Ethnic Image, Stigmatization and Conflict: The Case of Pakistan Pashtun

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Abstract

The "Pashtun" identity in Pakistan has become a victim of stigmatization in recent years despite the status of the Pashtuns as the second largest ethnic group. The stigma of Pashtun identity based on the assumption of their involvement or support in terrorist activities within Pakistan has developed a strong sense of resentment amongst them. Moreover, this stance towards the Pashtuns has fragmented the national cohesion of Pakistan, giving rise to the fear of separatist movements and increased participation of violent activities within the state. This study aims to highlight the Pashtun perspective about their suspected and stigmatized identity through open ended questionnaires from subjects living in the Khyber PakhtunKhwa and Punjab. This undertaken study hopes to examine the causes of manifestation of stigma and its consequences within the stigmatized identity. The study expands to include the stigma management strategies adopted by the Pashtun in order to avoid being stigmatized. Furthermore, it aims to outline recommendations to better the assimilation of ethnic identities in Pakistan. By using this study's wide range of available sources of Pashtun oral views and grievances; this project will contribute to future research on similar topics.

IN THE NAME OF ALLAH,

THE MOST BENEFICENT, THE MOST MERCIFUL

"Praise be to Allah, Lord of the Worlds, the Beneficent, the Merciful; Owner of the Day of Judgement. Thee (alone) we worship; Thee (alone) we ask for help. Show us the straight path, the path of those whom thou hast favoured; not (the path) of those who earn thin anger nor of those who go astray."

(Surah Al-Fateha)

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the work contained in the thesis entitled "Ethnic Image, stigmatization and Conflict: The Case of Pakistan Pashtun" written by Ashfaq ahmad has been carried out under the Supervision of Dr. Ahmad Waqas Waheed. I also hereby declare that this thesis has not been submitted for any degree elsewhere and contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference has been made in the text. I acknowledge that an electronic copy of my thesis must be lodged with the University Library and, subject to the policy and procedures of The Centre for International Peace and Stability-National University of Sciences and Technology,Islamabad.

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Ashfaq Ahmad

MS-PCS-03

MS-Peace and Conflict Studies

Session 2016-2018

CERTIFICATE

It is certified that the work contained in this thesis entitled "Ethnic Image, stigmatization and Conflict: The Case of Pakistan Pashtun" written by Ashfaq Ahmad has been carried out under my Supervision and is approved for submission in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of MS in Peace and Conflict studies.

_____

Dr. Ahmad Waqas Waheed

Supervisor

Department of Peace and Conflict studies,

National University of Sciences and Technology,

Islamabad.

DEDICATION

To

The real heroes who sacrificed their lives to curb the terrorism,

My

Dear brother (Late) and my beloved sons (Late)

My

Loving Parents,

Respected teachers,

&

Sincere Friends

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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List of Abbreviations

ACRONYM	ABBREVIATION
DNS	Directorate of National Security
FATA	Federally Administered Tribal Areas
FCR	Frontier Crimes Regulation
ISI	Inter-Services Intelligence
ISPR	Inter Services Public Relations
IDP	Internally Displaced Persons
KPK	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
MI	Military Intelligence
NAP	National Action Plan
NARA	National Alien Registration Authority
NADRA	National Database and Registration Authority
NISP	National Internal Security Policy
NWA	North Waziristan Agency
PTI	Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf
RAW	Research and Analysis Wing
SIT	Social Identity Theory
TTP	Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan
WOT	War on Terror
NAP	National Awami Party

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

In the contemporary times, Pakistan's internal peace is challenged by sporadic ethno-nationalist movements. These provocations have often been directed towards the Central authority and the armed forces in Pakistan. However, instead of generalizing the root causes of such collective movements, they should be carefully analyzed, especially if such grievances have been voiced by the second largest ethnicity in Pakistan – the Pashtun.

Pakistan is admittedly an amalgamation of multiple ethnicities, however; this ethnic diversification has created strong demarcations and has culminated into separatist tendencies. The various ethnicities of Pakistan are undeniably identified through the variance in the culture, language, and customs of the ethnicities. In case of Pakistan, this multiethnic diversity remains a hindrance to national integration since the inception of the country. Amongst other reasons which are responsible for the receding national integration in Pakistan, some political incidents have spurred ethnic divide within the country. The 1971 partition of Pakistan in West and East Pakistan was undeniably rooted in ethnic marginalization and grievances of the East Pakistanis, identified as rather *Bengalis* than Pakistanis.

Although stringent and strict security policies and measures are an absolute need to stabilize the internal turmoil in Pakistan, but an unwanted simultaneous consequence that springs out of it, is leading the country towards a path of national disintegration. Moreover, the episode of the Afghan War of 1979 and the Afghan Invasion of 2001 has left lasting impressions on the social fabric of Pakistan, especially its second most populous ethnicity – the Pashtun. It remains hard to judge if the policies pursued by the government directly aim to threaten Pakistan's local Pashtun population. It is evident however, that the Pashtun nation in Pakistan suffers from feelings of *stigmatization* springing from long held grievances, towards a system that treats them as unwanted baggage(Zalmay, 2017). Such governmental ignorance or its apparent manifestation as

such, in terms of dealing with the Pashtun, transpires in callous and stringent policies seemingly pursued in the federal capital, Islamabad.

In Past, the Pakistani government was very hospitable towards hosting these (Afghan) Pashtun at the conclusion of Soviet episode in Afghanistan. Even though provision of food, shelter and other basic necessities for such a massive influx of immigrants was more than an ordeal for Pakistan, but no doubt it was a blessing for the country in the form of foreign economic and military aid(Grare, 2003). However, with this, and later followed by facilitation as a result of United States (US) alliance in 2001, the Afghan refugees were assisted at its optimum. By the end of 2001, the Pashtun had formed personalized enclaves in and around main suburbs of Pakistan's major cities. These enclaves also included a certain proportion of radicalized youth with terrorist tendencies, as suggested by some reports and incidents. The presence of these enclaves, hence, has ever since their very existence, been a concern for the country's security agencies. This concern stems from the complexity of identifying terrorists among such enclaves. However, at the receiving end, the Pashtun – Afghan or Pakistani – lost their differentiation as such and became subjects to similar treatment without any consideration in identity or association with Pakistan.

The fact that Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), which is considered as the hub of insurgency and belligerent activities (Jaspal, 2010), hosts a humongous Pashtun population has further added to the plight of Pashtun on one hand and governmental cynicism towards them, on the other hand (Ibid). The differentiation in treatment emerged as a response to brutal attacks from 2012 to 2014 conducted by terrorists that were established in Pashtun majority tribal areas. The policies, such as National Internal Security Policy (NISP) in 2014 and National Action Plan (NAP) in the same year, were adopted in the view to deal with terrorist networks with unrelenting force which were residing in sanctuaries in North Waziristan Agency (NWA) and Khyber PakhtunKhwa (KPK) (Javaid, 2015). Decisive military operations, such as Zarb-e-Azb, resulted in internally displaced persons (IDPs) which were essentially the Pashtun of NWA. The armed forces monitoring the operations allowed safe passage for the displaced Pashtun population, the cross-border Pashtun, who had been residing since 1979 Soviet Invasion

and 2001 War on Terror episodes, and the ones who had been in the region since Pakistan came into being. However, the inconveniences have exacerbated the sentiments of marginalization and increased stigmatization of the Pashtun as being inherently associated with terrorism and extremism (Ibid). The policies by Punjab Government and also the Central government of Pakistan have evidenced increased stigmatization against the Pashtun, labeling them as *threat to national security* (Shams, 2017).

The immigration resulting from a porous border that exists between Pakistan and Afghanistan has marked a real test for the country. The tragedy is that due to lack of security, terrorists are also free to cross the border along with innocent people of the both countries (Safi, 2016). The Government of Pakistan did not take any responsible steps to isolate and extricate among refugees and illegal immigrants. The only substantial step in this regard was the establishment of National Alien Registration Authority (NARA) institute in 2000 which was responsible to register the foreigners seeking to reside Pakistan. However, NARA remained completely inadequate to follow through its required responsibilities and consequently hundreds of thousands of foreigners are still unregistered in Pakistan and some of them may be involved in crimes and terrorism-related activities (Raza, 2016). Although the assurance of national security is the primary interest of the state, but it would an egregious miscalculation to ensure the national security by pushing Pashtun in a conflict. Pakistan cannot afford to relive the history and be subjected to another partition of its national borders; hence it must take into account all measures to hamper another separatist movement. Largely, due to the fact that such sentiments have been instilled in the Pashtun population that can be traced to the 1973 when an armed struggle of National Awami Party's activists under the banner of independent *Pakhtunistan,* essentially highlighting the first practical manifestation of violent tendencies in the Pashtun for a separate identity (Aman & Jan, 2015).

The aim of this research endeavor is to highlight the plights of the stigmatized Pashtun residing in Pakistan and to elucidate the underlying causes of their increasing marginalization. Moreover, the research also shed light on the correlation between stigmatization of the Pashtun ethnicity and the consequent indulgence in exacerbating conflict in Pakistan. The research is a pioneering effort to employ the lens of

stigmatization of an ethnicity to evaluate the propensity in conflict. In this vein, this research undertaking is imperative to establish peace in the conflict prone regions of Pakistan.

In order to detail the grievances of the Pashtun and highlight their perceptions, the research undertaking has built the narrative of the Pakistani Pashtun. In doing so, a case has been crafted tracing their history and detailing the onset of instability in Pashtun majority areas in Pakistan. Furthermore, interviews have been conducted as a primary tool of gathering data from Pashtun from all walks of life in Pakistan to establish their perceptions. The information collected from interviews has been thematically analyzed to interpret their feelings of stigmatization and highlight the underlying reasons of such ill-treatment. In addition, the study provides certain recommendations to be address the grievances of the Pashtun. The research is incontrovertibly engrossed in finding avenues to avert future ethno-nationalist conflicts in Pakistan.

1.2 Research Enquiry

The aim of this thesis is to evaluate the process of Pashtun stigmatization in the light of two theories: Theory of Stigma given by Goffman and the Theory of Social Identity posed by Tajfel and Turner. In this context, the study would first focus on the theoretical aspect of stigma and the development of social identity. Having analyzed *how* and *why* the people are stigmatized and *how* and *why* the people indulge in the creation of separate identities based on the theoretical premise, the process of Pashtun stigmatization would be identified. The study also aims to highlight the existence of resentments, within the minds of Pashtun, about being stigmatized which gradually cumulated due to ethnic labeling as 'terrorists' on the basis of collective responsibility. Hence, stigma emanating from collective responsibility postulates that the indulgence of one member of the community/ family makes the rest of the members of the community/ family liable to the same treatment.

Pakistan is facing a lot of internal issues; refuge problems, illegal immigration, porous border (West), internal threats such as extremism, and the issue of ethnic identity. Recent racial profiling, suggested in policies such as NISP and NAP, has created much more resentment not only among Pashtun involved in anti-state activities, but among those who

are peace loving and patriotic (Khattak, 2017). In order to comprehend the Pashtun conflicts which is the second largest ethnic group and having much more importance for the country's economic development, it is necessary to start our discussion to change the policies towards extremism and terrorism by differentiating among foe and friend so that we may be able to excluding the largest ethnic group from labeling and stigmatizing as a terrorist. In this vein, the research argues that such knowledge is essential for designing and implementing effective measures to provide social security and dignity to every Pakistani Pashtun, to remove unnatural substances to the endurance of the concept of collective responsibility, and to discourage social exclusion, stigmatization, and self-mortification of those affected by labeling as a terror on the basis of ethnic similarities.

> Every Pakistani citizen, within the context of contemporary security issues, is requested to inform the police about those people who have suspected identities- the people who merely looked Pashtun or Afghan including tea vendors, dry-fruits vendors and salesman of households and children's toys….

> All the Pashtun traders within the market are requested, within the context of contemporary security issues, to offer their verification documentation within the limited time otherwise they will have to face serious consequences in case of strict legal actions…..

> The people who are ethnically Pashtun are projected to issue the chip-based identity cards so that they could be kept under watch…..

The quotes above are extracted from the statements that were circulated (as cited below in this thesis) on social media and public places as well. These represent that the Pashtun identity is somehow equated with the suspected identity that leads to the situation of *us* and *them*. This also represent that the Pashtun identity is linked to identities that convey the negative social attributes. Thus, the Pashtun are reduced in identity "from [being] a whole and usual person to a tainted, and discounted one" which is Erving Goffman's (1963, p. 11) description of stigmatized individuals. The prevailing situation of stigmatizing of the Pashtun identity as a suspected one, especially within the context of terrorism, consciously indicates the emergence of conflict in near future. So, to diagnose

the root causes of this conflict, it is wise to understand the symptoms of conflict first. That is why; this case study asks the following simple, but important research questions :(1) what are the factors that are responsible to associate terrorism with the Pashtun identity? (2) How the process of stigmatization of Pashtun as a suspected identity is affecting them? (3) What could be the reactions in case of continuity of this stigma towards Pashtun? These core questions lead to further questions. Following these questions, the particular research helps to elucidate the complex relationship between Pashtun stigmatization, and the contemporary movement – Pashtun Tahafuz Movement (PTM). Adding to this, this research also explains that how it affects the lives of Pashtun. Along with this, it explores the strategies adopted by the Pashtun to lessen their stigma.

1.3 Methodology

1.3.1 Strategy of Enquiry

To understand the complex factors responsible for shaping conflict, a qualitative methodology has been adapted in this research. Adding to this, the sensitivity of the topic (explained below) strengthened the argument for embracing qualitative techniques over the quantitative.

Qualitative research assists the researcher to analyze the phenomenon in a more holistic way because it enables the researcher to better understand and analyze the feelings, experiences, grievances, perspectives or stories of respondents(Jennifer, 2002).More importantly, this approach is more flexible in nature by using, for example, ethnographic tools (Ibid).

