

**Hayat Khan<sup>1</sup> and Dr. Adnan Khan<sup>2</sup>**

1. PhD Scholar, University of Malakand and Lecturer in the Department of Sociology, Bacha Khan University Charsadda, Pakistan.

2. Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology, University of Malakand, Pakistan.

**ISSN:** 3006-6557 (Online)**ISSN:** 3006-6549 (Print)**Vol. 3, No. 1** (2025)**Pages:** 342-351**Key Words:**Pakhtunwali, Pakhtuns, Modernity,  
Religious Extremism, Religion**Corresponding Author:****Hayat Khan**Email: [hayatkhan@bkuc.edu.pk](mailto:hayatkhan@bkuc.edu.pk)**License:**

**Abstract:** *The current study was designed to find out the intricate interrelationships between the Pakhtun indigenous cultural ethos and radical-liberal influences, which have far-reaching repercussions for the socio-cultural pattern of the Pakhtun society. This study was conducted in two Tehsils of the two districts: Tehsil Barikot in Swat and Tehsil Adenzai in Lower Dir District. The rationale for choosing two different Tehsils was to analyse the historical experiences of both under the former princely states. The data was collected through in-depth interviews from a total of 30 respondents, along with 8 FGDs. 15 interviews were conducted by the researcher in Tehsil Adenzai and 15 in the Tehsil Barikot. Likewise, 4 FGDs were conducted in Tehsil Adenzai and 4 in Tehsil Barikot. The study reveals that Pakhtunwali, or the Pakhtun way of life, is hanging between the two outlandish concepts of modernity and religious extremism. Both factors have significant implications for the traditional structure of Pakhtunwali. The process of modernity and technological advancement had shattered the traditional patterns and introduced novelty in the political, social, cultural, economic and familial institutions of Pakhtuns. On the other hand, the religious extremism had also brought manifold changes in the social spectrum of Pakhtuns.*

**Introduction**

The current study pertaining to analyze the complex nature of Pakhtunwali that how it experienced numerous changes due to the religious extremism and modernity. Pakhtunwali is the traditional code of the Pakhtuns which has been described their society for centuries. The very nature of the code is transmitted orally from one generation to the next without any proper documentation which includes numerous components like *melmastya* (hospitality), *insaf* (justice), *purdah* (gender seclusion), *jirga* (council of elders), *badal* (revenge), *nanawati* (asylum), *pegghoor* (taunt), etc. (Rzehak, 2011). However, since 1979, the advent of modernity and technological advancement have gradually engulfed and changed the mode of traditionalist interface in the succeeding time. Henceforth, the ever increasing pace of modernity could be comprehended in the context of social, economic, and political change in contrast to traditionalism. Modernity could be analyzed through innovations in education, healthcare, advanced medical technologies, good governance, and intricate economic structures (Taj, 2011). The interaction between modernity and Pakhtunwali signify a complex and often argumentative insight into the resilience and adaptability of traditional cultural systems in the face of rapid global change.

Secondly, the global religious militancy and extremism has been affected the local indigenous ways and broader cultural context of the Pakhtun society. Moreover, the religious militancy since the last four decades has created a huge cleavage among the native culture and secular outlook in comparison to the conservative philosophy of Islamic interpretation in Pakhtun society (Khattak, 2010). Consequently, in the recent historical retrospect of the Pakhtun society, the native ways of the cultural life have been besieged by the religious intolerance (Akhtar, 2010). Several extremist circles in this analogy represented the native Pakhtun culture as the sign of anti-Islam for accomplishing their own political and strategic goals (Siddique, 2014).

Both of the abovementioned factors i.e. modernity and religious extremism has deeply affected the socio-political, economic, religious and cultural landscape of Pakhtunwali. Generally, the tribal nature of Pakhtunwali was largely transformed by the processes of modernity which has been expressed by the growing trend of modern democracy, legal reforms, establishment of courts, constitutional authority, economic reforms, migration, urbanization, assimilation, and modern technological advancement (Lieven, 2021, & Nicholas, 2008).

