

TURMOIL IN AFGHANISTAN: SOCIO-POLITICAL IMPACT ON PAKISTAN

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Abstract: *The research paper aims to analyse the socio-political impacts the Afghan turmoil has imprinted in Pakistan. The war in Afghanistan has played havoc with its geographical neighbor: Pakistan. As a neighboring country, any developments in Afghanistan will have a direct or indirect impact on Pakistan. The Afghan territory historically has always been of strategic importance and a place where global powers have played their 'great game' with the strategic intent of safeguarding their imperial and national interests. This research paper will look at the socio-political impact of the turmoil in Afghanistan on Pakistan, Using the theoretical framework of 'Diffusion of Innovation Theory', by E. M. Rogers and using the concept of 'Demonstration effect' within the above theoretical construct, the paper will evaluate various aspects of Pakistani society and make the case that many of the issues in social and political sphere being faced by Pakistan today.*

Keywords: *Diffusion, Turmoil, Stability, Refugees, Terrorism.*

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INTRODUCTION

This study aims to carry out a descriptive analysis of the socio-political impact of the turmoil in Afghanistan since 1979, on Pakistan.

Pakistan and Afghanistan are intertwined in a way that not only do they share a neighborhood but also, they have common ethnicity, common ideological basis, and common historical contours. Stability in Afghanistan is vital for a secure Pakistan.¹ As a neighbouring country, any developments in Afghanistan will have a direct or indirect impact on Pakistan. The Afghan territory historically has always been of strategic importance and a place where global powers have played their ‘great game’ with the strategic intent of safeguarding their imperial and national interests. In recent history, the incidents of armed conflicts and contentions started with the ‘Saur revolution’ in Afghanistan. Ranging from direct conflict with the superpowers, (Soviet Union) in 1979 and (US) in 2001, to internecine conflicts for power, Afghanistan has remained in turmoil for the last four decades. This turmoil has had a profound social and political impact on Pakistan.

Within the aim of this study, it will collate the socio-political impact of the turmoil in Afghanistan on Pakistan, relying on secondary sources, empirical studies on each of the aspects identified and those not identified, which requires independent research.

Using constructivism as the ontological foundation of the current research, with Interpretivism as its epistemological basis, the methodology largely employed, will be deductive. Using the theoretical framework of ‘Diffusion of Innovation Theory’, by E. M. Rogers and its current adaptation to conflict studies i.e. ‘Theory of Conflict Diffusion’, this coupled with the sociological concept of ‘Demonstration effect’ within the above theoretical construct, will describe the socio-political impact of the turmoil in Afghanistan on Pakistan.² The research will analyse some of the existing literature and then try to prove the hypothesis, or otherwise, whether the

¹ Parveen Saima, Khalil Jehanzeb and Ahmad Manzoor, “Post 2014 Spillover Effects of Afghanistan's Crisis on Pakistan's Foreign Policy,” *FWU Journal of Social Sciences, Special Issue*, 1, no.1 (2015).

² Rogers, Everett M, *Diffusion of Innovations*, (New York: Free Press, 1995).

correlation between the independent variable, turmoil in Afghanistan and (dependent variables) that encompasses impact on the socio-political arena of Pakistan exists or not.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

The concept of diffusion of innovations means the proliferation of ideas or concepts from one society to another.³ This theory argues that humans can borrow different ideas from other societies to evolve their respective cultures.⁴

Moreover, the adoption of innovation poses different consequences. That could be present on two levels: individual and collective. The innovations that result in collective impacts involve countries, states, organizations, and institutions.⁵ Moreover, there are certain costs and benefits associated with the adoption of innovations. Costs and benefits can impact every segment of society.

The term diffusion is used broadly in conflict studies referring to how intense conflict spreads from a particular geographical region to another. Conventionally this term is used as a catch-all term to explain any kind of consequence of war that led to some kind of spillover into adjacent regions.⁶ The use of the term in this way implies it is a linear and mechanical process that moves in one direction.

However, the use of the theory has evolved to remove the oversimplification of describing the relationship of conflict between different geographical regions. Diffusion can take place in many ways and different directions.

³ Walker, JL, "The diffusion of innovations among the American states," *The American Political Science Review* 63, no. 3 (1969): 880–99.

⁴ Labov, W, *Sociolinguistic Patterns*, (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972).

⁵ Wejnert, Barbara, "Integrating Models of Diffusion of Innovations: A Conceptual Framework," *Annual Review of Sociology* 28, no. 4 (2002): 297-326.