1.3.2 Data Collection

To address the contextually based research questions, a mixed method approach by using ethnographic tools was adopted to understand the process of Pashtun stigmatization. To initially understand the broader context of ethnic image, stigmatization and ongoing conflict in Pakistan, the available secondary data was reviewed, including NARA information, organizational reports, newspapers, journal articles and existing literature covering stigmatization/ labeling of Pashtun and its reversal grievances and aggression generating conflict. However, there was unfortunately little secondary data available

about the ethnic stigmatization of Pashtun which is central to this research because the subject was not being viewed from stigmatization point of view. So, it was already realized that primary data would be essential to construct a more reasonable argument and analysis. The interest in the said topic developed when various circulars regarding scapegoating of Pashtun community-the second largest ethnic group were distributed among the people (Khattak, 2017). Before conducting the formal fieldwork or data collection, informal interactions with Pashtun – as a scoping study - confirmed the ongoing identity's stigmatization and profiling. This also enabled me to develop a social network to broaden my respondents' recruitment and to gain their confidence.

Intensive fieldworks, including various trips of different cities of two provinces (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa & Punjab) were conducted during the month of March and April of 2018. To extract the primary data, interviews were conducted from forty respondents representing Pashtun identity, belonging to KPK and FATA agencies. The interviews were guided by a list of open-ended questions containing the relevant theme intended to recognize the shiny image of research inquiry. The respondents were properly provided with the information sheet and consent form before preceding each interview (See appendix A). The Pashtun people belonging to KPK, but currently settled in Punjab were also included in the sample.Mostly young and educated people were selected for the interviews. Different categories were interviewed; young and educated Pashtun belonging to KPK and FATA who were currently living in their hometowns and also young and educated Pashtun belonging to KPK and FATA, who were currently settled in Punjab due to conflict that induce internal displacement/migration, livelihood, or any other purposes. Various journalists have written extensively regarding the grievances of Pashtun and their current movements. To gain the vivid picture of the research inquiry, this research interviewed two journalists representing Pakistan Today newspaper and Center for Research and Security Studies. Along with this, few Pashtun working in the construction company at low level posts were also interviewed for particular kind of information/ view point. Few of the response were quite similar from all the respondents however majority responded differently.

1.3.3 Understanding the Research Sensitivity

I feel a deep sense of admiration for the participant of this research who volunteered to share their experiences concerning relational stigma. Undoubtedly, the areas of research that 'invades' into the personal experiences of the respondents becomes sensitive in nature as it may create some emotional and ethical issues, both for the researcher and respondents (Renzetti & Lee, 1993). Similarly, Sieber and Stanley (1988) stated that all social research could be defined as sensitive because of the potential consequences for participants in the research or the class of individuals who are represented by the research along with their perspectives (Sieber & Stanley, 1988). However, Lee (1993) criticized the definition of Sieber and Stanley (1988) by stating that in order to develop a comprehensive understanding of the research sensitive in nature, it is important to focus on the specific technical and methodological issues that are inherent in sensitive research rather than focusing on the consequential effects of research (Renzetti & Lee, 1993). In past, such sensitive topics are named as 'taboo topics' and defined as those "which are laden with emotion or which inspire feelings of awe or dread" (Ibid). In this scenario, complications, no doubt, did emerge for the researcher during the research process, especially during data collection and the interpretation of gathered data (Claire & Lee, 1993).

Similarly, in case of this research, the stigmatization of Pashtun identity, the second largest ethnic group of Pakistan, is indeed a sensitive topic. In particular, the labeling and profiling of Pashtun in backdrop of home grown terrorism has added another layer to the research sensitivity. Furthermore, the polarized views regarding the issue of stigmatization, its management (e.g., in the case of PTM) and state response has created the issue as of crafted. Throughout the research process and particularly during the field work, I came across various challenges which had indeed profound impact on my own 'self' and research conduct. Despite providing necessary information regarding my research, surprisingly the students enrolled at the tertiary education level notably declined my request to conduct interviews. Due to sensitivity attached with the topic, majority of the respondent refused to allow me to record their views on the said topic. However, after their satisfaction that their names will be kept quite confidential and their information

will not be cited as per their original names few of the respondents allowed me to use their information. In this context, the confidentiality of the research participant was maintained by assigning them a pseudonym. The transcription, consent forms, and the notes of interviews of the participant were stored on a password protected computer.

1.3.4 Challenges and Limitations of the Research

As in ethnographic approach, the researcher is supposed to be telling a credible and authentic story; meaning giving voice to people in their local context. The stories are presented, but through the eyes of people as they pursue in their daily lives. Similarly, in this case, proper understanding of the participants' feelings, observations, experiences, and grievances was essential to arrive at convincing arguments and a thorough analysis of the research inquiry. However, during the case study, I have identified few challenges of using ethnographic methods to collect the data. Firstly, my inability (as the researcher) to speak the Pashtu *language* was a great hurdle to collect the data myself from the Pashtun respondents. It hampered me from conversing with the respondents directly and to establish a common ground of understanding and trust. However, the expertise of interpreter helped me to converse in Urdu as well as Pashtu with the respondents to gain in-depth insights from them with pronounced expressions. Along with this, the (Pashtun) respondents belonging to labor class and minor jobs lacked awareness about research and were reluctant to audience the questions. This issue was can be understood more in lines keeping the issue of *sensitivity* surrounding the topic in mind. Further, considering sensitivity, it was challenging to approach the respondent and to convince them to share their views.

After passing through these hurdles and limitations for research, I have carefully categorized these hurdles as follows. Firstly, the member of which institution – civilian or armed forces – is going to take the information matters a lot for the respondents. Secondly, the place where the interviews are being conducted matters a lot for the respondents as they felt insecure meeting at secluded places. Thirdly, physical appearance and dressing of researcher matters to the participants as it was noted during research that respondents felt more comfortable if they could relate to the researcher. Finally, it is essential for the researcher to keep in mind, if it's an open ended

questionnaire, the status and awareness of the participant relevant to the research topic. Above all these factors, the sensitivity of the topic matters a lot for the respondent. Facing these issues and to avoid from these hurdles, I redefined my strategies and adapted to the challenges to collect the data and complete my research.

1.3.5 Data Analysis

After completion of my fieldwork, I accrued all of the responses of the respondents written on the notebook and also replayed all the interviews recorded successfully in the audio recorder. In this way, different themes were identified properly and then assembled separately to supplement the thick description of the case. Along with this, the interviews recorded in Pashtu language were translated with the help of interpreter to identify the various themes intended to the concerned research. The collected data was also theoretically and conceptually analyzed in order to establish a comprehensible link between the gathered data and proposed theoretical framework for this research.

CHAPTER TWO: UNDERSTANDING THE THEORETICAL DIMENSIONS OF STIGMATIZATION AND SOCIAL IDENTITY ON ETHNIC IMAGE

2.1 Theory of Social Identity

The set of individuals who hold the common social identification and view themselves as the same social category are known as a *social group*(Tajfel & Turner, 2004). The theory of social identity was first coined by Tajfel (1972, 31) who epitomize the concept of *self* as an "individual's knowledge that he belongs to certain social group(s) together with some emotional and value significant to him of the group membership" (Tajfel, 1972). Whereas, identity alone was defined by Alubo (2009, 1) as "a combination of socio-cultural characteristics which individuals share, or are presumed to share, with others on the basis of which one group may be distinguished from others"(Alubo, 2009). Korostelina (2007, 2) in her work entitled *Social Identity and Conflict* describes social identity as a "feeling of belonging to a social group, as a strong connection with social category, and as an important part of our mind that affects our social perceptions and behavior"(Korostelina, 2007). According to theory of social identity, presented by Hogg and Abrams, it is the knowledge/perception of person that he or she belongs to a particular social group which comes to define their social identity (Hogg & Abrams, 1988). Tajfel & Turner in their collective work theorized a distinction between personal and social identity to explain social behavior. They underpinned their argument by establishing the difference between interpersonal situations "in which behavior is mainly under the control of person logical variables" and group situations "determined largely by category based processes"(Tajfel & Turner, 2004, p. 277).

Stets's and Burke's work showed that earlier work included the components of emotions, evaluations, and other psychological aspects in the classification of in-group social identity while later researchers empirically investigated the relationship based on the components of self-esteem and commitment in the separation of self-category from others(Stets & Burke , 2000).Hogg and Abrams presented two important processes in the

formation of social identity; *self-categorization* and *social comparison*. According to them, these two processes produce various consequences in the society(Abrams & Hogg, 2006).Cognition plays a vital role in the process of identity formation, so the researchers have also begun to examine the impact of cognition on identity process(Serpe, 1991).The researcher summarized that identity cognition, or thoughts about or related to one's identity have been measured and conceptualized through various ways including an emphasis on processes of thinking and planning about identity-relevant activity, or 'cognitive activity', or through measuring the frequency of thinking about one's identity. *Self-categorization* forces an individual to vociferously claim the perceived similarities between the self and other in-group members, resultantly establishing an accentuation of the perceived differences between the self and the out-group members (Stets & Burke , 2000). While the outcome of *social comparison* process leads the individuals towards self-enhancing. Through the process of social comparison specifically, one's self-esteem is enhanced by evaluating the in-group and the out-group on the assumption that leads the in-group to be judged positively and the out-group to be judged negatively (Stets & Burke , 2000). Features highlighting similarities with other in-group members, the label of belonging to a certain group, or seeing things from the perspective of the same group represent the characteristics of a particular social identity (Stets & Burke , 2000).

The identity formation based on in-group produces the uniformity of perception and it may reveal itself through several ways (Oakes, Haslam, & Turner, 1994). It may manifest on cognitive, attitudinal, and behavioral lines. For example, social stereotyping is primarily the outcome of cognitive approach (Stets & Burke , 2000). Previous researches reflect that strong identification within the in-group leads to an enhanced stereotyped perception of the in-group as well as out-group members while also expanding the homogeneity within groups (Haslam-Eggins et al., 1996).Similarly, according to Hogg and Hardie (1992), there are strong evidences which represent that in the group the view of the self as prototypical is influenced by the group identification (Hogg & Hardie, 1992).Still Brewer with others (Simon, Pantaleo, and Mummendy) has found that non-existence of any single motivational force to distinguish the self from others may strengthen the in-group homogeneity (Brewer, 1993).If we see along with attitudinal lines, we come to know that when people become the members of a group then they

evaluate the group as positive uniformly and feel strong attraction towards a group independent of the individual attachments (Hogg & Hardie, 1992).Similarly, other researchers have found that a considerably *lower*status of a group does not influence to increase the possibility for an individual to leave the group when there is in-group identification. Hogg and Hardie further elaborate that in-group identification leads the individuals to have a greater commitment with the group(Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1997).Finally, the behavioral line within the context of social identity represents that the people behave within a group with which they identify by concretion(Philip & Ullah, 1987).

2.1.1 Place Identity

There are many factors that shape human identity and place is one of the factors among the product of identity. When people explain who they are, they usually reveal information about places; what country they live in, what city or town they are from and so on. Identification with places always happens in the same way as identifications with groups. Places not only provide the identity to an individual, but also help to understand the receiver about the perceived behavior of that individual. Place identity can vary as an individual changes his physical world. Researchers have defined the concept of place identity as simple as identity connected to place. They define place identity as cognition and conceiving of an individual regarding the physical world in which the individual lives and they refer to it as the cognitive sub-structure of the self-identity (Proshansky, Fabian, & Kaminoff , 1983). They described it as the individual's integration with place (Ibid).

Moreover, the departure point of some researchers was that the behavior of an individual is sometimes guided by the beliefs or attitudes of a person towards the target either it may be place or person (Yzer, Cappella, Fishbein, hornik, & Ahren, 2003). Now a day, it is a very common trend to behave negatively based on the beliefs towards a particular place identity. It can be widely seen throughout the European countries in which the place identity has also become the factor of strict screenings. Place identity plays a significant role in driving their behavior towards particular person by putting aside the social identity of an individual. Looking at the present discriminated scenario adopted by the European

countries regarding some place identities we can assume that *place* is one of the category of identity next to gender, social class, or family. But as a theoretical framework, the place-identity theory is weak. As the individual always remains in search of places where his needs and desires may be fulfilled. To this end, person not only experiences, but also constructs records of 'good' and 'bad' experiences emerging from the physical environment in which he lives in. Hence, there can be little doubt that an individual's physical settings vary from one time to the next in order to satisfy their needs and desires and avoid him from bad identity (Proshansky, Fabian, & Kaminoff , 1983). However, the element of place attachment cannot be ignored as a whole in the context of place identity.

As it is aforementioned that individual's identity is also reflected through the place from where he belongs. This attachment may be the outcome of positive experiences, feelings, values, and particularly the memories attached with those particular geographical locatable places. Various scholars are convinced to define the place attachment as an emotional attachment to a particular place (Scannell & Gifford, 2010). Tuan defined it in a new angle and coined the word 'topophilia' or 'love of place' to define the place attachment (Tuan, 1974). Relph defined it as the trustworthy and emotional tie with an environment that fulfils the basic human needs (Relph, 1976). Hummon defined the term place attachment within the context of psychological environmental sentiment and referred to as an emotional investment in a place (Hummon, 1992). Similarly, Shumaker and Hankin (1984) quoted in the work of Hummon, elucidated that the phenomena of human feelings about places is natural as some of the field of enquiry are interdisciplinary (Ibid). While Brown et al defined the place attachment as "feelings of pride…and a general sense of belonging" (Brown, Perkins, & Brown, 2003). To define the essence of place, Relph (1976) states that:

> The essence of place lies in the largely unselfconscious intentionality that defines places as centers of human existence. There is for virtually everyone a deep association with and consciousness of the places where we were born and grew up, where we live now, or where we have had particularly moving experiences. This association seems to constitute a

vital source of both individual and cultural identity and security (Relph, 1976).