Similarly, the native traditional practice of cultural religion was ambushed through the replacement of political Islam financed by the Saudi Arabia (Rashid, 2008). Steadfastly, the political Islam declared the practice of indigenous ways of practicing religion as heretical during the US financed Jihad. The significant number of religious seminaries during General Zia-ul-Haq regime reached up to 28000 to provide fresh recruits for the so called Afghan Jihad against the former Soviet Union (Coll, 2005; Fair, 2014 & Hoodbhoy, 2005). The same religio-political ideology was covertly supported by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and Pakistani military establishment to smudge and transform the traditional way of practicing religion. The suspension of traditional form of religion was imperative to create a gap for fitting the new political Islam because it was more integrated with the local social, political, cultural, and religious aspects of Pakhtunwali. Similarly, the traditional Islam was the essential component of Pakhtunwali and also marker of Pakhtun identity. The sponsored political Islam was first used by the Pakistani state for framing a unified national identity and then used by the militants for attaining the strategic depth policy of Pakistan (Ullah, Y., Wahab, F., & Azim, S. W. 2021).

Furthermore, Barfield (2010) expounded that since 1979, the entire Pakhtun the Pakhtun country experienced plethora of changes, as the Soviet-Afghan war reincarnated the elements of Pakhtunwali, such as tureh (resistance) and nang (honor), but simultaneously also resulted a socio-cultural division and a weakening in tribal structures (Ahmed, 2013). The same era brought the occurrence of mixed ideologies which in return co-existed with Pakhtunwali and integrated it with the Islamic fundamentalism and influenced gender roles and overall practice of traditions (Edwards, 2002).

Consequently, since the decade of 1990s, the process of globalization and technology have similarly transformed the traditional structure of Pakhtunwali which culminated in an easy access to modern education and digitalized media. The growing trend of technological usage has produced generational splits in the understanding of Pakhtunwali (Yousafzai & Gohar, 2005; & Ullah, 2019), specifically pertaining to gender roles and women emancipation where modernity was in open contrast to the traditional norms of the Pakhtunwali (Wasi., Ullah, J., & Bano, A. (2019). The main bone of contention was manifested in education due to split in modern secular curricula and the religious seminary education. Similarly, the modern structure of governance and the legal institutions of state undermined the traditional structure of Jirga for dispensation of justice and routine civil matters (Ahmad & Hussain, 2015). The continued dwindle of traditionalism in return encouraged urbanization and industrialization which brought numerous changes in Pakhtun society (Shukla, 2015), while features of Pakhtunwali, such

as trust networks, have adjusted to modern-day economic conditions (Afridi, 2023).

In the nutshell, to understand the complex interplay between traditional culture or Pakhtunwali and global influences, it is crucial to examine the foundational elements of Pakhtun society which has been the part and parcel of the current research study. The intricate interplay of Pakhtunwali with modernity is somehow comprehensible but much difficult to explain in a specific way. As Ahmed (1980) emphasized on the operational role of Pakhtunwali that it always maintained social order, while Spain (1972) has elaborated in detail its historical evolution that how it adjusted itself with the changing circumstances. As Rashid (2000) declared the year of 1979 as the turning point in the history of Pakhtunwali whereas Edwards (1996) highlighted the impact of foreign influences on the traditional core of Pakhtunwali. Afterwards, in the post 9/11 era, the sophisticated form of technology and mass media introduced new trends and challenges which modified the traditional characteristics of Pakhtunwali like honor and shame (Schetter, 2013; Yousafzai & Gohar, 2005).

### **Theoretical Framework of the Study**

The current study will be analyzed through the lens of Louis Althusser theory of Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs) and Repressive State Apparatuses (RSAs). Althusser's concept of Ideological State Apparatuses shall be controlled through ideology within the sphere of education, religion, media, culture, and family while the repressive state apparatuses shall always be controlled through force with state institutions like Police, Military and courts. In Pakhtuns case, the religious institutions (Madrassahs) and modern educational institutions along with media assist the ideological government institutions, supporting fundamentalist religious interpretations and Westernized/globalized values, respectively. These institutions, although appearing distinct from the state, significantly influence beliefs and values, as proposed by Althusser. The increase in Madrassahs, often shaped by external influences, has brought forth a radical religious ideology that contradicts the conventional principles of Pakhtunwali. Beside it, the modern educational institutions have also presented a diverse set of values, which resulted a "cultural lag" that obstructs the adaptation of indigenous cultural practices among the Pakhtun community at large.

### **Methodology of the Study**

Methodology is one of the essential component of any scientific inquiry (Creswell & Clark, 2007). The present study is qualitative in nature. The qualitative approach was used while considering the relevance and significance of understanding the complex nature of any social phenomena under study (Creswell & Hanson, 2007). Methodology is a set of procedures, practices, philosophies, and a plethora of choices regarding how and what type of information needs to be collected through scientific ways (Walliman, 2011).