⁶ Rogers, Everett M, *Diffusion of Innovations*, (New York: Free Press, 1995).

This evolved theory posits that conflict often spreads to a different geographical region if there exist integrated frameworks that provide conditions that are conducive to the reception of conflict.

This means that the geographical regions to which conflicts are spreading already have conditions that permit the spread of conflict. Under this theory, these are necessary conditions for diffusion of conflict but not sufficient.⁷ Diffusion theory also states that conflicts spread due to individual and group-based choices. Similarly, the conflict needs to move in the other direction as well.

In practice, conflicts are complicated and cannot be neatly divided into theories, and often conflicts spread in all of these ways simultaneously. It is still important however to differentiate how conflict spreads to come up with remedies that would appropriately address them. For example, the conflict in Iraq was influenced by the conflict in Afghanistan.

Therefore, contemporarily diffusion of violent conflict denotes to a multifaceted interaction among local, regional and international forces that produces a certain milieu that resulted in spread of instability from a certain geographical area to other geographical area.⁸

Using this explanation, this research paper will consider different practical factors of the Afghanistan conflict's impact on Pakistan.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Afghanistan's turmoil since 1979, beginning through the Soviet attack on Afghanistan has had a long-lasting influence on the socio-political contours of Pakistan. Beginning with one of the largest influx of refugees in modern history, who was accorded a warm welcome and termed as 'mujahideen' in the cherished Islamic tradition. The protracted presence of Afghan refugees has resulted in 'hosting fatigue' and nationalist tensions, wherein Afghan refugees are negatively stereotyped for terrorism in Pakistan.⁹

⁷ Brown, Michael E., ed, *The International Dimensions of Internal Conflict*, (London: MIT Press, 1996).

⁸ Rogers, Everett M, *Diffusion of Innovations*, (New York: Free Press, 1995).

⁹ Alimia, Sanaa, "Violence and Vulnerabilities: Afghans in Pakistan," *FMIR* 46 (2014).

It is further argued that the incidence of refugees possibly will surge the risk of subsequent conflict in the entire region. The majority of Afghan refugees though never involved in the violence. The literature suggests that the flow of refugees has facilitated the transcontinental spread of arms, warriors and ideologies. That may contribute to conflict and alter the ethnic landscape of the state. Thus, creating economic tussles and rivalries.¹⁰ Apart from the social and political impact of refugees, turmoil in Afghanistan has influenced radicalization in Pakistan.¹¹

SOCIAL IMPACT OF TURMOIL IN AFGHANISTAN ON PAKISTAN AFGHAN REFUGEES: GUESTS OR A BURDEN

The migration of people across the Durand Line is not a new occurrence and predates the creation of the modern frontier in 1893. Even after this, the nature of the border has been unclear and fluid. Moreover, erstwhile FATA was considered somewhat of a “buffer zone” long after the creation of the Durand line.

Additionally, after 1947 the Afghan state consistently rejected the Durand line. The border is not a physical line in any way and is held together through documentary regimes, posing difficulties in practice as to where exactly the border between the two lies. These complications exist even before considering any impact on the region from conflict.

NUMBER OF REFUGEES

In order to unpack any impact of refugees on Pakistan today, it is important to understand the waves of migration from Afghanistan to Pakistan since the 1970s. These can be roughly divided into four phases.

The first followed after the military coup in 1978 carried out by the People’s Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA). The Soviet assault of Afghanistan in 1979 led to enormous instability not only in Afghanistan but in the region. Also brought the Cold War into the South Asian region culminating in the “turmoil” in Afghanistan to follow.

¹⁰ Mansoor Akbar Kundi, “Pakistan an Immigrant Country: Afghan Migration and Its Impact on Balochistan,” *Strategic Studies*, 25, no. 2 (2005): 55-74.

¹¹ Amir Rana and Safdar Sana, *Radicalization in Pakistan*, (Narratives Publication, Islamabad, 2012).

During this period significant numbers of refugees took refuge in Pakistan. That requires a necessary change in the foreign-policy rapport among both countries. Refugees from Afghanistan came to the centre of the relationship between the two countries. The majority of refugees were Pakhtuns who were associated with different professions such as the peasantry and clergy. Such people have perceptions that their cultural ethos and values were in jeopardy.¹²

After the withdrawal of the Soviet Union, another phase of the migratory trend followed, spanning the period from 1986 to 1989.