Tuan defined the *rootedness* as simply as the feelings of security and comforts attached to a particular place. According to him, the people who are strongly rooted with the particular places have no curiosity about what lies beyond the next place, but what lies beyond the present time. The process of rootedness get strengthen by witnessing the lacerating events, and recall of past happiness throughout the individual's life(Tuan, 1974).

In earlier work by Hogg and Abrams (1988) place identification was found to 'express membership of a group of people who should be defining by location'. In this way the concept of place was not only ignored, but it was considered as the concept of social identity. The mingling of the two concepts not only erected the hurdles for the scholars in the past, but still place identification is being seen as a type of social identification. It is being assumed that the process occurring between identity and place are similar to the process occurring between group and identity. Similarly, the importance of place in 'binding individual to a particular place' can be seen through the Jacobs &Stokol's theoretical framework of tradition. This model hypothesizes that there will strong connection between the individual and the other group members and between the individual and place if the people are more engaged in traditional activities in the particular setting(Wright & Lyons, 1997).

2.2 Concept of Stigma

The concept of *stigma* was given by the North American sociologist Erving Goffman in his influential exertion, *Stigma: Notes on the Management of a Spoiled Identity* (1963). The concept of stigma coined by Goffman attracted researchers who were associated with multiple disciplines. Subsequently, stigmatization has become the most important topic for various disciplines that include the social psychology, public health, sociology, and as well as criminology. The concept of stigma is applied to ornate the various situations that is why there are several volumes edited on the subject of stigmatization that had contributed to understanding its concept from various perspectives. There is a lot of

criticism also in the application of stigma. The work of Link and Phelan (2001) claims that the concept of stigma is defined quite vaguely and they further contend that each and every investigator has applied the concept of stigmatization with the intent of their research (Link & Phelan, 2001). However, this research undertaking will revolve around the basic concept of stigmatization given by Goffman and the research work that followed in order to understand the core issues on which this study is centered.

According to Goffman, stigma is an attribute towards an individual who is anticipated as quite thoroughly dangerous, bad, or weak and thus reduced in our minds "from a whole and usual person to tainted, discounted one" (Goffman, 1963, p. 9). Further he stated that by definition, of course, we construct the belief that the person with a stigma is not quite *man*(human) and thus we start to discriminate him on the assumption which reduces his/her life chance. The theory of stigma or we can say the ideology to explain this inferiority is purely based on our own 'understanding' or often of a supernatural cost, such as 'sixth sense' (Ibid: 5). This means that the central feature of the stigma is the denial of individual's social acceptance based on his physical or social attribute that devalues his identity and hence disqualifies him from full social acceptance (Ibid). It could also be a failing or shortcoming because an anticipated identity is 'virtual identity' that could be quite different from 'actual social identity'. This attribute creates a special incongruity between virtual and actual social identity (Goffman, 1963).Along with this, Goffman described that "some people are regarded by others as having spoiled identity because they share a web of affiliation with those people who are stigmatized or having some ambiguous position in society" which he named as *courtesy stigma*(Goffman, 1963, p. 30). Though the complete work of Goffman has much more importance to understand this research, but the concept of courtesy stigma is more relevant to frame this study in a better way. Since the inception of this concept, this definition has been expanded upon by various well known scholars who contributed much more to understand this concept.

Stafford & Scott propose that stigma "is a characteristic of persons that is contrary to a norm of a social unit" where a "norm" is defined as a "shared belief that a person ought to behave in a certain way at a certain time" (Stafford & Scott, 1986, p. 80). Similarly, Jones et al (1984) by using the observation of Goffman define stigma as a 'mark'

(attribute) that links a person to undesirable characteristic (stereotypes)(Jones, et al., 1984). An especially influential definition is that of Crocker et al (1998) which indicates that "stigmatized individual possess (or believed to possess) some attribute, or characteristic, that conveys a social identity that is devalued in a particular social context" (Crocker et al., 1998, p. 505).Further, Link and Phelan (2001:367) describe stigmatization as a process having these following interrelated components. In the first component, people distinguish and label human differences. In the second, dominant cultural beliefs link labeled persons to undesirable characteristics—to negative stereotypes. In the third, labeled persons are placed in distinct categories so as to accomplish some degree of separation of 'us' from 'them'. In the fourth, labeled persons experience status loss and discrimination that leads to unequal outcomes (Link & Phelan, 2001).Watkins and Jacoby (2007) defined a stigmatized individual "as different"(Watkins & Jacoby, 2007). According to Goffman, a discrediting attribute towards an individual in the available category of persons which makes him as different & dangerous affects the individual very extensively, is referred to as stigma (Goffman, 1963).

However, it is quite clear that the concept of stigma is defined variously and hence application to a particular setting or social issue may prove to be complicated. Multidisciplinary affiliation of stigma is the primary barrier to the study of it. The social scientists remain unable to address the concept of stigma adequately due to obstacles inherent in the phenomena of stigma and the differences in the discourse of it(Ainlay, Coleman, & Becker , 1986). For example, sociologist treat stigma in term of deviation. Similarly, social psychologists (Heatherton et al. 2000, Levin and van Laar 2006, Crocker et al. 1998) are interested in the study of stigma because it sheds light on prejudice, stereotypes, cognition, and various similar themes. Moreover, anthropologists have discussed it in terms of social control or primarily in terms of in-group and out-group interaction (Ainlay, Coleman, & Becker , 1986).

In this vein, this research will follow a multidisciplinary approach to better understand the process of stigma. It is however believed that better knowledge can be obtained if the research on stigma is conducted through various disciplines and conceptual points of view such as psychological, sociological, criminology, health and medicine(Ainlay,

Coleman, & Becker , 1986).The concept of stigma is apparently universal. It is universally known that every society has norms and values and the members living in the aforementioned society are expected to conform to these norms. Similarly, each society also has a different mechanism of social control to bind the members to ensure these cultural norms. Persons which do not conform to these cultural norms are sanctioned by society. The members of the society usually hold common belief of significant attitude and behavior towards the persons violating the norms and values. This significant attitude and behavior to exclude the persons as 'tainted ones' is generally known as the stigma (Becker & Arnold , 1986). As each society constitutes the norms and values for itself, so the nature of stigma varies from one society to another. It means that the violation of any cultural norms and the structure may become the cause of stigma for a particular individual in that society, but not for the other. For example, According to Marshall (1979), the aggressive behavior in case of drunken situation is not considered inappropriate among Turkish, hence not stigmatized. While Ablon convinced that in US such type of behavior, if it affects the life of others, is stigmatized (Becker & Arnold , 1986).

2.2.1 Types of Stigma

Erving Goffman (1967), while building further on his work on stigma, presented three types of stigma to elaborate and clarify the double perception of the term stigma. First of all the *abomination of the body*- means various type of deformities in a physical manner. For example, a person who is blind, deaf, or suffers from any physical deformity. The second type of stigma focuses on *blemishes of individual character* perceived as a weak will or having an unnatural passion like rigid beliefs, radical political behavior, homosexuality, dishonesty, and drug addiction. Finally, according to Goffman, there are some particularities like ethnicity, race, religion, or national identities that can create a distance from the 'normal'. Goffman named this type of stigma as the *tribal stigma* (Goffman, 1967). Goffman exemplified that we the 'normal' develop conceptions regarding others on the bases of visibility sometimes, whether this conception is objectively grounded or not, which primarily disqualifies the individual (Ibid: 53). To explain such type of stigma, the example of exclusion of the whole Muslim community

while perceiving them as a 'terrorist' could be used because no thorough factual investigation supports this perception. Similarly, information about the personal identity is also the source of exclusion of an individual from society. The individuals are excluded on the basis of their ethnicity and are ethnically identified through their names (Goffman, 1967).

2.3Stigma Management Strategies

The topic of stigma management strategy is very broad as it depends upon many factors. For instance, the issue of whether or not we know the stigmatized person personally may affect the investigation of stigma management. Goffman (1963:19) argued that when an individual is perceived to have a stigma attached to them, then we, the 'normal', are likely to categorize him unfit then he is likely to experience uneasiness. And if the stigmatized person continuously faces with these situations then he is likely to become more adept in managing stigma with various strategies that he arrives at after his experience in dealing with stigma (Goffman, 1963). According to Lorcerie (As Cited in the work of Weller & Yilmaz), stigmatized persons adopt five principal strategies to correct their stigma. First, they can try to correct the core cause of their stigma or to conceal the sign of stigma. In this way, the stigmatized individual tries to integrate himself with the society to curtail his stigma identity. Second, they try to pretend that their stigma cannot prevent them from the achievement of success. They try to achieve those targets that are even difficult to achieve for normal. It means that they can try to excel the society. Third, they can execute the personality that conformed to their social, cultural, or ethnic identity as a response to stigma by the 'normal'. Fourth, they can try to attain benefit from their stigmatized identity. They can cash in on their stigma to hustle their failure. Finally, they can try to redefine their differences by fantasizing advantage over the 'normal ones'. For example, the blacks are stigmatized in the America, they can redefine it as "black is beautiful"(Weller & Yilmaz, 2012).

Goffman (1963) presented that the person having *secret differentness* or the cause of stigma which he has succeeded to keep in secrecy will find himself in three possible places during his everyday routine. First, there will be forbidden or out-of-bound places where the presence or exposure of that stigmatized person means expulsion. The other

place may be the composition of mix up reaction means sometimes the presence of stigmatized will be painful because he will be treated as disqualified, and sometime not. Finally, the places where the person of that stigmatized category needs not to conceal his stigma (Goffman, 1963, p. 81). This is all because of the fact there are some places where he is known personally. The condition of his personally knowing also varies with the circumstances and sometimes with the question of whom he is 'with'. Goffman dubbed that these are the places, where the stigmatized person is known personally and can assume that he will not to 'bump onto' anyone who knows him personally. As aforementioned, the continuous confrontation with stigmatization makes an individual adept in handling stigma. So the stigmatized individual applies different techniques depending upon the circumstances. When the stigmatized individual realizes that the public is not aware about his stigmatized identity, he/she applies different techniques to avoid from being debarred for a particular period of time.

In this context, Goffman (1963) identified some techniques that the stigmatized individuals commonly adopt in managing crucial information about themselves which becomes the cause of stigmatization. Obviously, one strategy is to conceal the symbol/sign that pushed him to be stigmatized. The change of name is a well-known example for such techniques. Another strategy to handle the stigma which is widely adopted by the stigmatized individual is the adoption of new world of large group to whom he tells nothing (Goffman, 1963, p. 92). The most constructive strategy adopted by the stigmatized is the creation of sub-hierarchies within the stigmatized group. In this strategy the stigmatized individual tries to detach themselves from stigmatized group and renounced any traits, actions, or behavioral association with them(Warren, 1974). Similarly, according to Goffman, the people try to differentiate and stratify themselves from the stigmatized group so that the normalization of their identity can be achieved (Goffman, 1963). More recent work of Haneem and Bruckert (2012) affirms that this in-group separation with the help of social boycott may help to make the spoiled identity as normal and create hierarchies among the stigmatized and less stigmatized.

2.4 Consequences of Stigma

Stigma has profound effects across a wide range of outcomes, including devaluation and exclusion, ignorance, well-being and self-esteem, group identification, and social interaction. There is also variability in the effects of stigma and this variability is shaped by the characteristics of the person, the situation, and the characteristics of the stigma (Laar & Levin, 2006). The primary consequence of stigmatization is the loss of social status which Link and Phelan (2001:371) referred to as "undesirable characteristics that reduce his or her status in the eyes of stigmatizers"(Link & Phelan, 2001). There are some particular aspects of the person which may lead others to stigmatize the individual but are concealable. The individuals facing such type of stigmas are likely to be able to escape the negative effects of stigma easily. The logic behind it is the easiness to conceal the stigma because of the narrowly defined stigma characteristic such as eating disorder. The people facing such type of stigma may prevent themselves from negative impact of stigma by concealing their stigma or by separating their particular aspect from their identity.

However, sometimes the process of stigmatization is being carried out due to the wide range of characteristics of an individual's personality which is easily recognizable and difficult to conceal. For example, minority ethnicity may be a chronically accessible stigma that could be difficult to conceal. This represents the wide range of stigma characteristics (Laar & Levin, 2006). Similarly, the effects of stigma also depend on the characteristics of the stigmatized individual. It is the characteristics of an individual which may lead him in perceiving the threat and deciding that what resources the individual can chose to cope with perceived threat (Ibid).

Keeping in view the availability of coping responses, the appraisal of threat can help the stigmatized individual to initiate the coping process (Miller , 2006). For example, people who ordinarily would not be devalued could also face such type of consequences by acquiring association with the person stigmatized or some of the disvalued characteristics of it. Goffman mentions this as courtesy *stigma* that can "spread from the stigmatized individual to his connections" (Goffman, 1963). For example, the parents having mentally disabled children are avoided being visited or invited to visit.

Various researches have confirmed that the processes of stigmatization resulted in the devaluation, ignorance, and exclusion of the members of stigmatized group (Laar & Levin, 2006). Goffman described that when the social identity of a stigmatized individual is spoiled; it has the effect of cutting him off from society which makes his senses regarding himself to be a discredited and of an unaccepted person for the society (Goffman, 1963). The individuals who are highly sensitive to status-based rejection are more likely to perceive and react strongly and negatively in a situation whenever they feel that their status is being rejected (Mendoza-Denton , Page-Gould , & Pietrzak, 2006). However, the role of identification is also considered very influential. The individuals who are strongly identified with their stigmatized group are more likely to perceive events as relevant to their stigma and ultimately react very strongly (Laar & Levin, 2006). One of the effects of stigma is also embodied in the characteristics of the situation. To explain this concept, Inzlicht and Good introduced the term *threatening environment*. It means that the production of such an environment in the social setting where individuals are compelled to suspect that they are being stigmatized, devalued, or discriminated against because of their particular social identity(Inzlicht & Good , 2006). This not only isolates the stigmatized identity, but also justifies the *devalue-ness* of the identity. So the restriction or termination of social relation is the secondary impact on individual. The stigmatized individual focuses on the strategies of stigma management rather than extending his social relation. Therefore, he tries to narrow down his relations in order to avoid being stigmatized. Devaluation and exclusion of particular stigmatized groups authenticates the process of discrimination. Discriminatory attitude of the 'normal' restricts their access to social and economic resources and hence results in poor health and less education. Moreover, the continuous practice of devaluing an identity fuels the strong grievances and feelings of dehumanization. This is very destructive effect of stigma.