The current study was conducted in two Tehsils of the two districts Tehsil Barikot in Swat and Tehsil Adenzai in Lower Dir of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Both the districts situated close to one another and part of the Malakand Division. The rationale for choosing both the aforementioned districts for data collection were to compare both the tehsils formerly situated in two different autonomous princely states. Tehsil Adenzai situated in the district of Lower Dir was the essential part of the former Dir state while Tehsil Barikot was the bordering Tehsil of the former Swat state. The researcher had conducted 15 interviews in Tehsil Adenzai and 15 interviews in the Tehsil of Barikot equally. These in-depth interviews were conducted with different stake holders of the society along with total of 8 focus group discussions (FGDs).

Therefore, keeping in view the nature of the study and population dynamics of the study universe, the primary data was collected through in-depth interviews from 30 respondents along with 8 Focus Group

Discussions. Moreover, 10 in-depth interviews were conducted with the religious segment of population which includes religious clerics and other Islamic seminary students and teachers. 10 other in-depth interviews were conducted with the secular-liberal segment of population which includes modern educated peoples e.g. officers, government employees and human rights activists. The remaining 10 in-depth interviews were conducted with the people who have the indigenous knowledge of Pakhtun culture or *Pakhtunwali*. It may include Tribal elders, *Maliks*, Poets, and Pakhtu literary figures.

Furthermore, 8 Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) were conducted with the selected respondents. 2 FGDs were separately conducted with the religious clerics and religious seminary students and teachers. 2 FGDs were conducted separately with the modern educated people like officers, government employees and human rights activists. 2 FGDs were conducted separately with the traditional elders, *Maliks*, poets and literary figures. 2 more FGDs were conducted collectively with all the three abovementioned stakeholders for the purpose to attain reliability and validity of the data. The purpose of interviewing different participants was to cross-validate the data findings of multi stakeholders.

### Results and Discussions

The current study is related with the analysis of *Pakhtunwali* that how it has been experienced manifold changes. These changes are mentioned in the proceeding lines under the themes of modernity and religious extremism in detail.

#### Modernity and *Pakhtunwali* in the Context of Global and National Politics:

*Pakhtunwali* is basically converged with the modern ways of life due to excessive global exposure through media and mass communication which somehow altered indigenous norms of *Pakhtunwali*. Secondly, the imported political ideology of Islam supported by the Pakistani state instantaneously affected the native way of life among Pakhtuns. According to Hussain Shah Khan (Personal Communication, August 18, 2023),

Modernity substituted numerous customs of local importance into the new arrangements. Previously, people were more simple, comparatively poor and had no contact with the modern means of technological advancement and education, and so they were closely stuck with traditional style of life. Consequently, now they are open to various worldwide technological means of communication and transportation which made them hybrid and adopted new patterns of life. Similarly, they were also becoming the direct victims of global jihad financed by the external forces in the form of USA, Saudi Arabia and Pakistan, which transformed the local way of life among Pakhtuns.

The customary Patterns of *Pakhtunwali* had undergone many changes since 1979. The local consumption patterns of traditional barter system were shifted to cash economy due to acquaintance with the modern world and migration of Pakhtun populations across the globe (Nicholas, 2008). The excessive interaction with the modern world has brought plethora of changes in the pattern of *Pakhtunwali*. According to a participant of the study Akbar Zeb Khan (Personal Communication, September 21, 2023);

*Pakhtunwali* absorbed many epochs and adopted numerous economic changes from agrarian mode of economy towards modernized cash economic patterns. The simple farming technology was substituted by the modern one. The bulk of Pakhtun population migrated to the middle East for earning remittance to send it back for the fulfilment of familial needs. Consequently, the kind of economic shift vitally transformed the traditional consumption patterns to a larger extent and the customary arrangements were superseded by the wave of modernity. The domestic household patterns connected with the traditional system of collective Hujra culture

were also weakened by the new globalized orientations. Old arrangements were superseded by the modern patterns of globalized orientation.