Another migration phase happened when in 1996 the Taliban took power in Afghanistan. Nearly two million refugees were displaced during this period as a result of the oppressive regime introduced by the Taliban and consequently the political instability that came as a result. The last phase occurred with the war on terrorism in 2001, the war in the region leading to many who have been displaced from their homes.

The UNHCR during all of these waves has helped to return displaced Afghans to their homeland but there continue to be millions of registered and unregistered Afghan refugees are there in Pakistan. Reports from 2019 show that there are about 1.4 million registered Afghan refugees in Pakistan.

CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL AFFINITIES CREATED SPACES FOR EXPLOITATION

The common cultural and historical attractions around the Durand Line have given spaces to militant elements.¹³ The tribesman has supported Afghan Taliban and al-Qaeda recruits by providing them with safe sanctuaries. These militant elements have distorted social fabrics.

CHANGE IN DEMOGRAPHICS CONTOURS

¹³ Sultana Razia, "A Study of Talibanization in Pakistan, *Journal of History and Culture*," 29, no.2, (2008).

According to a 2016 UNHCR report, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa alone is hosting around 1 million undocumented refugees.¹⁴

According to a case study, Peshawar was the most affected city of all since the Russian intrusion.¹⁵ The demographic patterns of the city have been changed in a way that it has become a hub of cultural contusions, economic competition, and a bleak situation of law and order. Moreover, Balochistan also has accommodated a large number of Afghan Refugees. The assimilation of Pakhtun refugees has altered the economic, cultural, and social symmetry of Balochistan.¹⁶

ECONOMIC IMPACTS

The presence of refugees has positive as well as have negative impacts on the economic sector.¹⁷ Positive impact in a way that Pakistan is an agriculture economy so the number of cheap labour has been increased. Moreover, refugees that belonged to feudalistic culture have heavily invested in form of private businesses. On the other hand, negative consequences can be attributed to the birth of conflict zones where militants have destroyed economic fabrics. Such as the stock exchange in Pakistan has seen dwindling patterns due to security setbacks.

WEAPONIZATION IN SOCIETY

It was the fight against the Soviet Union first and then being the ‘Frontline State’ have perpetrated weaponization of society.

ARM SUPPLY BY THE US

¹⁴ United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, "Solutions Strategy for Afghan Refugees to Support Voluntary Repatriation, Sustainable Reintegration and Assistance to Host Countries", (2016).

¹⁶ Mulk Jahan Ul, Ali Basit and Ullah Attah, "Impacts of Afghan Refugees on Security Situation of Pakistan," *Pakistan Journal of Society, education and language*, (2020).

¹⁷ Baloch Abdullah, Shah Said Zameen and Noor Zaleha Mohd, "The Economic Effect of Refugee Crises on Neighbouring Host Countries: Empirical Evidence from Pakistan", *International Migration*, (2017).

During the Afghan, War the US has supplied heavy arms such as AK-47 to the Mujahedeen's. These arms were transferred through northern areas of Pakistan in this process 40% of the arms and ammunitions were used locally. One-third of the weapons were taken by political figures and the rest were transported to Mujahedeen's.¹⁸ AK-47 was easily available in markets with the cheapest rates ranging from \$5000 to \$10,000 in the 1980s.

REFUGEE CAMPS AS SAVE HEAVENS

The most affected area of militancy was Khyber Pakhtunkhwa because it became the hub of arm supplying to Mujahedeen.¹⁹ Refugee camps were saved heavens as they served as training grounds and concealment of arms. These were the reasons for border attacks made by Soviet and Afghan belligerent forces.

THE EPICENTER OF ARM MANUFACTURING

Darra Adam Khel federally controlled area has become one of the largest midpoints of the arms business.²⁰ There were 2600 arms shops, five gun making factories that employed 3000 skilled labour and they can manufacture one hundred Kalashnikovs per day. This has diffused Kalashnikov culture in Pakistan.

RUSSIAN AND US WITHDRAWAL

The abrupt withdrawal of the Soviet Union and Russia from a war-trodden Afghanistan has provided opportunities for armed groups, terrorists, and criminals to freely cross borders. These groups penetrated deeply and widely on Pakistani lands. They have easy access to do arms business and to sell to anyone without proper licenses. This phenomenon has allowed the

¹⁸ Mulk Jahan Ul, Ali Basit and Ullah Attah, "Impacts of Afghan Refugees on Security Situation of Pakistan," *Pakistan Journal of Society, education and language*, (2020).

weaponization of society.²¹ In total US has provided \$8.7 billion of arms that were fell into the hands of different segments ranging from militants to separatist groups.²²

INCITED RELIGIOUS FUNDAMENTALISM

The unimpeded flow of weapons has incited religious fundamentalism in society that manifested in the shape of a crisis of law and order in Karachi. The weak security apparatus has generated an economic crisis.²³ Many fundamentalists organizations such as “*Sipah-e-Sahaba*”, “*Lashkar-e-Jhangvi*”, and “*Jaish-e-Muhammad*” have adorned themselves with modern arms and ammunition. Incidents of violence become a norm that includes the killing of five police officials in 1992 by a rocket launcher. Similarly, in Bahawalpur in 1996 militants killed police officials.