2.4.1 Dehumanization

Dehumanization is equated with degrading treatment of individuals. The process of dehumanization is something which occurs in people's heads; meaning something psychological. It represents that it is a way of thinking about particular group of people to

whom they conceive as victims of degradation (Smith, 2011). The term dehumanization refers in the most basic terms to the denial, in part or whole, of the humanity of a person or group of persons(Oliver, 2011).Morton Deutsch named it as a *moral exclusion* of particular groups(Deutsch, Coleman, & Marcus, 2006). According to him, dehumanization is the process of moral exclusion of particular groups by *scapegoating* them and burdening them with the responsibility of economic hardship or political strife. The process includes the exclusion of group perceiving them as a threat or inferior in term of race, gender, ethnicity, or class (Deutsch, Coleman, & Marcus, 2006). However, this definition leans more towards psychology.

Dehumanization is not a new phenomenon as it is infested in human history. As Hitler proclaimed in 1943, "international Jewry is the ferment of decomposition of peoples and states, just as it was in antiquity. It will remain that way as long as peoples do not find the strength to get rid of the virus"(Smith, 2011). Similarly, Ehrenburg who was against the Germans and considered them lower than the level of human beings wrote a pamphlet and distributed in public places that "If you kill one German, kill another—there is nothing more amusing for us than a heap of German corpses"(Smith, 2011).

Undoubtedly, the process of stigma and phenomenon of dehumanization leads the individuals towards aggression or resentment. These resentments further forced the individuals to separate themselves from those who stigmatized them. In this way, they are able to avoid and escape rejection and devalue-*ness*.

2.4.2Group Aggression

Aggression is not a sudden or perception-based phenomenon. There are many factors to chip the aggressive behavior in an individual or group. These may include the victimization of discrimination, deprivation, social exclusion, identity threat, stigma, psychology, and situational factors. Along with this, this is also believed that there are different types of aggressions. Some types of aggression have more intensity than others because few of them destroy the peace. The drafters of the definition as explained by B. Broms (cited in the work of YoramDinstein) signaled clearly that only the *war aggression* constitutes a crime against peace not the every act of aggression (Dinstein, 2001). Baron, Kerr, and Miller (1992) explained the sequence of factors that produce

aggression among human groups begins with the presence of arousal, situational cues, and modeling influences (Baron, Kerr, & Norman, 1992). The authors further explained these factors one by one in their study. According to them, frustration or anger may stimulate an individual or group, or even the sources that have no close link with the aggression such as high temperature, crowding, noise, or other environmental discomforts may fuel an aggression. The other factor that can help to engender an overt aggression may be the situational cues. These are the things or objects that are directly related to aggression. The possession or presences of these cues authentically produce aggressive thinking in the person. They coded the example of weapons to epitomize it. According to them the sheer presence of weapons may help to promote the aggressive behavior (Ibid). This argument was demonstrated by Berkowitz and LePage (1967) in their research on the 'weapons effect' and they put it as, the "gun may pull the trigger"(Berkowitz & Lepang, 1967). The third factor in the presence of high level of social comparison and under the condition of high arousal may encourage imitation to occur(Baron, Kerr, & Norman, 1992). In addition to these factors, there is a combination of three others factors like the *de-individuation*, emergent norms favoring aggression development within the group, and an aggression triggering event. These are

> . . . events that are a vivid, dramatic, and specific instance of unfairness or instigation. Such triggering events may not, if taken in isolation, justify [aggression], but rather they mobilize action that is based on a combination of the other factors . . . Finally, they must also occur at a time when collective action . . . seems feasible or likely to succeed…(Baron, Kerr, & Norman, 1992, p. 148).

Staub (1993) impressively summarized the relating sequence leading to aggressive behavior and observe:

> Briefly, difficult social or life conditions, like intense and prolonged economic problems, intense political conflict in a society, or rapid and substantial social change, create social chaos and disorganization and give rise to intense needs in whole groups of people. These needs include the

need for security, a positive identity . . . and hope for a better life. A history of aggression in dealing with conflict, strong respect for authority . . . and certain group self-concepts. As the perpetrator group turns against the victims, often a subgroup of society, and begins to harm the victim group, an evolution begins. Acts that harm the victims change the perpetrators, and make more harmful acts possible and probable. These 'steps along a continuum of destruction' can lead to extreme violence(Staub, 1993, p. 283).

To better understand the aggressive behavior of any group which may be based on ethnicity, regions, or religion the aforementioned sequential factors can play a vital role.

2.4.3 Social Movements

The involvement of stigmatized identities in social movements can emerge from both as a stigma management strategy and reactions to self-rejection. Stigma can also affect the stigmatized by cultivating the bellicosity among them that can be resulted in the form of social movements. Similarly, stigmatized individual would be more energetic to participate in collective movements as a strategy to lessen the stigmatization. That is why, the people who are stigmatized, whatever their base of stigmatization, may show their resentment by flaring their collective movements. This phenomena is only applicable when the group of people, not the individual, are being stigmatized based on their ethnicity, religion, nation, and region. This is the struggle adopted by individuals when their identity is being threatened and they lost their powers even on their own lives.

 Accordingly, Porta & Diani (p. 20) have explained the social movements as a distinct social process that consist of the mechanisms through which "actors engaged in collective action and are involved in conflictual relations with clearly identified opponents, are linked by dense informal networks, and share a distinct collective identity"(Porta & Diani, 2006). History is full of social movements either it is successful or fail. Similarly, the social movements contained various intentions and different goals. One of the earlier sociologists, David Aberle (1966), developed categories of social movements to establish distinguish among social movements based on what they want to change and how much

change they want. Following this, he addressed four types of social movements including: reform movements, revolutionary movements, redemptive movements, and alternative movements (Aberle, 2016). However, there are important analytic similarities with regard to the life cycle of a social movement that various sociologists have distinguished agreeably. These are emergence, coalescence, bureaucratization, and decline (Christiansen, 2009). However, the earliest scholar who studied the process of social movements was Herbert Blumer, who described the four stages of social movements as social ferment, popular excitement, formalization, and institutionalization (Porta & Diani, 2006, p. 150). Whenever, due to stigma the identity becomes a problem for the survival of individuals and they are denied even from their due rights then there is greater intensity to involve in the social movements to claim their rights. Della Porta and Diani explained this phenomenon by asserting that a social movement is "the manifestation of feelings of deprivation experienced by individuals in relation to other social subject, and of feelings of aggression resulting from a wide range of frustrated expectations"(Porta & Diani, 2006, p. 7). Subsequently, the outcome of stigma in the form of social movements could be real and disaster one.

2.5 Understanding Responses to Stigmatization[1] and their Link with National Cohesion

Strategies to reduce stigma depend upon the kind of stigma as well as the intensity of stigma. First of all, there is a need to identify the type of stigma (based on physical deformity, tribal, particular attitude, etc) and its consequences. It is contended that there are few kinds of stigma that are mainly adopted to put an individual on the *right track* which the society believes is its responsibility. For example, some people are stigmatized just because of their eating disorder habits. Though the stigma has negative impacts, but such type of stigma is espoused to eradicate the individual's bad habits. Similarly, some types of stigma related to individuals only yield psychological impacts, for example, stigma against individuals with severe mental illnesses. The strategies to reduce the stigma towards persons with severe mental illness would be different and need more courtesy than formerly mentioned.

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[1] The term/ phrase *responses to stigmatization* here can be interchangeably understood/ used as anti-stigma strategies.

In view of the stigma mentioned above, three approaches are recommended by Corrigan and Watson (cited in the work of Penn& Couter) which include *protest, education, and contact* (Penn & Couter, 2002). Such types of strategy could not be implemented in case of stigma against the people who are perceived to be involved in terrorism. Therefore, anti-stigma approaches primarily need to find out the *cause of stigmatization*. Stigma within a society could have multiple causes including the personality of stigmatizers(e.g., that could be lack of knowledge or fear of the stigmatized person), interpersonal experiences (e.g., a lack of contact or the groundless prejudice for some stigmatized groups), and existing societal structures and stereotypes. These types of deeply rooted stigma within a society are often maintained if not countered by the media and the judicial system or strong protests (Penn & Couter, 2002). So, the anti-stigma approaches may vary depending upon the nature and intensity of the stigma. Moreover, anti-stigma strategy aiming the societal level stigma will be different from stigma against individual.

Gaebel, Ahrens, & Schlamann pointed out some strategies with the help of their collective research project on anti-stigma. The declared study revealed that the nationwide information campaigns through mainstream and social media could be best practice in order to change the presentation of stigmatized group. Similarly, involving influential people as role-models in the public campaign can change the image of stigmatized group. For example, involving the prominent people of same ethnicity in national cohesion movements, who are perceived to be threat for the national security, could change the image of stigmatized ethnic group. Adding to this, developing new norm of non-acceptability of stigmatizing attitude against particular group within the society will intensify the confidence of stigmatized group. Along with this, other strategies like amendments and changes of norms, legislative changes could also work to curb stigma (Gaebel, Ahrens, & Schlamann, 2010). These strategies, if fully implemented, could not only reduce the stigmatizing attitude, but also strengthen national cohesion that is a yearning outcome for every nation. According to John Bone, the national cohesion can only be achieved if "the human beings build and retain a set of mental representations of their world and their own place within it"(Bone, 2006). While the process of stigma involves the exclusion of an individual or group from a society, essentially representing that by curbing the stigma rootled, the target of national cohesion

can be achieved. In this sense, the need of *associational cohesion* is stronger than the *institutional cohesion*. Associational cohesion refers to "relationships between individual and to the ways in which individuals feel a sense of belonging as part of that society"(Richards, 2013). The people belonging to a cohesive society possess bond with each other, interact with each other, feel strong sense of belonging to the society and their locality, and remain engaged in local activities along with other group of members (Ibid).

National cohesion represents the sense of belonging of individuals, ethnicities, regions, as well as religions towards nation. This can only be achieved by enhancing the power of the powerless, reducing the stigma of stigmatized, plummeting the fragmentation, ensuring the equitable distribution of resources and power, developing new norms of equity, and eliminating the culture of prejudice, discrimination and exclusion. In the current situation of ethnic fragmentation prevailing in our society, national cohesion is receding in which escalating stigmatization can further destabilize the country.

CHAPTER THREE: ETHNIC IDENTITY AND STIGMATIZATION – THE CASE OF PASHTUN IN PAKISTAN

3.1 The Pashtun Ethnicity

Pashtun[2] institute a large, vastly self-aware ethnic group dwelling in contiguous areas of Afghanistan and in the West of Pakistan. The Pashtun do not enjoy significant inter-communication with each other and inhabit different regions of the world where they remain in contact with other populations of diverse cultures, but they represent themselves as the single ethnic group (Bath, 1969). There are many schools of thought about the nativity of this ethnic group. Renowned scholars in different periods have presented dissimilar theories (belong to the Israelies, Descendents of Qatora, the wife of Hazrat Ibrahim, Greek races, Arian tribes) regarding the origin of this particular ethnic group (Khalil & Iqbal, 2013). That is why the origin of the Pashtun people of Afghanistan and Pakistan are unclear to historians.

Pashtun ethnic group has particular identity, specific values, norms and traditions and a strange charisma since thousands of years. The particular identity here means the physical appearance that makes them identical among others. Mostly, the Pashtun assert that physical appearance of their ethnic group is so distinct that they can be easily identified because of their physical appearance alone (Barfield, 2010). However, Barfield stated that due to intermarriage the uniqueness of their physical appearance has gone down (Ibid). Along with this, the Pashtun are very popular because of their bravery, true followers of religion, and affirmation to their commitments. In this context, famous writer Robert Kaplan expressed his view regarding Pashtun as:

> Only Pathans could have invented a game that requires a man to pick up a butterfly mine and toss it in the air without losing a hand (not all succeeded). Only Pathans could make walking through a minefield a test of manhood (Strickland, 2007, p. 45).

Pashtunwali, the code of conduct based on honor and personal autonomy swells more uniqueness to their ethnic identity. Every Pashtun feels a strong sense of pride in being

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[2]The Pashtun are also referred as Pathan or Pakhtun depending on the places and people.

called Pashtun and adhere to their calling; "no man lord and (admitting) inferiority to nobody" (Griffiths, 2001, p. 66). The major population of Pashtun community or ethnic group is living in Afghanistan and represents 42 percent of the total population (Sawe, 2017). However, their representation is not confined to limited place and spreads all over the world. The study about the Pashtun inhabitants in various parts of the world reveals the following figures.

No.	Country	Population
01	Pakistan	28 million (2005)
02	Afghanistan	14 million (2009)
03	United Arab Emirates	315,524 (2008)
04	United Kingdom	100,000 (2009)
05	Canada	26,000 (2006)
06	India	11,086 (2001)
07	United States	7,710 (2000)
08	Malaysia	5,100 (2008)

Table 1: Population of Pashtun around the World (Wager, 2015).