Furthermore, it is evident that the global political measures have also been affected the traditional expression of Pakhtunwali to some extent in the preceding four decades. The Cold War basically paved way for weaponization and militarization and produced novel ideas of global Jihad and sacred factions of Mujahedeen (Rubin, 2013; & Malik, 2008). The same global political scenario has enduring repercussions for the Pakhtun region especially in the post 9/11 context of global war on terror in terms of Pakhtun identity and socio-political configuration in the region (Guistozi, 2009; Rashid, 2008; Shah, 2014). The globalization of technology in terms of drone attacks has reshaped the notions of traditional warfare and resistance among Pakhtuns (Malik, 2013; Lindholm, 2008; Jan, 2010; Orakzai, 2011). The regional component of geopolitics further aggravated the divide among the India-Pakistan and Afghanistan-Pakistan relations (Siddique, 2014; Tarzi, 2012; Chandran & Chari, 2011). The interplay between the global Pan-Islamist movement and changing dynamics of international trends in economy has overwhelmingly modified Pakhtunwali (Roy, 2004; Rana, 2009; Fair, 2014; Cohen, 2004; Gazdar, 2007; Nicholas, 2008). The complex nature of global impacts in relation to the native context demonstrated an arbitrary dialogue within the two different spheres of tradition and modernity. Furthermore, according to Mr. Usman Khan (Personal Communication, October 24, 2023) opined that;

The major challenges faced by the traditional structure of Pakhtunwali is not regional but the global one. The essence of global politics and culture is wrapped in a capital and capitalism. The modern age is termed as the age of info-tech and bio-tech. Due to the globalization of technology, the indigenous code of Pakhtunwali is also affected. The traits of indigenous importance were mostly becoming obsolete due to modernization. The old customs of *Godar* (water carrying spot) was replaced due to unplanned urbanization. Furthermore, global political situation affected the indigenous terminology of kinship due to the growing tide of modernism. Secondly, the global political Islam simultaneously promoted militarization and weaponisation of the Pakhtun society.

### Religious Extremism and Pakhtunwali

The post 1979 era brought into fore the advent of Mujahedeen, sponsored by a US-led between Pakistan and Saudi Arabia (Coll, 2004). The Pakhtun land inside Pakistan appeared as the fundamental base of Mujahedeen backing which was united under the goal of strategic aspirations (Hussain, 2005). The unification of worldwide terrorist organizations, massive weaponization, and Wahhabi doctrine instigated various transformation at the socio-political landscape of the Pakhtuns. Moreover, it shattered the rubrics of Pakhtunwali in terms of altering the indigenous conception of religion into inflexible, intolerable and proselytized version of Islam (Malik, 2008).

Consequently, the influx of heavy weaponry and militarization resulted in the shift of economic patterns and demographic variation due to massive migration of the Afghan refugees (Banerjee, 2000; Goodson, 2001; Saharani, 2002). However, the overtake of Taliban intensified religious extremism in the region and distorted the traditional framework of religious education imparted in the Madrassahs which reinterpreted the conception of Jihad in a violent way (Roy, 1994; Zaman, 2002; Kepel, 2002). Simultaneously, the digression from traditional cultural religion to a more globalized political Islam created a gap for religious political parties and undermined the ethno-nationalist politics and leadership in Pakhtun region (Nasr, 2001; Edwards, 2002; Rubin, 2002).

The legacy laid down by the Mujahedeen and then succeeded by the Taliban has continuously in conflict with the traits of Pakhtunwali. Subsequently, the persistent unrest in Pakhtun region has radicalized



their society, created intolerance, shattered the local economy which paved way for international migrations. The paradox between traditional Pakhtun culture and religious extremism reached to its culmination and greatly affected the customary patterns of social life (Rashid, 2008; Fair, 2014; Goodhand, 2005; Siddique, 2014).

Traditional Pakhtun religion before the year of 1979 was more simple and straightforward regulated by the village traditional Mullah which was fully integrated with the local customary pattern of Pakhtunwali. The new Islamic version justified all sort of violence and further validated it as per their own interpretation of religious inscriptions which blatantly contested the prevailing standards of the Pakhtun culture (Roy, 2004; Rashid, 2008; Taj, 2011; Khan, 2018). The significant surge in the number of Madrassahs reached almost to 35,000 during the reign of General Zia-ul-Haq. These religious schools were used as apparatus for Jihad financed by the United States of America along with Pakistani and Saudi Arabian alliance. Resultantly, a substantial violence, social disorder, displacements, and instability occurred which wholeheartedly upset the cultural, social, political, and economic spheres among Pakhtuns (Basu, 2023; Haroon, 2022; Jalali & Grau, 1999).