RISE OF DRUG ADDICTION AND THE DRUG TRADE

History has shown a strong correlation between terrorism and organized crime. When governments fail to control some regions in their country, it is common to observe the formation of third-party states to maintain law and order. These states often have no choice but to take part in illicit economies. The war in Afghanistan deprived the nation of all economic opportunities. As a result, due to the mountainous terrain and river valleys in Afghanistan poppy production became an income source for farmers, opening great illegal avenues for drug dealers. This saw Mujahidin groups take control over opium cultivation and use it as a way to fund their terrorist operations. Afghanistan has now become the largest opium producer in the world and Pakistan, who always was an important transitory actor, has now also become an important consumer.

In 1983, the number of drug addicts was 5000 which increased after 1979. In 1985 it increased from 20,000 to 365,000 in 1985. In 1993 the number of heroin addicts reached 3.1 million.

²¹ Saigol Rubina, *Radicalization of State and Society in Pakistan*, (2010).

²² Alpers, Philip, "Guns in Pakistan — Firearms, Gun Law and Gun Control," *Gunpolicy.Org*, (2020). <https://www.gunpolicy.org/firearms/region/pakistan>.

Journalist David Browne, who has studied Mujahedeen activities for more than 30 years believes Pakistan generates \$2 billion a year from the illegal drug trade.²⁴ According to UN aids, the number of heroin users in Pakistan is constantly rising. In 2000, there were 500,000 active heroin users, increasing to 628,000 in 2006 and 800,000 in 2010.

PAKISTAN IS A CONSUMER AND TRANSSHIP FACILITY

The ‘open arms’ policy of the Zia regime has infiltrated rural and urban cities with the illegal trade of drugs and narcotics.²⁵ Drug trafficking from Afghanistan to Pakistan is a cold war dynamic that gave a boost to the already existing business of drugs in Afghanistan and emerged as a productive business in Pakistan.²⁶ Afghanistan is one of the biggest opium producers and Pakistan plays a role as a consumer and provides shipment to regional countries. The drug trade in Afghanistan has linkages with Pakistan’s tribal areas. In Pakistan, poppy cultivation is chiefly concentrated in parts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The weak writ of the government in these areas and lack of economic opportunities have compelled the locals to indulge in drug smuggling.

DIRTY MONEY AND ITS LAUNDERING: SMUGGLING

Amongst others, some of the social and political impacts of refugees have been negative. This is not to say that these socio-political phenomena were the outcome of Afghan refugees alone but the impact due to their influx and presence had increased manifold. The massive migration of Afghan refugees in Pakistan has changed the landscape and tainted it with ethnic discords, economic glitches, and bleak law and order situation. Such a large influx of refugees soon facilitated the creation of (mostly illegal) ethnic trading networks, culminating in a systematic

²⁴ Shah Jamal, “Zia-Ul-Haque and the Proliferation of Religion in Pakistan,” *International Journal of Business and Social Science*, 3 no. 21, (2012).

²⁵ Taha S. M and Amir Alamzeb, “History Culture and Cross-Border Migration: Impact of Afghan Refugees on Socio-Economic Environment of Peshawar,” *International Journal of Independent Research and Studies – IJIRS*, (2012).

²⁶ Usman Tehseena and Khan Minhas Majeed, “Drug Trafficking from Afghanistan to Pakistan and Its Implications,” *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan*, 50, no. 2, (2013).

cartel for smuggling drugs, arms, and goods between Afghanistan and Pakistan as well as to the Gulf countries.²⁷

As the Afghan refugees began to extend their trading and smuggling activities, with a preponderance of drugs and weapons in the Pakistani society, it had serious ramifications for the internal security of Pakistan.

