to Sufi Muhammad’s TNSM and Fazl Ullah’s TTP which, ultimately, resulted in the rise of terrorism in Swat.

## REFERENCES

- Pakistan Bureau of Statistics*. (2022, June Saturday). Retrieved June Saturday, 2022, from Final Results (Census-2017): [https://www.pbs.gov.pk/sites/default/files/population/2017/kp\\_district\\_wise.pdf](https://www.pbs.gov.pk/sites/default/files/population/2017/kp_district_wise.pdf)
- Ali, S., Sheikh, N. A., Shakoor, A., Wazir, A., & Saeed, M. (2013, August). History of Swat till to the Rise of Taliban and the Role of FM Radio. (D. Z. Hussain, Ed.) *International Journal of Academic Research in Business and Social Sciences*, 3, 53.
- BBC-Urdu. (n.d.). *Bajaur\_say\_Balkh\_tak.mpg*, Video Documentary. (BBC-Urdu) Retrieved June 08 (Wednesday), 2022, from BBC-Urdu: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vYuBIItL32O0>
- Bruce, G. (2013, May). Definition of Terrorism. (D. A. Robertson, Ed.) *Journal of Military and Veterans' Health*, 21(2), 27.
- Corbin, C. M. (2017). Terrorists Are Always Muslim And Not White: At The Intersection of Critical Race Theory and Propaganda. *The Fordham Law Review*, 86(2), 454-485.
- Frey, R. G., & Morris, C. W. (1991). *Violence, Terrorism, and Justice*. (R. G. Frey, & C. W. Morris, Eds.) New York, USA: Cambridge University Press.
- Islam, F. (2014). Swat State during 1849-1969: A Historical Perspective. (D. M. Awan, Ed.) *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, XXXV(I), 97-113.

- Jan, D. A., & Aman, S. (2015, July-December). Islam and Pakhtunwali: Convergence and Divergence of Religious and Cultural Identities among the Pakhtuns of Pakistan. (P. S. Hawid, Ed.) *Peshawar Islamicus*, 6(2), 15-27.
- Khan, G. (1947). *The Pathan: A Sketch*. Bombay: National Information and Publications.
- Khan, N. I. (2010). Tehreek-i-Nifaz-i-Shariat-i-Muhammadi in Malakand Division (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa): A Case Study of the Process of 'State Inversion. *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, XXXI, 136-158.
- Khan, S. (1970). *Sarguzasht-i-Swat (Urdu)*. Lahore, Punjab, Pakistan: Al-Humra Academy.
- Khan, S. (2017, July 11). The mullah in Pakhtun society. *The News*.
- Khan, S., Faheem, M., & Gul, S. (2019, Winter). Understanding Pashtunwali and the Manifestation of Pashtun Nationalism in Pakistan: A Conceptual Analysis. *Global Social Sciences Review (GSSR)*, IV(1), 264-270.
- Khan, Z. (2017, June-July, 29 June, 30 June, 02 July). The mullah and the Pakhtun. *The News*, I, II, II.
- Naz, A., & Rehman, H. (2011). Pakhtunwali Versus Islam: A Comparative Analysis of Women's Rights in Islam and Their Violation Under Pakhtunwali (Pakhtun Code of Life) in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Pakistan. *International Journal of Humanity and Social Sciences*, 1(2), 22-32.
- Pisoiu, D., & Hain, S. (2017). *Theories of Terrorism: An Introduction* (1st ed.). London, London, UK: Routledge.
- Rome, S. (1992, July 1). Abdul Ghaffur (Akhund) Saidu Baba of Swat: Life, Career and Role. (D. R. Kazimi, Ed.) *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, 40(3), 299-308.
- Rome, S. (2022). *Swat Through the Millennia: From Pre-History to the Early Twentieth Century*. Karachi, Sindh, Pakistan: Oxford University Press.
- UNO. (2020, January). (G. Assembly, Producer, & United Nations Organization) Retrieved June 5, 2022, from What is terrorism according to United Nations?: [https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/Documents/HRBodies/HRCouncil/AdvisoryCom/Session24/A\\_HRC\\_AC\\_24\\_CRP1.docx](https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/Documents/HRBodies/HRCouncil/AdvisoryCom/Session24/A_HRC_AC_24_CRP1.docx)
- Watson, J. B. (1925). *Behaviorism*. New York, New York, USA: W.W. Norton.