The afghan war created vacuum for the permeation of other related Islamic ideologies in the Pakhtun region simultaneously. One example is the *Tableeghi Jumaat* (Missionary group or preachers of Islam) to preach Islam in a revivalist way. One of the study participant Shahab Khan (Personal Communication, August 18, 2023) elucidated that;

Beside these militant groups, a *Tableeghi* group identified themselves with a pacifist version to include the fellow Muslims in the complete orbit of Islam. The same group was basically founded in India under the sagacious leadership of Mulana Ilyas which later on became more popular in Pakhtun belt in the decade of late 1980s. The underlying objectives of the group is to revive Islam in the internal pockets of Pakistan and secondly, to convert the non-Muslims of the world to Islam simultaneously. Consequently, the proselytized way of *Tableeghi* faction in Pakhtun region gradually engulfed the traditional values and made a slot for spreading of Madrassahs at the nook and corner of the Pakhtun region.

Another participant of the study Jameel Khan (Personal Communication, September 21, 2023) opined that;

The *Tableeghi* faction is not only in contention with the local cultural traditions of the Pakhtun society but it also rejects the terrestrial affairs which promotes asceticism.

Furthermore, the religious landscape of Pakhtun society was a blend of native customs and traditional practice of Islam in a synchronized way. The mystic way of discovering self is the primary tenet of Sufism. Moreover, spiritual practices, seized a considerable influence over the population. Spiritual leaders, saints known as Pirs, are the source of substantial inspiration, and often serving as mediators between the people and the divine. This version of conventional Islam was effectively entangled with Pakhtunwali which enthusiastically guided social norms and behaviors. At the advent of 20<sup>th</sup> century, Pakhtun region witnessed the appearance of reformist movements that instigated to encounter the traditional practices of religion. The Deobandi school of thought filled the gap and gained much popularity amongst Pakhtuns. The objectives of the movement emphasized a return to the pure practice of Islam as prescribed by the Quran and Hadith. Its influence diverted the people attention from Sufi ideology towards more literal and scholastic kind of Islam (Haroon, 2007). Similarly, the enshrined Islamic ideology of Pakistan further desecrated the traditional religiosity and envisioned a compact nationality under the generalized principles of Islamic Deobandi identity. However, the same conception of unified religious identity of Pakistan came into contention with the local religious customs and

traditions (Jalal, 2014). One of the study participant Fazal Rahim (Personal Communication, August 18, 2023) opined that;

The sponsored religious extremism promoted fanaticism, which provided space for the overall radicalization of Pakhtun society. The socio-cultural and political domain has become religionized and radicalized which created manifold divisions in society. Pakistan as an international partner performed the role of a facilitator in all these global arrangements.

The religious militancy basically provided legitimacy to the local religious leaders to intervene in each matter of social importance. Prior to the introduction of Jihadi trend, the Pakhtun society revealed a tolerance and respect for other faiths. In the nutshell, the present context of Pakhtun society represents the intersection of foreign influences and internal social dynamics where a continuous contention is routinely happening. In other words, the constant dialogue between Pakhtunwali versus modernity, and religious extremism versus Pakhtunwali is occurring till now.

### Conclusion

The debate of modernity, modernization and globalization is somehow understandable especially in the context of Pakhtun society that how global political scenario and numerous international events affected the core values of Pakhtunwali. The global shift in economic patterns and technological advancement affected the traditional consumption patterns as well as local cultures and identities across the globe. So, Pakhtun society is also part of the modern world and assimilated numerous traits of modernity. The modern way of life brought change in all the institutions of the Pakhtun society i.e. education, family, life style, economy and politics.

Contrary to modernity, the newly established phenomena of religious extremism had equal influence on Pakhtun society. As it is starkly clear from the historical retrospect of the Pakhtun region that numerous international policies have directly affected the Pakhtun way of life. It is either visible from the United States policies towards the former United Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) in alliance with Pakistan and Saudi Arabia. The mujahedeen and then Taliban brought an obscurantist form of religion for obtaining political authority in the region. They always preferred their own understanding of religion and excluded others who does not think like them. So, this type of harsh mentality created resentment among people and the society were divided into multiple segments. Currently, Pakhtun society is broadly manipulated on one side by the hardcore militant mentality possessed by Taliban and their sympathizers and on the other hand, the modern educated class who are secular in their outlook and inspired from the modern way of life. In the middle of the snack, few people are concerned with the norms of Pakhtunwali, that how it should be treated in the new world.