Illegal trade is one of the important components of the informal economy.²⁸ According to a survey, between 2010 and 2018 the informal economy has accounted for 23% of the GDP. Smuggling is a day-to-day business between Afghanistan and Pakistan that contributes to a huge loss of public revenue. Several spots in Balochistan are used for illegal trade that includes Panjgoor, Gulistan, Pishin, Badeen, Gerd Jungle, Qamardin Karez, Tobbah Kakari and Surtal. Commodities that are smuggled include electrical goods, automobiles etc.

NARCOTIC BASED FUNDING

The Narcotic business has fuelled insurgency and violence in Pakistan as the money utilized from this trade is mainly used by militants, terrorists, and extremists' elements. In Afghanistan, the illegal drug trade is the revenue generation source and it accounts for approximately one-third part of the illegitimate economy.²⁹ From Afghanistan to Pakistan and other regions approximately \$27 to \$30 billion worth of drugs are smuggled, reported by UNODC. More than \$1.5 billion of drugs remained in Pakistan and were used in terrorist activities.

A. TERRORISM: CROSS BORDER AND IN THE HEARTLAND THE RHETORIC OF GLOBAL JIHAD

²⁷ Foley, P, "Hejrat: The Migration of Afghan Refugees to Pakistan, 1978–1990," MA Dissertation. *University of Hawaii*. 1991.

²⁸ Sharif Muhammad, Farooq Umar and Bashir Arshad, "Illegal Trade of Pakistan with Afghanistan and Iran through Balochistan: Size, Balance and Loss to the Public Exchequer," *International Journal of Agriculture & Biology*, (2000).

The decision of General Zia-Ul-Haq of allying with the US has created unprecedented impacts in socio-cultural realms.³⁰ The globalism of Islamic jihad that mobilized more than 500,000 Mujahedeen have created terrorist safe heavens. These safe heavens were the cause behind different terrorist attacks ranging from Army Public School attacks to Mehran Base. Due to Afghan spillover, Pakistan has lost more than 54,458 lives with the price of 123.13 billion dollars.³¹

INFILTRATION IN KHYBER PAKHTUNKHWA AND BALOCHISTAN

Mujahedeen and the Taliban have taken benefit from the porous border between Afghanistan and Pakistan and created safe sanctuaries in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan.³² The militant groups have shaped social ties with residents based on common culture and strong religious notions that facilitated them in their terrorist pursuits.

Balochistan is already a hub of separatist hues that are further strengthened through the involvement of radical elements from Afghanistan.³³ Moreover, the Indian presence in Afghanistan has also increased terrorist activism in Balochistan as India has consulates closer to the Duran Line.

IMPACT OF AFGHAN TURMOIL ON THE POLITICS OF PAKISTAN

A. IMPACT ON THE EXISTING OBSCURANTIST VERSUS SECULAR DEBATE

The Islamization that happened in the authoritative era of Zia-Ul-Haq that coincides with the Afghan Jihad and Khamenei's Iranian Revolution has generated a discourse among conservative and liberal forces. The radicalization of society constructed a divide and cleavage among the two forces.

³⁰ Khan Khalil Muhammad and Wie Lu, "When Friends Turned into Enemies: The role of the National State vs. Tehriki- Taliban Pakistan (TTP) in the War against Terrorism in Pakistan," *Korean Journal of Defense Analysis*, (2016).

³¹ Muhammad Naghra Ghulam, Mustafa Ghulam and Imran Muhammad, "Major Powers' Interest in Afghanistan and the Impact on Pakistan," *Global Regional Review*, 4, No. 2, (2019).

³² Sultana Razia, "A Study of Talibanization in Pakistan," *Journal of History and Culture*, " 29, no.2, (2008).

POLICY PURSUITS FACILITATED RADICALIZATION

The narrative of the Islamic character of a state, hostility to an immediate neighbour, and alliance with the West have created a discourse among obscurantist and secular forces (Sultana, 2008). The radicalization of society has manifested in different ways that include the strengthening of Islamist discourse that created issues for different sects and widens sectarian hues. Sectarianism has proven to be one of the most dangerous threats to domestic security. In addition to Zia's Islamization implementations, the Afghan war led to US support of religion as a weapon to defeat communism.