Source: New World Encyclopedia.org

3.2 Tracing the Historical Background of the Pashtun Marginalization

Along with its distinct identity characteristics, and ethnic origin that dates back to thousands of years, the history of the Pashtun is drenched with marginalization. History revealed that the lands of KPK along with FATA regions, where the Pashtun are in majority, remained under continuous invasion than any other country in Asia or we can say indeed the world. For example, the city of Peshawar was once under the control of Afghan, but they lost it in 1834 to the hands of Sikhs. Further, this region became part of the British Raj when it defeated the Sikhs (Barfield, 2010).

These continuous series of invasion along with initial marginalization by Turko-Mongolian governments from the mid-tenth century to the mid-eighteenth century kept

this region marginal and lawless one. KPK along with Afghanistan was once united and under the control of Pashtun ruler. However, the form of government was based on Turko-Mongolian structure rather than the tribal traditions (Barfield, 2010). Turko-Mongolian governments attempted to rule over the most productive and irrigated land of the regions leaving the marginal regions without direct rule where the nomadic Pashtun reside (Ibid). Shifting of the region from one empire to another and continuous invasions from the west is the root cause of destabilization of the frontier regions (Shinwari, 2010). This piece of research is only about the Pakistani Pashtun, so here the discussion will be confined to the frontier regions and the Pashtun dominated areas of Pakistan only.

During the British colonial rule, the strong resistance from Pashtun tribes in the frontier area was a continuous source of trouble and threat for the British colonial rule. This is all because of that the tribes living in frontier were more 'different'; more primitive, more backward and more unruly (Kolsky, 2015). In this context, Viceroy George Curzon in his lecture declared the frontier as the 'razor's edge' of empire and marked it as a perilous place where the colonial officer "takes his life in his hands, for there may await him either the knife of the Pathan fanatic, or the more deadly fevers of the African swamp" (Kolsky, 2015, p. 1224). To try to overcome this threat, British India not only formulated a policy of persuasion, and control, but also between 1849 and 1939 approximately 58 armed intervention were forced against Pashtun (Shinwari, 2010). Adding to this, there were more than forty punishing excursions by colonial troops in which crops were ruined, livestock were slaughtered, and entire villages were burned to the ground only in the first thirty years of British rule on the frontier (William, 1939). This was all the measures that the British strongly believed as a requirement for the establishment of their strong rule and a peaceful environment over the regions.

The most important arrangement was the introduction of the Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR) in 1848 within the six frontier districts of Pashtun (Shinwari, 2010). Adding to the plight of the region and its inhabitants, Soviet invasion in Afghanistan had a devastating effect on Pashtun people, in Afghanistan and Pakistan, which forever associated their identity to weapons and violence.

Soviet military intervention in December 1979 is somehow the root cause of today's distortion of Pashtun identity. At that time the Pakistan state decided to go with Taliban to defeat the Russian troops. There were many factors behind this decision in which self-defense was one of them. Pakistan knew that there was a possibility that after the invasion of Afghanistan, Soviet forces and their Afghan collaborators may extend their counterinsurgency campaign into Pakistan territory (Fukuyama, 1982). Secondly, Pakistan became a vehement supporter of the US strategic alliance and received a lot of economic and military aid from US that was crucial need at that time (Weinbaum, 1991). Along with this, there were strong ethnic and religious ties among Pashtun across the border. Rather than directly confronting the Soviet Union, Pakistan state decided to funnel military assistance to the mujahidin who were Pashtun tribesmen. Adding to this, Pakistan state gave them sanctuary (Weinbaum, 1991). Mujahidin played very effective role to defend and overthrow the Russian troops. They emerged as an insuperable power within the state. The back-up support (military and weaponry) of Pakistan as well as US psychologically boosted their confidence to fight in any environment.

Apart from these, inherited laws in the frontier regions made it impossible for the state to stop the weapons and mass movements across the border (Fukuyama, 1982). At that time, Pakistan state remained ignorant about the high influx of refugees and welcomed them warmly (Grare, 2003). There was no systematic record of the refugees and a lot of Afghan Pashtun made their destination in the bordering areas of Pakistan. However, estimation of Afghan refugees in Pakistan reached up to 500,000 to 700,000 (Dupree, 1988). Though in past the huge influx of Afghan refugees was taken as a rising threat and many Pakistanis openly advocated about confining them and denied their access to Peshawar and free movement outside the refugees tented villages (Ibid). However, the state employed Islamic discourse to justify welcoming refugees and referred them as *Ansar* in their time of need (Safri, 2011). As a result, the Afghan refugees were settled in various parts of the country. This move essentially impacted the identity of the Pashtun residing in Pakistan as it enmeshed their identity with the Afghan Pashtun and drew similar associations regarding them.

Furthermore, the marginalization and deprivation in FATA regions is still the same as history indicated. Even after passing the six decades of independence of Pakistan, the state has not included these regions in the mainstream government except few reforms whose implementation is not smooth due to number of complexities (Aziz, 2017). The Pashtun tribes inhabiting these areas are still waiting anxiously for the development of their regions and people.

3.3 Pashtun in Pakistan

Pashtun is the second largest ethnic group in Pakistan (The World Factbook, 2018) and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa is famed to be the *land of Pashtun*. Furthermore, being the second largest ethnic group in the country it also has the second largest majority in the armed forces as well (Gul. Imtiaz, Personal Interview, March 22, 2018). Majority of Pashtun are populated in KPK, Baluchistan & FATA. However, they are also enjoying the right of residency in almost all over the country as other ethnic groups (Boggs, 2012). At the time of independence, approximately 99.5% people of the KPK voted in favor of Pakistan through a referendum held on 6-7 July 1947 (Javaid & Ul Haq, 2016). Since thousands of years Pashtun have been living on this soil along with its unique and distinct culture (Khattak, 2012).

Every nation and ethnic group has their different culture, norms and values. The behavior of individuals within an ethnic group is also guided by the culture they belong to. This is the uniqueness of culture that makes it easier for any individual to identify with the ethnicity and behavior of others. There is no doubt that everyone loves their culture and wants to promote it positively. In this context, Pashtun culture is not only unique, but also very attractive. Like many others, Pashtun have also some cultural aspects that increase its uniqueness. For example, according to Caroe (Cited in the work of Tainter &MacgGregor) the Pashtun are highly concerned with origin, descent, and genealogies (Tainter & MacgGregor, 2011). MountstuartElphinstone (As cited in the work of Grittiths) sees the Pashtun

> Their voices are revenge, envy, avarice, rapacity and obstinacy; on the other hand, they are fond of liberty, faithful to their friends, kind to their dependents, hospitable, brave, hardy, frugal, laborious and prudent; they

are less disposed than the nations of their neighborhood to falsehood, intrigue and deceit (Griffiths, 2001, p. 66).

Pashtun are highly protective about their honor and never allow anyone to damage it even if it is their blood relation. Following this pattern, it is included in Pashtun culture that Pashtun will lose honor if he retreats alone from battleground, except collective retreat, therefore a Pashtun will prefer to fight till his collective defeat or death (Tainter & MacgGregor, 2011). Therefore the honor is essential element for Pashtun and without it he/she is no longer considered a Pashtun. Along with this, without honor he is also refused from the rights, protection, and support of Pashtun community (Kakar, 2005).

Other elements in Pashtun culture that is very popular among them is the possession of weapons on their shoulders. In response to a question concerning the possession of weapons culture, most respondents insisted that possession of weapons on the shoulders is the *beauty of their culture*. However, three respondents responded differently from the majority. One respondent expressed his view that possession of weapons represented their culture and made an individual quite handsome and the *real man* (Khan. Saboor, Personal Interview, March 16, 2018). However, another respondent who is student at university based in Punjab contends that even though it is their culture, but it does not mean that Pashtun are terrorists or violent. He further expressed that possession of weapons is the symbol of their culture, but along with this possession of jae namaz (prayer mat) and Rubab is also the part of the Pashtun culture that is intentionally not stated (Ahmad. Taufiqul, Personal Interview, March 16, 2018). Another different view on the above mentioned question was also counted that possession of weapon is the part of the Pashtun culture and Islam also allows all individuals to keep weapons for self-defense (Wakeel. Abdul, Personal Interview, March 15, 2018).

The most debated cultural element of Pashtun is the *Pashtunwali*- the code of conduct based on honor and personal autonomy. This is the major element in Pashtun culture that may largely encounter the misperception of Pashtun. Strickland in his study successfully categorized the tenets of Pashtunwali that includes: badal (revenge), ghayrat/nang (self-respect, chivalry or bravery), melmastia/nanawati (hospitality/asylum), purdah (gender separation), namus(pride or defence of honour) and jirga (council) (Strickland, 2007).

However, the application of it varies from place to place and depends on the society in which Pashtun are living.

The unique characteristic embodied in their identity makes their identity appealing. Along with their cultural aspects many other factors also increased their regard within the society. They are very self-respecting, loyal and emotional. They are the people who are uncompromising regarding their privacy, they uphold their values at all costs, and the most particular thing that makes their identity exceptional is that they are a fearless nation (Gul. Imtiaz, Personal Interview, March 22, 2018).

Pashtun are very hard working because they are not only the dominant figure in some industries like transportation, but they also prefer to work as vendors, labors, drivers, and also run the cheap (small) market. They have some rules and regulations of life established and monitored by their own ethnic group members. Each and every ethnic member is bound to obey these rules and follow the decision enforced by the *Jirga* system which is viewed differently (Yousufzai & Gohar , 2005). The Pashtun are also very strict followers of religion. Religious leaders have divine authority and much control over them (Barfield, 2010). The Pashtun are independent, straightforward, and prioritize their own kin, and ethnic group. Therefore, Barfield stated regarding Pashtun as "People's primary loyalty is, respectively, to their own kin, village, tribe, or ethnic group, generally glossed as qawm" (Barfield, 2010, p. 18). To support his argument, Barfield stated the hierarchy of Pashtun identity and loyalty by quoting the example of Pashtun politician Abdul Wali Khan in the 1970s when he was asked about his loyalty to Pakistan. He sneeringly declared, "I have been a Pakistani for thirty years, a Muslim for fourteen hundred years, and a Pashtun for five thousand years" (Barfield, 2010, p. 20).

Adding to this, they are more generous so the generosity of Pashtun people is a way to win followers. Hospitality within the culture of Pashtun is also quite significant. Along with this, there is strong cultural pressure for truthfulness among Pashtun (Lindholm, 1982). All these things, values and socio-cultural characteristics in Pashtun instill feelings of being different from other groups of members. Despite all, unfortunately, Pashtun are considered to be highly marginalized in Pakistan.

3.4The *Marginal* Treatment of the Pashtun Ethnicity in Pakistan

KPK comprises the North Western region of the country. It is divided into two parts known as settled areas and the FATA. The settled areas of KPK are more developed as compare to FATA. The KPK province is the land of brave and hardworking people. Along with other valuable resources the people of KPK could be the main resource of development if invested by strengthening the governance and policy environment in the province. The reforms and efforts in past few years have already started (Mustafa, 2012). In this context, realizing the role and losses of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in the War on Terror, 1% of the divisible pool under the umbrella of National Finance Commission Award was also assigned to this Province (Khan, 2017). However, there is a lot of to be happened for the development of this province.

There is no supportive evidence for the direct marginalization and discrimination of Pashtun ethnic group based on their ethnicity. However, the deprivation of Pashtun can be observed by looking at the poorer condition of Pashtun dominated areas. According to Townsend (1987), "people can be said to be deprived if they lack the types of diet, health, clothing, housing, household facilities, fuel and environmental, educational, working and social conditions, activities and facilities which are customary, or at least widely encouraged and approved, in the societies to which they belong" (Jamal, 2011, p. 3). In this context, FATA is the region that unmistakably justifies the deprivation and marginalization of itself.

FATA lies northwest of KPK along Durand line. It is a strip of land which is 1200 km long and 130 km wide (Javaid & Ul Haq, 2016). It is the most marginalized part of the province as well as the country because FATA experiences the highest levels of multidimensional poverty (Umair, 2016). Umair also stated that social indicators are also weak in the FATA region. The people of FATA have less access to education, health, water and sanitation, housing, and other resources that are essential for the development and survival of human being. Since the independence of Pakistan, FATA has been deprived in term of the development process being undertaken in other parts of the country. Due to harsh environment the land of tribal areas is not suitable for earning so the mostly people are involved in illegal activities (smuggling) through Afghanistan to

Pakistan (Javaid & Ul Haq, 2016). There is strong type of social class stratification that is extending day by day. The FCR is practiced strictly so the poor people are deprived from their basic human rights. Poor administration and lack of political will to integrate the area within mainstream state affairs has made this region *external* (Javaid & Ul Haq, 2016).

The Governor of KPK, as an agent to the President of Pakistan, regulates its affairs because KPK province has no authority over FATA. Along with this, justice is dispensed and disputes are settled in FATA under the provisions of the FCR of 1901 because in this region Supreme Court has also very limited jurisdiction (Jaspal, 2012). Therefore, this region was considered to be the safe place for any type of illegal activities before the remarkable army operation. Along with this, FATA was considered to be the hub of terrorism where the headquarters of Taliban and Al-Qaida exist(Ibid). Certainly, the recent amendments to merge FATA in KPK province will help to get the representation of tribal people in KPK province. However, the continuous process of deprivation and marginalization of any region inevitably develops the sense of discrimination and grievances among the populace of that particular region towards state. Adding to this, the majority of Pashtun living in FATA feel pride in their legacy of struggle, danger and war only because of their historical facts like resistance by them and invasion by Aryans, Persians, Greeks, Kushans, Huns, Mongols, Mughals, Durranis, Sikhs, and British (Jaspal, 2012). The marginalization of the region, smugness of war among Pashtun, and lawlessness of the Pashtun dominated areas disconcerted the people regarding Pashtun identity. That is why the Pashtun identity is being suspected and stigmatized as a security threat these days.