### References

- Afridi, M. (2023). Women's Political Participation in Pakistan: A Case Study of Ex-FATA. *Pakistan Social Sciences Review*, 7(3), 935-948.
- Ahmad, A. S. (1980). *Pukhtun economy and society: Traditional structure and economic development in a tribal society* (1st ed.). Routledge: Kegan & Paul.
- Ahmad, S., & Hussain, S. (2020). Social media and political mobilization in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan. *Journal of South Asian Studies*, 35(2), 315-333.
- Ahmed, A. (2012). *Millennium and Charisma Among Pathans (Routledge Revivals): A Critical Essay in Social Anthropology*. Routledge.
- Ahmed, A. S. (2013). *The thistle and the drone: How America's war on terror became a global war on tribal Islam*. Brookings Institution Press.
- Akhtar, A, S. (2010), Islam as Ideology of Tradition and Change: The "New Jihad" in Swat, Northern

- Pakistan, *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, vol.30 No.3, 09-20.
- Banerjee, M. (2000). *The Pathan unarmed: Opposition and memory in the North West Frontier*. Oxford University Press.
- Barfield, T. (2010). *Afghanistan: A cultural and political history*. Princeton University Press.
- Basu, R. (2023). Interface between Practice of Islam by the Mujahideens in Afghanistan and Women Rights. *Indian J. Integrated Rsch. L.*, 3, 1.
- Chandran, D. S., & Chari, P. R. (Eds.). (2011). *Armed conflict in South Asia 2010: Growing left-wing extremism and religious violence*. Routledge.
- Cohen, S. P. (2004). *The idea of Pakistan*. Brookings Institution Press.
- Coll, S. (2004). *Ghost wars: The secret history of the CIA, Afghanistan, and Bin Laden, from the Soviet invasion to September 10, 2001*. Penguin Press.
- Coll, S. (2005). *Ghost wars: The secret history of the CIA, Afghanistan and Bin Laden*. Penguin UK.
- Creswell, J. W., & Clark, V. P. (2007). Mixed methods research. *Thousand Oaks, CA*.
- Creswell, J. W., Hanson, W. E., Clark Plano, V. L., & Morales, A. (2007). Qualitative research designs: Selection and implementation. *The counseling psychologist*, 35(2), 236-264.
- Edwards, D. B. (1996). *Heroes of the age: Moral fault lines on the Afghan frontier*. University of California Press.
- Edwards, D. B. (2002). *Before Taliban: Genealogies of the Afghan Jihad*. University of California Press.
- Fair, C. C. (2014). Chapter 5: Pakistan's quest for strategic depth. *Fighting to the end: The Pakistan army's way of war*, 103-135.
- Fair, C. C. (2014). *Fighting to the end: The Pakistan Army's way of war*. Oxford University Press.
- Gazdar, H. (2007). *Rural economy and livelihoods in Pakistan*. Asian Development Bank.
- Giustozzi, A. (2009). *Empires of mud: The Neo-Taliban insurgency in Afghanistan 2002-2007*. Columbia University Press.
- Goodhand, J. (2005). Frontiers and wars: The opium economy in Afghanistan. *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 5(2), 191-216.
- Goodson, L. P. (2001). *Afghanistan's endless war: State failure, regional politics, and the rise of the Taliban*. University of Washington Press.
- Haroony, S. (2007). *Frontier of faith: Islam in the Indo-Afghan borderland*. Columbia University Press.
- Haroony, S. (2022). Tribal elders and societal inequities in Pakistan's northwestern borderlands (1947-2018). *Archives de sciences sociales des religions*, 199(3), 45-66.
- Hoodbhoy, P. (2005). Afghanistan and the genesis of global jihad. *Peace Research*, 37(1), 15-30.
- Hussain, Z. (2005). *Frontline Pakistan: The struggle with militant Islam*. Columbia University Press.
- Jalal, A. (2014). *The struggle for Pakistan: A Muslim homeland and global politics*. Harvard University Press.
- Jalali, A. A., & Grau, L. W. (1999). *The other side of the mountain: Mujahideen tactics in the Soviet-Afghan war*. US Marine Corps, Studies and Analysis Division.
- Jan, F. (2010). *Pakistan: Between mosque and military*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- Kepel, G. (2002). *Jihad: The trail of political Islam*. Harvard University Press.
- Khan, H. (2018). Social class and its interplay with other social factors in Swat Taliban movement: An anthropological inquiry. *Anthropological Notebooks*, 24(2).
- Khattak, R. W. S. (2010). Introduction to Pashtun culture (a collection of essays). Peshawar: InterLit Foundation, p.38.
- Lieven, A. (2011). *Pakistan: A hard country*. Public Affairs.