General Zia-Ul-Haq exploited the millions of dollars the US was pouring in for the development of Islamic Institutions to establish Madrassas. The Madrassas became the reason for the fuelling sectarianism in Pakistan. General Zia-Ul-Haq has inculcated the doctrine of 'Puritanical Islam' propagated by Saudi Arabia to legitimize his regime. The 1980s saw the number of established Madrassas grow to 50000, compared to only 150 in 1950.³⁴

According to a case study, the impact of Afghan refugees in FATA impacted the sectarian divide, especially in Kurram and Orakzai agencies. The north of Kurram agency its upper part is chiefly populated by 'Turi' tribe – which is largely Shia – while people living in the lower part of Kurram are all Sunnis, belong to Bangash tribes.³⁵

With a population of around 500,000 forty per cent of the total was Shia, communal violence would erupt between the two communities over disputes of water rights, and ownership of lands and pastures. Refugee influx changed this demographic and sectarian makeup of the region. All the Afghan refugees who came to this agency were Sunnis and advocated a military brand of the faith based on their experience of jihad in Afghanistan. The 'Turi' tribe vehemently opposed the influx of the refugees, this resulted in an ongoing unprecedented communal violence, with armed Afghan refugees actively siding with the Sunni population. Hundreds of tribesmen

³⁴ Shah Jamal, "Zia-Ul-Haque and the Proliferation of Religion in Pakistan," *International Journal of Business and Social Science*, 3 no. 21, (2012).

³⁵ Teepu Mahabat Khan, *The Tribal Areas of Pakistan. A Contemporary Profile*. Lahore, (Sang-e-Meel Publications 2008).

have been killed, and the lands of the ‘Turis’ and ‘Bangash’ has been occupied, with no action from the government.

The sectarian violence had a spillover effect in the Orakzai agency as well, which too has some Shia population and the ensuing sectarian violence continues to this day, with the advent of the Taliban after 2001, the third wave of the refugee influx, the consequent violence escalated. In 2012, some 12 Shia Muslims were killed in a roadside bomb blast in the Orakzai Agency. Similarly, in 2012, 40 Shia Muslims were killed and 24 were injured in a suicide attack in the ‘Kurmi’ bazaar of Parachinar, the main town of Kurram Agency.

THE ERA OF ENLIGHTENED MODERATION

President of Musharraf after a military coup and the decision to fight the ‘War on Terrorism’ has floated the idea of Enlightened Moderation that was just a means to legitimize his rule. Though in practice his policies were quite radicalized. He has made alliances with different religious groups and given them free hand to mingle in parliamentary affairs.³⁶ An example of this fact is the passage of the Sharia bill in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa assembly in 2003.³⁷ With such implementations, the militant forces and radical political forces have increased their voices for the promulgation of the Islamic system.

A. CENTRALIZATION IN POLITICAL PARTIES

Due to Pakistan’s policy of defending Islamist discourse, strategic pursuits in Afghanistan and the freedom fighting narrative in Kashmir have constricted democratic socialization.³⁸ This aspect reflects in the phenomenon of strict centralization in political parties.

THE ERA OF CIVILIAN GOVERNMENTS

Zia’s Islamization has affected secular and liberal elements in society and conservatism was on the rise. The establishment of the Pakistan Muslim League (N) is a manifestation of that

³⁶ Nasr, Vali. "Military Rule, Islamism and Democracy in Pakistan". *The Middle East Journal* 58, no. 2 (2004).

³⁷ Ahmad, Maqsood Khurram, *Talibanization in Afghanistan: Impact on Pakistan*, (LAP LAMBERT Academic Publishing. 2011).

³⁸ Saigol Rubina, *Radicalization of State and Society in Pakistan* (2010).

phenomenon. When Nawaz Sharif become the Prime Minister, he used the platform of Islami Jamhoori Ittihad in 1990.³⁹ In his first government, he tried to Islamize education, economy, and media on the lines of Zia-Ul-Haq. In his second tenure, he tried to introduce an amendment in the constitution with the institutionalization of the caliphal system, however, the bill was not passed. But it truly shows the centralization of authority within the party system and even outside it.

RISE OF MUTAHIDA MAJLIS E AMAL (MMA)

In Musharraf's military rule an alliance of six parties came into being in the shape of Mutahida Majlis e Amal. Musharraf has supported radical and fundamentalist MMA to legitimize his rule.⁴⁰ MMA played a friendly opposition and in return Musharraf provided them a free hand in legislating in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan. The Hasba Bill was passed in 2005 in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa assembly that facilitated Talibanization of the province.

ALLIANCES OF AWAMI NATIONAL PARTY (ANP) WITH RADICAL ELEMENTS

Similarly, under the democratic government of Pakistan People's Party (PPP), an agreement called Nizam e Adl was made between Awami National Party (ANP) government in NWFP, and Sufi Muhammad's Tehreek-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-Muhammadi (TNSM).⁴¹ The Nazam e Adl agreement has created a state within a state and given free hand to militant elements. Moreover, PPP and ANP have made alliances to secure their political interests with a radical and pro-Taliban Jamiat-ul-Islam (F) of Maulana Fazl-ur-Rehman.