3.5 The *Stigma* Attached to Pashtun Identity

Pashtun, which is the second largest ethnic group in Pakistan, suffered a lot in the past as well, but all these sufferings were vested only in their *marginalization*. Now a days, their distresses are quite different from past and directly attached with their identity. Pashtuns are being stigmatized as they are being assumed as a security threat for the country as a terrorist (Shams, 2017). However few years ago, the Pashtuns were deliberated as a security assurance on the Western border of Pakistan and a brave nation within the state.

The process of Pashtun stigmatization emerged as a consequence of series of incidents. Similarly, the intensity of stigmatization of Pashtun also graduated with the passage of time. First of all, widespread abasement of Pashtun ethnic was noticed in Afghanistan when the Taliban regime in Northern Afghanistan collapsed (Human Rights Watch, 2002). This was all because of that the Taliban regime was mostly dominated by Pashtun and hence they were associated with the Taliban (Ibid). However, in Pakistan things became worse when in post-9/11 Pakistan agreed to participate in the US-led War on Terror.

The 9/11 incident not only shocked the world but also raised many questions for the biggest power in the world who claimed to have the modern technology based security system (Khan, 2013). A respondent was of the view that this modern terrorism was a new phenomenon and after the fall of Soviet Union, the 'world' needed a new 'enemy'. So the enemy was constructed, since it had never existed before, the new imaginary was created where outlook of 'terrorist' was the synonym to Pashtun attire (Mirza, Jaffer Personal communication, March 23, 2018). Wedgwood also represents the same idea thatthe U.S was convinced that the master mind of this plan belongs to Al-Qaida who are ethnically Pashtun and have their training centers in Afghanistan (Wedgwood, 2002). Therefore, soon after the 9/11 incident US changed its foreign policy towards Pakistan who was under sanctions due to explosion of a nuclear device in 1998 and requested to allow the US military bases at their homeland against afghan terrorists (Lafber, 2002). Pakistan decided to make alliance with US on War and Terror. This decision proved expensive in such a way that Pakistan's sufferings have never ended since then. After that, newly displaced Afghans who were ethnically Pashtun in majority sought refuge in Pakistan (Human Rights Watch, 2002). The Pashtun people of bordering areas of Pakistan welcomed them due to religious and ethnic ties and similarities across the borders. Along with this the porous border between Pakistan and Afghanistan was really favorable for the mass movements due to lack of control.

Adding to this, Pashtun who had strong cultural and ethnic ties across the border along with those who had resentment against state because of its alliance with US polarized them considering state as '*them*'. As a retaliation establishment of anti-state radical

organization, greater number of terrorist attacks and suicide bombing in Pakistan created the image of certain segment of society as a terrorist. Particularly, the terrorist activities conducted by Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) which was officially emerged in 2007 leaded by majority of Pashtun along with its terrorist activities in the Pashtun dominated area (Siddique, 2010) started to make the Pashtun identity as '*suspected*'. TTP view was particularly against the infidels and Pakistani state because of its decision on WOT (Nawaz, 2009). The violent resistance by TTP against the Pakistani state unsettled many Pashtun inhabiting in both the settled and tribal areas of frontier (Ibid).

In this way, the US invasion of Afghanistan spilled-over the confined militancy in Afghanistan and Waziristan to other settled districts of KPK as well (Shapiro & Fair, 2010).Consequently, Pakistan faced many problems in the form of devastation of social fabric, economic repercussions, security lacking, and the formation of anti-state organization in the bordering area of KPK province (Shabir, Naeem, & Ihtsham UlHaq, 2005). The effect of state decision regarding alliance with US on war and terror was the distortion of Pashtun identity. However, state was well aware about the sentiment of Pashtun people who had grievances as a result of state alliance with US against Afghanistan. State was also well aware that any action against terrorist hidden in the tribal areas will resulted in the loss of innocent people. State was against the militant rooted in the Pashtun dominated areas, but somehow they wanted to have dialogues with the Taliban also (Javed, 2016). Pakistan army was able to tackle the outlawed terrorist organization through force; however, the *Pakistan army* constantly remained in search of strong interpreter to dialogue with the locals (Nawaz, 2009).

The Pakistan army was well aware that along with Taliban some innocent woman and children will also be killed by the military actions. Therefore, it is widely accepted that the US drone attacks (unmanned predators) to target the Taliban surrounded by innocent woman and children was more disastrous in nature than the Pakistan military actions (Nawaz, 2009). The unmanned drone attacks did not only fuel the *anti-Americanism* sentiments among inhabitants of the region but was disliked by the whole nation. In this context, chief of Tehreek-e-Taliban told the Lahore-based daily times in an interview that "I spent three months trying to recruit and only got 10-15 persons and one US attack and

I got 150 volunteers" (Nawaz, 2009, p. 18). That is why, not only Pashtun, but also the majority of population was unhappy with state decision and its subordinate foreign policies. The flexibility in state's foreign policy and increasing number of drone attacks noiselessly swelled the grievances among people, especially in the Pashtun dominated areas that was highly targeted. Consequently, Pakistan state suffered a lot in the form of intractable terrorist attacks. However, despite state of terrorist attacks, Pakistan state decided to pursue peace talks with the Taliban (Down, 2014). During the peace talk process with Taliban, the spokesperson Shahidullah Shahid assigned by the Taliban was culturally and ethnically a Pashtun (Shirazi, 2014).[3]

The aforementioned factor, along with others leads to the development of an image of terrorist within the physical attribute of Pashtun. So, the view of 'new enemy' adopted by the US regarding Afghan Pashtun had also been adopted by Pakistani policymakers (regarding Pakistan Pashtun) as well (Mirza, Jaffer Personal communication, March 23, 2018). However, the intensity of Pashtun stigmatization was very limited and confined towards few of the people suspected to have links with terrorist. This phenomenon represents that though the Pashtun were stigmatized but state was also concerned about '*good*' and 'bad' Taliban.

3.6 The Discursive Shift in Stigmatization of Pashtun

Thousands of innocent lives in Pakistan were granted death due to clash of ideologies leading to terrorism which was somehow connected with the U.S Afghan invasion. Undoubtedly, it was all being carried out under the canopy of '*good*' and '*bad*' ideologies and *labels*. Though in past, the state successfully eliminated the roots of terrorism but somehow through various tactics and propagandas the terrorist also remained successful to empower themselves. This could be observed through 14 times increase in deaths as a result of terrorism in 2009 as compare to 2006 (Walsh, 2010) in the response of an army offensive in Swat and Waziristan (Malik, 2015). In this context, Imtiaz Gul author of a book on militancy in Pakistan said that "Al-Qaida is connecting people of this region through various interests and ideologies (Walsh, 2010). All the incidents were indicating the roots of terrorism but state was unable to extend its domain of operation as the danger

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[3]This could be seen in annexure B.

was already inherent in military operation to be perceived as ethnic profiling within the state.

Peshawar school massacre that is considered as '*black day*' and '*massacre of the innocent*' intensify the already revolt feelings of whole nation towards extremists and terrorist. This inhuman attack exposed the real face of terrorism and united the whole country against terrorists. In a response to December 16 Peshawar school massacre prime minister said that this incident had drawn a line between "coward" terrorist and the "Pakistan nation" (Manan, 2014). Therefore, Government decided to go for an effective action plan against the terrorist with the consent and mandate of all parties including those opposing the government (National Action Plan, 2018). This was the turning point when state on the behalf of whole nation decided to go and crush the terrorists wherever and whoever they were(Gul. Imtiaz, Personal Interview, March 22, 2018). Almost all segments of the society welcomed the NAP and it was unanimously adopted by the state (Reporter, 2014). Meanwhile, TTP claimed the responsibility by saying that it was the response of military major offensive against Taliban and other militants in North Waziristan (AFP & Newsweek, 2014). That is why; the focusing place for the state and forces to eradicate the bases of terrorist was mostly the Pashtun belt. As this region was dominated by the Pashtun population and the militants were also deeply rooted in this region along with physical attributes of Pashtun so the intensity of Pashtun stigmatization increased and consequently lead to the development of Pashtun as "others". Adding to this, it was the widely accepted that Pashtun dominated areas like FATA which is home to 3.5 million Pashtun (Aslam, 2012) was the hub of terrorism (Jaspal, 2012).

In a response to question why the terrorist chose FATA region to establish their bases the concerns of all respondents were same that it was all because of the absence of law and order in bordering areas of the province and FATA. Lack of state control over the regions, porous borders, ethnic ties, and religiosity were the main reasons behind establishment of terrorist bases in their regions. One respondent further added here that the terrorists were well aware that they will have no trouble in the establishment of their terrorist bases due to many reasons. Firstly, the terrorist knew that there is no state

control and these regions are free of media approach so they can run and achieve their goals more easily here. Secondly, the terrorist knew that the people are less educated and lean towards religion so they can be easily exploit at the name of religion (Mustafa. Muhammad, Personal Interview, March 14, 2018). One respondent rejected all other assumption and said that poverty and unemployment added fuel to the grievances of the locals. He further expressed that the innocent and uneducated people of the region knew that there are only two powers prevailing in the region that are state and Taliban. When they saw that the state had no interest in the development and security of the people of these regions than they decided to go with the Taliban to boost their power (Ibrahim. Muhammad, Personal Interview, April 03, 2018).

In a response to the question of Pashtun stigmatization one respondent who is a researcher and columnist expressed his view that Pashtun were suspected as 'terrorist'because they were accused of 'hiding and showing' soft corner for militants. He said that this profiling of 'Pashtun' made them as 'other' within and other here refers to 'who is not among us'. He further expressed that Peshawar School massacre gave impunity to security forces to kill as many Pashtun because there were no questions on operations as people were thinking that 'only' terrorists get killed in operation. From NADRA to *chai wala,* Pashtun were 'other' who had potential to become 'terrorist'. He cautioned that this widespread crackdown in the country against those who merely "looked Pashtun or Afghan" erected a further demarcation between Pakistani citizens and Pashtun as others (Mirza. Jaffer, Personal Communication, March 23, 2018). The similarity of ethnic physical attributes of Taliban with Pashtun created the perception of a common man that Pashtun are terrorists based on the concept of *representativeness heuristic* given by Baron & Branscombe that is—"a process of judgment based on the simple rule that the more an individual seems to resemble or match a given group, the more likely she or he is to belong to that group" (Baron & Branscombe, 2012).

3.7 Stigmatization and Stereotyping of Pashtun in Pakistan

One cannot deny from this reality that these are the Pashtun who have suffered a lot as a result of terrorism and anti-terrorism approaches. The forced migration, destruction of houses and properties, greater number of innocent Pashtun causalities as a result of

unmanned drone attacks, and the distortion of identity as a suspected identity vociferously represent that Pashtun is the largest affected ethnic group due to terrorism. Adding to this, the contemporary trends of racial profiling is at its peak because terrorism is highly associated with Pashtun or Pashtu speaking people (Shams, 2017). In an interview with the Caravan, a Britain-based magazine, the Chairman of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI), Imran Khan said "The Pashtun are ill-treated in our country" and he also added, "In Pindi, in Lahore, in Karachi, they've been picked up and thrown into jails because they are Pashtun. This is a sad legacy" (Zalmay, 2013). Heinrich Boll Stiftung, in a report on December 19, 2011 said that the fight against Taliban has been focused in the Pashtun belt which has resulted in the deaths of round about 38,000 civilians of which roughly 70 percent were Pashtun (Zalmay, 2013). As we know that description is not only the work of science but it also included the explanation. Findings of scientific explanations seek to illuminate the truism and also to explain the readers that *why* things happen rather than more focusing on *what* happens. In this context, this piece of research is going to explain the phenomenon of Pashtun stigmatization within the context of the theory of stigmatization and theory of social identity.

A respondent from South Waziristan Agency who was also disabled due to the bomb blast on 20 January, 2013 expressed his grievances that not only this attack made him disabled, but also he lost his cousin Ajab Khan & best friend IrfanWazir in the tragedy too. He expressed:

> We were on the way to school when we suddenly heard the sound of blast and then I lost my senses. After treatment, I was told that I have lost my leg so I will be depending on others forever. Besides this, I acknowledged that Ajab khan &IrfanWazir along with three innocent children died in the bomb blast (Azizullah, Personal Interview, March 21, 2018).

He continued that despite all of these whenever he travelled to any place and introduced himself as a Pashtun he felt intense kind of behavioral change, especially during his checking. He extensively experienced stigmatization as a suspected identity that also made him feel like an 'outsider'. He expressed his grievances that his ethnic group *Pashtun* is highly profiled as a suspected identity only based on his ethnicity (Ibid). This

is what the Goffman named as *Tribal Stigma* in which any individual is excluded based on his ethnicity (Goffman, 1967).

However, this assumption that being a Pashtun only is enough for the stigmatization was highly rejected by those respondents who belonged to FATA regions. In this context, several people interviewed placed much of the blame for the stigma attached to the Tribal areas. They were of the view that tendency of stigmatization of Pashtun living in Islamabad is less than the Pashtun belonging to the FATA and Tribal Areas. Pashtun identity along with the association of FATA regions intensified the process of stigmatization for the Pashtun. One respondent, a student in University of Peshawar, complained that few days ago he applied for the visa council based in Lahore and denied only because of his association with FATA region (Khan. Babar, Personal Interview, April 03, 2018). One respondent further added here that physical appearance also matters in this process of stigmatization, hinting that beards and the typical Pashtun long hair style further exacerbated it (Hayatullah, Personal Interview, March 29, 2018).