- Lieven, A. (2021). An Afghan Tragedy: The Pashtuns, The Taliban and the State. *Survival*, Vol. 63, No. 3, 7-36.
- Lindholm, C. (2008). *Generosity and jealousy: The Swat Pukhtun of northern Pakistan*. Waveland Press
- Malik, I. H. (2008). *The history of Pakistan*. Greenwood Press.
- Malik, I. H. (2013). *Pakistan: Between mosque and military*. Penguin Random House India.
- Nasr, S. V. R. (2001). *Islamic Leviathan: Islam and the making of state power*. Oxford University Press.
- Nichols, R. (2008). A History of Pashtun Migration, 1775-2006. Oxford University Press.
- Orakzai, S. B. (2011). Conflict in the Swat Valley of Pakistan: Pakhtun culture and peacebuilding theory-practice application. *Journal of Peacebuilding & Development*, 6(1), 35–48.
- Rana, M. A. (2009). Taliban insurgency in Pakistan: A counterinsurgency perspective. *Conflict and Peace Studies*, 2(2), 1–12.
- Rashid, A. (2000). *Taliban: Militant Islam, oil and fundamentalism in Central Asia*. Yale University Press.
- Rashid, A. (2008). *Descent into chaos: The United States and the failure of nation building in Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Central Asia*. Viking.
- Roy, O. (1994). *The failure of political Islam*. Harvard University Press.
- Roy, O. (2004). *Globalized Islam: The search for a new Ummah*. Columbia University Press.
- Rubin, B. R. (2002). *The fragmentation of Afghanistan: State formation and collapse in the international system*. Yale University Press.
- Rubin, B. R. (2013). *Afghanistan from the Cold War through the War on Terror*. Oxford University Press.
- Rzehak, L. (2011). Doing Pashto: Pashtunwali as the ideal of honorable behavior and tribal life among the Pashtuns. *Afghanistan Analysts Network*.
- Schetter, C. (2013). The Durand Line. The Afghan-Pakistani Border Region between Pashtunistan, Tribalistan and Talibanistan. *Internationales Asienforum*, 44(1-2), 47-70.
- Shah, S. W. A. (2014). *Pashtun identity and geopolitics in Southwest Asia: Pakistan and Afghanistan since 9/11*. Anthem Press.
- Shahrani, M. N. (2002). War, factionalism, and the state in Afghanistan. *American Anthropologist*, 104(3), 715–722.
- Shukla, A. (2015). The Pashtun tribal identity and codes. *THAAP Journal 2015: Culture, Art & Architecture of the Marginalized & the Poor*, 2015, 45-64.
- Siddique, A. (2014). *The Pashtun Question: The Unresolved Key to the Future of Pakistan and Afghanistan*. Hurst, London.
- Spain, J. W. (1972). *The way of the Pathans*. Oxford University Press.
- Taj, F. (2011). *Taliban and anti-Taliban*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Tarzi, A. (2012). Political struggles over the Afghanistan-Pakistan borderlands. In B. R. Rubin & A. Saikal (Eds.), *Rebuilding Afghanistan: Civil-military relations and the rule of law* (pp. 211–229). Routledge.
- Ullah, A. (2019). The political economy of the tribal areas of Pakistan. *Asian Survey*, 59(6), 1094–1115.
- Ullah, Y., Wahab, F., & Azim, S. W. (2021). Religion, Conflict and Identity: Islam, Pakistani identity and the conflict in Swat. *Journal of Peace, Development and Communication*. <https://doi.org/10.36968/jpdc-v05-i01-35>
- Walliman, N. (2011). *Your research project: Designing and planning your work*. Sage Publications.
- Wasi., Ullah, J., & Bano, A. (2019). Militancy and Pashtun Culture: Challenges and Developments in Pashtun Society in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan. *Liberal Arts and Social Sciences International Journal (LASSIJ)*, Vol. 3, No. 2, 115-127.

Yousafzai, H. M., & Gohar, A. (2005). *Towards understanding Pukhtoon Jirga*. Just Peace International.

Zaman, M. Q. (2002). *The Ulama in contemporary Islam: Custodians of change*. Princeton University Press.