CENTRALIZATION HAS WEAKENED FEDERATION

³⁹ Shah Jamal, "Zia-Ul-Haque and the Proliferation of Religion in Pakistan," *International Journal of Business and Social Science*, 3 no. 21, (2012).

⁴⁰ Taha S. M and Amir Alamzeb, "History Culture and Cross-Border Migration: Impact of Afghan Refugees on Socio-Economic Environment of Peshawar," *International Journal of Independent Research and Studies – IJIRS*, (2012).

⁴¹ Shah Jamal, "Zia-Ul-Haque and the Proliferation of Religion in Pakistan," *International Journal of Business and Social Science*, 3 no. 21, (2012).

The lack of political socialization and resurgence of military governments and the implementation of foreign agendas have weakened the federation in Pakistan.⁴²

A. APPLICATION OF “HUDOOD LAWS”

Hudood laws were promulgated under the Zia regime. The purpose of these laws was the implementation of radicalized Islamic laws.

WOMEN BASED LAWS

Zia’s Islamization was mainly focused on describing gender-based roles where women are perceived as property that needs to be safeguarded behind walls. Another feature of the law was about *Zina* and rape where no clear segregation was made. Women who are raped have to produce four witnesses to prove their innocence. The impact of these laws was manifested in a form that victimized women who were abused and harassed in police stations and even in courts. These laws were humiliating and institutionalized patriarchal structures in an already male-dominated society.

OTHER ISLAMIC PUNISHMENTS

Other Islamic punishments that were introduced were for robbery, the right hand and left ankle of the accused should be removed. The drinking and selling of wine were banned if anyone finds guilty then a punishment of 80 strips need to be given. Ordinance of stoning to death and blasphemy laws were introduced. These laws have only radicalized a society and given a space to manoeuvre.⁴³

A. TALIBANIZATION IN PAKISTAN

Talibanization has severely affected Pakistan especially the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Where they have won the hearts of tribal lords and local people by brainwashing their minds and seeking safe sanctuaries among refugees.⁴⁴

⁴² Irshad Muhammad, “Terrorism in Pakistan: Causes & Remedies,” *The Dialogue*, (2011).

⁴³ Saleem Shireen, “Impact of Religious Extremism in Pakistan,” *WISCOMP*, (2000).

⁴⁴ Muqarrab, Akbar, A Critical Analysis of Taliban’s Emergence in Afghanistan, *Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences (PJSS)*,” 35, no. 1, (2015): 213-224.

STRATEGIC ASSET BECOMES LIABILITY

Before 9/11 Taliban were considered as strategic assets that have provided a ‘Strategic Depth’ in Afghanistan. Strategic Depth has been used in reference that Pakistan has utilized certain contacts in Afghanistan to counter the influences of regional countries mainly India.⁴⁵

INCREASE IN DOMESTIC TERRORISM

Tehreek e Taliban Pakistan (TTP) have made alliances with other domestic extremist organizations and separatist organizations that posed real threats to the security situation in Pakistan. This has accentuated sectarian violence in Federal agencies and parts of Southern Punjab. Suicide attacks were the tactics used by these elements to destroy infrastructure. Moreover, Tehreek e Taliban Pakistan (TTP) is involved in the targeted killing of various people from every walk of life be it religious, political and civil society, celebrities, and professionals. Approximately more than 70,000 Pakistanis have been killed in various terrorist attacks along with 8000 soldiers. According to a report in 2008, 2913 people have killed in 2113 militant attacks.⁴⁶

TALIBAN’S AND RELIGIOUS POLITICAL PARTIES

The political parties such as Jamat-e-Islami, JUI, and Tehreek-e- Insaf have sympathies with the Taliban.⁴⁷ They perceive that Talibanization is a reactionary process of US involvement in Afghanistan after 9/11. Taliban are fighting for the right religious cause that is the enforcement of Sharia. Such perceptions have strengthened the cause of Talibanization in society.

WOMEN RIGHTS AND THE RELIGIOUS PROTECTIONIST DEBATE

The Tribal and Northern parts of Pakistan have remained under greater impacts of Talibanization. These areas were the breeding ground of violence and chaos. Taliban have challenged the already constructed structures of society. The ideology of the Taliban regarding social structures made on conservative defined roles deeply entrenched in patriarchy. Women in

⁴⁵ Mariam Abou Zahab, “Unholy Nexus: Talibanism and Sectarianism in Pakistan’s “Tribal Areas”.”