The entire respondent lamented that now the Pashtuns are not safe and secure in Pakistan as compared to earlier times. They expressed that few years back, they could easily move and travel to any other place within the country. Now a days, their identity as a Pashtun and belonging to particular regions makes them uneasy and in continuous tension. Whenever and wherever, any bomb blast has happened, the domain of investigation spontaneously extends to them because of their ethnicity and belonging to that region. They further expressed their grievances that earlier whenever they move to other cities they usually used the mosque to spend their night. But these days, their national identity cards also could not help them escape from suspicion. They grumbled that the behavior of other people has given them the realization that being a Pashtun means they have some undesirable characteristic. As one respondent, who belongs to South Waziristan and worked as an operator at Tarnol Phattak, Rawalpindi stated that once he along with his family went Lahore to meet his relative who was in Jinnah Hospital and after that they got late and sought rooms in hotels based in Lahore, but were denied any lodging after displaying their national identity cards. He continued that their rejection in the presence of his family was against the humanity (Shamsudin. Hafiz, Personal Interview, March 30,

2018). Similarly, another respondent recounts his experience of his travelling to Multan. He specified that the current circumstances regarding security issues undoubtedly needed a strict checking of everyone who is suspected but the specific behavior towards few people hurt a lot. He claimed, "During my visit to Multan the bus was stopped at Dera Ismael Khan Check post. All the passenger were checked appropriately but few Pashtun along with me were asked to come out of the bus and asked to sign the register along with detailed bio data"(Adnan. Muhammad, Personal Interview, April 03, 2018).

This represents that the stigma tended to be associated with Pashtun that gave them the realization of having some undesirable characteristic. In this context, a senior police officer expressed in Dawn news that they are planning to place Pashtun at specific places and issuing them chip-based national identity cards so that they could be kept under a watch, essentially contending that Pashtun are believed to possess some undesirable characteristic (Muhammad 2017). Recently this type of 'stereotyping' is also noticed from the bureaucracy of Punjab government. A widespread crackdown was initiated against anyone who merely "looked Pashtun or Afghan" (Yousaf, 2017). In this squelching, unofficial circulars and notices were distributed by *Anjuman e Tajran* on behalf of police in which Pashtun was portrayed as a 'suspected terrorist' (Ibid). These circulars and notices about Pashtun as a suspected terrorist conveyed a message to the Pashtun that they possessed (or believed to possess) certain attributes or characteristics that devalued their social identity within this particular social context.[4]Similarly, the recent killing of NaqeebullahMehsood is also the consequence of stigmatization of Pashtun. He was killed by the police officers in Karachi who claimed that he was a member of Taliban and was involved in terrorist activities (Hashim, 2018). While his family members rejected claims by authorities by saying he was an innocent and aspired to be a male model (Ibid).

 Majority of the respondents expressed that they feel insulted and discredited whenever they are treated as 'different' and 'dangerous one' among others that is referred to as stigma (Goffman, 1963). Typically, it is considered to be a loss of status whenever any individual treated as different and external based on his ethnicity. This is the reality of the

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[4]These circulars and notices could be seen in Annexure C & D.

Pashtun in Pakistan (Shah, 2017). A respondent, who belongs to FATA and is currently a student at Bahaudin Zakria University, Multan complained that security forces and police officers at various check post particularly in Punjab always treated him 'different' whenever he came from his hometown. It took him a long time to prove himself that though he is the Pashtun, but peaceful (Bhittani. Qudrat, Personal Interview, March 16, 2018). In a response to question of *problems due to their stigmatization* almost all the respondents expressed the same view. They stated that they are not welcomed as others to extend their social relations just because of their belonging to FATA. Initially, they are consider as a 'different one' and are placed in distinct categories but after a long time of interaction they are able to spread the domain of their social relations. This aforementioned condition can be understood by Watkin and Jacoby. They were of the view that considering someone as 'different' and placing then in distinct category represents stigma (Watkins & Jacoby, 2007).

 This phenomenon represented that whenever the Pashtun are identified with their ethnic and place identity, they are excluded from social acceptance. The concept of social exclusion of Pashtun in Pakistan resonates with the concept given by Goffman (1963). He was of the view that stigma is what makes an individual disqualifies from social acceptance due to his physical attributes and an individual's identity (Goffman, 1963). Many respondents particularly Pashtun belonging to FATA regions revealed that mostly they have to conceal their original belonging and have to introduce themselves from settled area of KPK. They expressed that they have common desire to present themselves as 'normal', to extend their social relations. They further expressed that to keep the stigma secret from others they have to adopt many stigma management strategies (Goffman, 1963). During my fieldwork I found different reaction of respondents belonging to settled areas of KPK like Peshawar and Dera Ismael Khan from those of FATA regions. The response of former respondents was to disown and isolate the tribesmen of FATA regions. They were of the view that due to illiteracy and social environment of FATA regions the tribesmen somehow could be involved in terrorism. However, the people in settled areas of KPK are now educated and prefer peace and education. Similarly, the reaction of few respondents was to polarize and detach their ethnicity from the Afghan. A respondent vociferously claimed that Afghan are not

Pashtun. He stated that Afghan can easily be differentiated from Pashtun and traced due to their physical attributes and language (Gul. Imtiaz, Personal Interview, March 22, 2018).

To respond to the question of *why Pashtun are stigmatized* a respondent expressed his view that mostly the Pashtun are stigmatized because of their ethnic affiliation with the terrorist. He shared his personal experience by stating;

> Once I was going to attend and participate the cultural program at university based in Lahore. I was in Afghan dress. I was travelling in auto rickshaw and suddenly a police van stopped my auto and asked me to come out. The police man also conveyed other policeman through mobile that here is a '*Pashtun* (Khan. Sajjad, Personal Interview, April 03, 2018).

The aforementioned incident can be understood through the concept of *courtesy stigma* given by Goffman. As Goffman was of the view that sometime people are stigmatized because they share a web of affiliation with those who have some ambiguous position or stigmatized (Goffman, 1963). One other respondent remarked that, undoubtedly, few Pashtun are involved in terrorism, but there are also a lot of decent people among them who preferred peace and education. He repeated a common saying here also that '*each Pashtun is not a Taliban and similarly each Taliban is not a Pashtun*' (Afridi. Abdullah, Personal Interview, March 19, 2018). Several incidences of stigmatization reported by the respondents revealed that the concept of stigma followed all four components within the context as argued by Link and Phelan (2001). The components: distinguishes and labeling of human differences, link of labeled persons to undesirable characteristics-negative stereotypes, placement of labeled person in distinct category, and finally the experience of status loss by labeled persons (Link & Phelan, 2001) refer to the stigma experienced by Pashtun.

CHAPTER FOUR: ANALYZING THE CONSEQUENCES OF STIGMATIZATION ON THE PASHTUN IN PAKISTAN

The study of Van Laar& Levin concludes that stigma has profound effects that may include mutilation of self-esteem and well-being, self-perception, identification of their group, motivation, task performance, devalue, ignorance and exclusion during the social interaction within the society (Laar & Levin, 2006). In this context, the process of Pashtun stigmatization, in Pakistan, has brought about the multitude of problems for this ethnicity also and has affected every aspect of their lives. Pashtun assumed that their stigmatization is somehow linked with the contemporary wave of terrorism and the war against terrorism. The question of *why* and *how* the Pashtun identity is being stigmatized was described in depth in the preceding chapter. However, this chapter is designated to explore the consequences of stigma. Adding to this, this chapter also includes some of the may appear in future as a result of Pashtun stigmatization.

4.1 Distortion of Pashtun Identity

Despite the thousands of causalities suffered by Pashtun as a result of number of military operations against terrorism in Pashtun dominated areas, displacement and forced migration of people, destruction of their houses and loss of their properties, and all other pecuniary losses the most detrimental one is the distortion of Pashtun identity as a 'suspected identity'. Pashtun profiling and their consistent stigmatization has somehow equated Pashtun as a *security threat*. Pashtun identity, and particularly Pashtun identity of tribal areas, experienced extraordinary suspicion by both private and state actors, in both public areas and controlled institutional spaces. The recent killing of Naqeeb Ulla Mehsood, by the police force, considering him as a terrorists because of the only reason that the Taliban are also a Pashtun dominated outfit (Meer, 2018), evidences racial profiling(Niazi, 2017).The findings of this research also support this assumption that stigmatization of particular ethnic group has portrayed them as a security threat and falsified their identity. The secondary data reveal that due to distorted identity, up to till now, the number of cases of Pashtun abduction is filed in the context of terrorism charges (Shams, 2018).

Adding to this, the rights groups also say that since the decades of war state authorities use the pretext of war to brand the Pashtun as Islamists or militants (Ibid). Majority of the respondents echoed that they feel psychologically tortured because of their excessive checking, screening, and needless questioning during routine security checks despite having any clarification as to why they are subjected to such measures, instilling apprehensions regarding their own ethnic identity to them. The participants of this research were of the view that they weigh much importance to the mutilation of their self-esteem and well-being among all other effects of their stigmatization. Whenever they are mistreated in the presence of others simply because of their Pashtun ethnicity then they feel dejected and insulted. Consequently, they experience labeling, stereotyping, and profiling at extraordinary rates.

4.2 Association of Pashtun Ethnicity with Negative Stereotypes

The other devastating effect which emerges due to consistent process of Pashtun stigmatization is the *legalization* of Pashtun stereotyping. In this context, in the name of curbing terrorism up to till now thousands of Pashtun boys have disappeared and picked up from their homes and universities(Zahra-malik, 2018).Moreover, Human rights watch also stated that in the name of curbing terrorism extrajudicial killings by Pakistani police are widespread and the most targeted one is the Pashtun ethnic group and the refugees who are homeless(Skodo, 2018).The report also revealed that under-resourced and under-equipped police use these strategies to unlawfully coercing information and confession. Strangely, the stereotyping of Pashtun, in Pakistan, has become so extensive that the domain of suspicion and security threat by the police force suddenly activated only to see the Pashtun descent (Khan , 2017). Now the domain of Pashtun stigmatization is not limited to those institutes who are responsible to maintain a peaceful environment but has extended to public also. It means that the trend of assignment of negative attributes to socially salient differences of Pashtun ethnic is becoming common thing in the society also. It is highly anticipated that Pashtun are more vengeful, mercenary, warrior, and love war& fight (Tarzi & Lamb, 2011). They are highly stereotyped that they are involved in sectarian conflict, they are barbaric individuals, and are prone to indulging in the warfare without knowing the drivers of these conflict (Khan , 2017).

The Pashtun people are intoned that their identity is so much stereotyped that the people also have no trust in them(Qasim, 2017). There are lot of reason behind the development of misperception regarding Pashtun identity and the rise in their stereotype. Initially, to curb the terrorism and to revive the peaceful environment within the state, the Pashtun had been suspected as to involve in terrorist activities or facilitator by the state law enforcement apparatus, media, and other institutes in the wake of any eventuality (Khan , 2017).Later on, this sphere of stereotyping extends and intensifies to general public also. In this context, a peppery-bearded Sheraz, who was a resident of Sawabi and working for the last 15 years in Islamabad as a vendor, stated in a sad tone that "Either it is a safety issue or may be these residents don't trust us that they have asked us not to sit here"(Qasim, 2017).Majority of the participant in this research expressed that there is an influential role of media to stereotype the Pashtun as a threat. Mostly, the Pashtun either national or at international level are stereotyped as 'terrorists' in media particularly in films and dramas. Typically, the stereotyping through media is the process of distortion of a 'correct' image of a social group's identity in the media's portrayal of that group(Grossberg, 2005). In this context, Director Azfar Jafri stated that "If you see Hollywood movies, when they want to show an antagonist from our region, it's usually a Pathan which is wrong" (Raza, 2016).

Along with this, neighboring enemy whose movies are highly seen in our society almost always portray a terrorist religiously Muslim and ethnically Pashtun in their movies. The typecasting of Pashtun along with their ethnic language as a terrorist is very common in their movies (see, for example, the 2003 movie starring Fardeen Khan and Celina Jaitly, Janasheen").One respondent contended that this behavior of portraying Pashtun as a terrorist was adopted commonly by the state also. He further added that recently a movie, by a most responsible institute of the state, was released in which terrorists were ethnically Pashtun and speaking Pashtu language with each other (Mehsood. Usman, March 21, 2018).Undoubtedly, the increase in the stereotyping of Pashtun identity is somehow the real effect of stigma.

4.3 Incarceration of the Life of Pashtun in Pakistan

Another effect of stigma perceived through the responses transmits that Pashtun are psychologically bothered and affected. Labeling and stereotyping of Pashtun as a terrorist makes them uneasy and stressed. The stigma has made the movement of Pashtun very limited within the state also. They are living an anxious life. The respondents were of the view that stigma has shriveled their movements of life, participation, and the domain of their social relations. In this context, a respondent stated that:

> We (the Pashtun) were free-minded, fearless, and straightforward type of people. Everyone has a right to move freely within the state. The claim of responsibility of terrorism by the ethnically Pashtun terrorist made their lives so tensed that they have to sign a document before going in and out of their villages(Wazir.Fawad, March 22, 2018).

Adding to this, he grieved that they have to mention all the details including the days and time duration they want to spend in their hometown. Responding to a further question of what happened if they don't come in time he said that they are enlisted in a separate file and passed through strict investigation. He criticized that stigmatization of Pashtun made their life stressed. He felt stressed wherever he wanted to go and live even in his own village. He further added, "any incident of bomb blast or suicide bombing ultimately increases the intensity of their stigma which keeps us in continuous form of suffering" (Ibid).

In the same way, a Pashtun running a cloth shop in Rawalpindi expressed in Voice of America news that police are harassing those who are ethnically Pashtun. He further shared his experience:"We are having a hard time because of the police. They come at night when we are asleep. They check our identity cards, they check our clothes and bags, and then make us stand outside in the cold"(Jan & Alexander, 2017).Similarly, one respondent during my field work revealed that:

> The life of Pashtun is not only deteriorated in other cities of Pakistan but they are also in trouble within their own villages. The terrorist organizations forcefully collect funds from them and the tag of terrorist

funding is attached with them without any proper investigation. He contended that they are mentally tortured by both sides -the terrorist as well as the state. He also appealed that the policy makers and security forces should keenly investigate these things so that the life of many innocent could be saved" (Bhittani, Qudrat,March 16, 2018).