⁴⁶ Abbasi, Nadia, "Impact of Terrorism on Pakistan", *Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad* 33, no. 2 (2013): 33-68.

⁴⁷ Bari Farzana, “Gendered Perceptions and Impact of Terrorism/Talibanization in Pakistan.”

the Taliban's ideology have been considered as inferior creatures that are bound to be regulated through strict means.

Following are some impacts of Talibanization on women. In this research paper, particular case studies of FATA which is now a part of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Swat (KP) are analyzed.

IMPACTS ON EDUCATION

Taliban have declared women's education as un-Islamic and against the ethos of Islamic values.⁴⁸ They have propagated that women's education is influenced by western values and traditions. Before the arrival of the Taliban the northern areas especially Swat and agencies have educational institutions mainly schools. 1/4th of a woman of FATA got education up to matriculation though the rate of school dropouts was around 70.6%.⁴⁹ When the Taliban got hold of these areas they have blown up schools and tried to promulgate strict rules regarding women's education. The case of Malala Yousafzai is a classic example. According to a report issued by UNESCO in 2010 projected that around 120,000 women students and 8,000 women teachers were killed in 2009 from attacks on educational institutions of women in Swat. The Taliban increased violence, persecution, and chaos in the Swat Valley and FATA.

IMPACTS ON ECONOMIC STATUS

Women are considered economically inferior being though Islam permits them to give inheritance to women socially and culturally it's not an acceptable norm here at large. Similar is a case in war trodden areas where women are devoid of their economic rights.

In areas like erstwhile FATA, women work in the agricultural field but they have no direct share in the income generated from these sectors. But women before being IDP's have shared a common house and were privileged from economic means mainly controlled by a respective patriarch. This advantage was vanished due to Talibanization when women become refugees in their lands.

⁴⁸ Khattak Gul Shabbana, "The War on Terror is a War on Women: The Impact of Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism on Women's Education in Swat, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (Pakistan)," (2018).

⁴⁹ Khan Aman Naila, "A Journal of Peace and Development," FATA, Research Centre, Islamabad, (2012).

Moreover, a woman killed in 2012 in Khyber Agency was killed during activism that was directed to create awareness regarding economic rights.⁵⁰

IMPACTS ON POLITICAL STATUS

Women enjoy no significant participation in the political discourse and the condition in war trodden northern areas is quite gloomy. The formidable example of Taliban accentuating violence on women was the assassination of ex-Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto. In FATA and areas like Swat traditionally women have no role in politics. In 1996 ex-President Farooq Leghari has introduced electoral reforms that provided an arena of opportunity for women. Ever since few tribal women have exercised their political rights. No women from FATA have been elected as representatives of upper and lower houses.

IMPACTS OF TALIBANIZATION ON WOMEN UNDER FEMINIST DISCOURSE

Through the lenses of Feminist discourse positive impact of Talibanization can be seen through the examples of militant activities of women in Jamia Hafsa and Jamat-e-Islami. Where women have skillfully adopted a militant discourse to redefine their gender-based role. Militant women have openly participated in protecting the Islamic ideology propagated by patriarchal elements. In the institutional arena, the growth of Al-Huda is a striking example that has clear elaborative ideological support of Wahhabism.⁵¹

CONCLUSION

Pakistan and Afghanistan are intertwined in a way that not only do they share a neighbourhood but also, have commonalities in different aspects. Stability in Afghanistan is vital for a secure Pakistan. In this research paper, a theoretical framework based on the spread of conflict was discussed.

After considering the practical factors in detail it can be concluded that Pakistan's case is unique because it had been involved in the conflict directly and indirectly throughout the entire conflict. This means that there existed a significant proximate cause, satisfying an essential condition for

⁵⁰ Naseer, Noreen, "Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA): Impacts of Militarization and War Crimes on Tribal Women and Children," *Pakistan Journal of Criminology* 7, no. 4 (2015): 133.

⁵¹ Bari Farzana, "Gendered Perceptions and Impact of Terrorism/Talibanization in Pakistan."

“diffusion of conflict.” The features of the conflict and how they have affected the socio-economic conditions of Pakistan also show that there already existed conditions that were conducive to the spread of this conflict.

The Afghan war against the Soviet Union and then the US ‘War on Terror’ has indulged Pakistan into ‘Global Jihad’ that led towards the emergence of ‘Hybrid Regimes’ in Pakistan.