Consequently, due to stigma the certainty and uncertainty of the domain of investigation and suspicion towards Pashtun has made their life restive, anxious, confined, repressive, dissuading, and psychologically restrictive and nocuous in their own country.

4.4 Scapegoating of Pashtun as an 'Outsider' in Pakistan

Another effect of stigma is the amalgamation of Pashtun and Afghan refugees due to ethnic similarities. Undoubtedly, few terrorist may also entered under the canopy of refugees in past. Undoubtedly, the Pashtun have sympathy towards refugees, but the patriotic Pashtun also dislike those individuals who are involved in terrorism against their state. In this context, A Pashtun expressed that "May God destroy those who do this" but he also complained that "The authorities think every Pashto speaker is a refugee or a terrorist. We are being targeted, but we, too, suffer from these blasts"(Constable & Khan, 2017). So, treating all Pashtun with same manner and scapegoating of all either own or refugees, or peace linking or those who are terrorists amplified the grievances of Pashtun. A massive inflow of Afghan refugees has brought about a number of demographic and security challenges within the state. The only way to resolve the enduring issue of terrorism is the dignities repatriation of Afghan refugees as the refugee camps are highly assumed to be used to recruit and misguide the militants by various terrorist organizations (Qureshi, 2018). Therefore, the returning of the afghan refugees, who resembled with Pashtun ethnic, is the real need of time. However, due to least documentation and improper monitoring, the Afghan refugees have settled in various cities, so the separation of Pakistani Pashtun and afghan refugee is indeed a real drama.

In this way, now every Pashtun is detained as an outsider and asked him to identify himself. The harassment and detainment of Pashtu-speaking for no reason is making them realized that they are an outsider. One of the correspondents wrote that Pashtun are highly detained and suspected as an afghan refugee. The people who are living since the

inception of state or living since decades of their life are also forced to identify themselves at every step (Constable & Khan, 2017). Therefore along with a number of factors, at this present juncture, afghan refugees have also become a principal factor in affecting the Pashtun identity.

4.5 Status Loss, Devalue-ness, and Polarization among the Pashtun Ethnicity

The discouraging disclosure of feelings and experiences of the participants indicated that the reactions of others made them realize that they are a 'separate entity' which symbolizes another effect of stigma. This signifies that due to stigma, strong feelings of separation also emerged among them. One respondent stated regarding Pashtun ethnicity: sometime the labeling and stereotyping components of stigma produced reactions of other that go far beyond and develop sense of social awkwardness and sadness among them. He further shared a particular incident when He and his friends, who belonged to Rajanpur city of Punjab, were planning to spend few of their holidays in their village. Before departure, he felt much more despondency when he was refused to go along with them just because of his belonging to FATA region (Rehman. Masood, March 15, 2018).

The complaints of humiliating treatment towards Pashtun at various check-posts and other places produced a sense of 'devalued-ness,' and disrespect amongst them (Parameswaran, 2018). A close inspection of thematic explanation of interviews shows that Pashtun has been strongly feeling loss in their status and dignity. It is commonly observed that Pashtun are highly concerned about their honor and dignity. In this sense, few Pashtun complained that police forces entered in the houses and searched without considering and completely ignoring the traditions of Pashtun in which woman are kept secluded. Pashtun who are culturally more conservative regarding the privacy of their families are mentally tortured (Constable & Khan, 2017). The recent Pashtun protests and anger in an organized form of PTM are the outcomes of state's despicable treatment towards Pashtun that had been brewing for almost a decade-and-a-half (Taqi, 2018). In this context, RahimullahYousafzai, the Peshawar-based editor of the news expressed in New York times that:

> "The people of the tribal areas have had pent-up feelings of resentment
> and anger at their treatment by the state trendy from decades. That is

why, the organized kind of struggle for Pashtun rights, reforms and resources are emerging now that has not been seen in years and years"(Zahra-malik, 2018).

The Pashtun claim that their recent protest is neither rebellion nor the protest for any revolutionary change but it is the right demand of safety of life and reaffirmation of dignity which the Constitution of Pakistan provides to every citizen (Taqi, 2018). There is no doubt that to control over the blatant issue of security the state has unfortunately separated the Pashtun ethnicity from the mainstream that mutilated their dignity and status. The factors like mistreatment, separation and loss of status of Pashtun identity as an effect of stigmatization are inaudibly leading their abhorrence towards state and the most honorable institute of Pakistan, its armed forces despite its remarkable sacrifices to attain the peaceful environment.

4.6 Detachment of Pashtun with National Institutions in Pakistan

Undoubtedly, the security forces in Pakistan have sacrificed a lot to successfully curb terrorism and to maintain a peaceful environment within the state. Along with this, it is also the reality that the intervention of Pakistan army, to keep continue this peaceful environment, is very essential for the right time. However, during my field work, observations along with the thematic conclusions of interviews conducted in various cities, a common thing was observed that Pashtun have comparatively more grievances towards armed forces and particularly Punjab police. Majority of the respondent were of the view that they are highly stigmatized by the security forces and Punjab police in Punjab province. This can also be observed through the speech delivered by the leader of PTM, Manzoor Pashteen, in which he shouted "We are against all cruelty, whether it is from the good Taliban or bad Taliban, or from peace committees, ISI (Inter-Services Intelligence), MI (military intelligence) or the army"(Buneri, 2018).

In this context, one of the upsetting effect of stigma is that the institute of Pakistan army which is among the honorable institutes of Pakistan despite its remarkable contribution to eliminate the terrorism is also losing its affection and regard within the minds of Pashtun-the second largest ethnic group. Majority of the respondent expressed that they are also the bigger advocate of complete elimination of terrorism.

They have also no emotions for those Pashtun who are involved in such type of perilous activities against the state and its people. They have no issue with the security checking, but whenever a Pashtun is only selected for such measures then they feel insulted and unjust. In this context, one respondent grieved that:"Undoubtedly, we are among the countries that have the most powerful intelligence systems than why we fail to differentiate between the good and bad(Farmanullah, March 14, 2018)."

He further expressed that this thing vociferously represent that it is the part of policy to stigmatize all Pashtun instead of differentiation (Ibid).

Similarly, the alarming annotations of the respondents regarding increasing stigmatization in Punjab province intrusively developing sagacity of ethnicity-based profiling. They differentiated that they have to face a lot of difficulties and mistreatment in Punjab as compare to KPK. Majority of the respondent pointed out Dera Ismael Khan Check post-the entrance point of Punjab from KPK where they are humiliated a lot. Similarly, the huge difference of Pashtun stigmatization between South Punjab and Upper Punjab was also observed through their responses. They expressed that the tendency of their stigmatization based on ethnicity is less in the former. Such type of connotation characterize that stigmatization has somehow developed the outlooks of ethnicity also.

4.7 Group Aggression among the Pashtun

Subsequently, due to such practices, a sense of aggression has developed among them as a result of ethnic stigmatization without any discrepancy between foe and friend. Such type of stigma effect is irreparable and needs the most urgent attention towards it. The development of aggression in the second largest ethnic group is the more sensitive one that could lead many consequences. Enthusiastic participation and expression of grievances by majority of the protestors indicate that they have collective aggression. Everyone seems to be aggressive having same grievances and toward the same target. The aggression can be seen through a series of protests, these days, carried out by the tribal Pashtun under the leadership of Manzoor Pashteen (Shah, 2018).

However, currently the Pashtun have come up with the agendas including removal of unnecessary check post where they unfairly questioned and mistreated, elimination of the trend of harassment of Pashtun ethnic, the return of 'missing' individuals along with fair commissioned enquiry of extra judicial killing of Pashtun around the state (Ibid). The current circumstances clearly indicate that these are handy but delay in provision of justice to Pashtun will trigger their grievances and ultimately acute their aggression. In this context, the removal of number of check post and the announcement of further removal of more check post in near future by Chief of Army Staff Gen. Qamar Javed Bajwa is being highly appreciated.

4.8 Perspective Trends and Consequences of Pashtun Stigma

Keeping in view the contemporary environment in Pakistan, the Pashtun are convinced that they are mainly stigmatized due to some of the terrorist who are also ethnically Pashtun. The Pashtun are also well aware and recognize the security issues prevalent in the country. Subsequently, though the Pashtun have grievances because of state's behavior yet they are patriotic and prefer the state above all. Internationally, the process of Pashtun stigmatization emerged at least two decades ago with the belief that Pakistan has indulged in proxy warfare including the Pashtun populace (Labott, Carter, & Crawford, 2012). However, in comparison, Pakistan had somehow soft attitude towards Pashtun till the incident of Peshawar school massacre in 2014 and the claim of responsibility by Pashtun leading terrorist organization TTP. Then sudden change and vast increase in the intensity of Pashtun stigmatization aggravated the situation. With the passage of time, the tendency of Pashtun stigmatization is escalating and now the Pashtun stigmatization has extended to every single Pashtun. Still, we are and should be extremely proud of Pashtun's sincerity and patriotism. Conclusively, there is no doubt if this behavior remained in continuance then one of the most tragic consequences of Pashtun ethnic stigmatization is the possibility of the loss of patriotism among Pashtun in Pakistan.

Along with this, the furtherance of Pashtun stigmatization may ultimately convey and endorse the bad image of Pashtun at international level also. The incidents of mistreatment at various airports reveal that the behavior of stereotyping the Pashtun as a

'terrorist' is already trending a lot in the West (Newsweek, 2009). Therefore, stigmatizing them in their own homeland will ultimately increase the intensity of their profiling at international level. A large number of Pashtun are earning and living for a number of purposes in various countries whose life will be humiliated. Adding to this, the propaganda of Muslim extremism will eventually be strengthen by the non-Muslims because stigmatizing the second largest ethnic group by portraying them as a *suspected* identity means we are validating the propaganda that Pakistan is the homeland for terrorism and Muslims are the terrorist.

4.8.1 Intensification of Ethno-nationalist Conflict(s)

The ongoing protest is the result of Pashtun stigmatization. Few of the futuristic reactions to stigmatization discussed below are directly linked with this PTM. The anti-state rhetoric by the leaders of PTM indicates the possibilities of confrontation and conflict in future as one of the consequence. This assumption could be supported by the fact that the leaders and all other activists of PTM direct their rhetoric at the powerful military—the country's most inviolable institution, in their speeches. In this context, MohsinDawar, PTM leader said that "We have challenged the might of the most powerful institution of this country and we will keep going on"(Kugelman, 2018). Similarly, Manzoor Pashteen, the leader of this movement also holds the Pakistan Army responsible for the Pashtun suffering (Shams, 2018). The message conveyed by one of the activists of PTM indicated that further stigmatization would signify and enhance their spirit to protest. He cautioned that "The military is the real power in this country, and they are unwilling to admit the blunders and oppression they have committed. We are no longer ready to accept our subjugation"(Siddique, 2018). Their wording like 'enough is enough' are quite convincing that though they are protesting in a peaceful manner, but the use of force to handle the situation can infuriate them (Shams, 2018).

On the other hand, responsively, the statement of Gen. Qamar Javed Bajwa, Chief of Army Staff, during a ceremony held at General Headquarter on 12th April, included sentiments of grief and indignation. He warned that Pakistan must not let PTM to distract the 'real heroes' of the nation who have sacrificed their lives in the fight against terrorism. He also branded the PTM protest as 'engineered' and a form of 'hybrid

warfare' to weaken the nation (Kugelman, 2018). The tone of the language is already conveying the message of full flash aggression from both sides.

Undoubtedly, any miscalculation in making the policies in future regarding Pashtun suppression may result in a far worse disastrous situation. It will take no time to happen the conflict of Pashtun ethnic with the state. The stigma which has already made the life of Pashtun insecure and miserable will ultimately lead them to be rebel against the state. Adding to this, the organized protests along with enthusiastic participation of tens of thousands of young Pashtun in the movement of Pashtun protection carries a strong message that Pashtun are united against their stigma. This could be widely observed in the contemporary protests and rallies in which all the protests remained the most stimulated and raised full-throated slogans against the state and its institutes. Therefore, attention and action instead of negligence or suppression is the most urgent need for the state (NewsDesk, 2018).

4.8.2 Foreign Powers can Intervene and Exploit the Internal Instability of Pakistan

Further, it can be easily assumed that the current situation, if continued, is quite favorable for the external powers to weaken the state. Historically, it is quite evident that in many cases the imperialist powers has used various nationalist movements as a proxy for their own interests (Pal, 2018). In the case of Pakistan, this also highly being assumed by the army that this protest is backed by the foreign powers (AP, 2018). The most particularly it will be taken as a golden opportunity for India to renovate its historic friendship with Pashtun to de-track them from peaceful protest and use them to dwindle the state (Kaura, 2018). However, Afghanistan which has strong cultural and strategic ties with Pakistan may also involve deteriorating the state due to its recent grievances on War on Terror.

In this context, allegedly military trolls accuse the link of contemporary Pashtun movement with Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) and Directorate of National Security (NDS) also which is the Afghan spy service (Siddique, 2018). Undoubtedly, the Pashtun movement is winning strong sympathy from fellow Pashtun across the border (Siddique, 2018) that can go far exceeds in future. Similarly, the peaceful protest by Pashtun is sympathetically supported by all the Pashtun living in various parts of the world. Undoubtedly, the PTM is supported by other ethnicities within the state also only

because of the fact that this struggle is peaceful and its demands are within constitutional framework of Pakistan.

However, the recent incident of negating the entrance of an individual holding the Pakistani flag (Correspondent, 2018) is quite suspected and carries a message that there is something else behind the protest. This happened with Toor Khan who is also ethnically Pashtun and wholeheartedly supports the movement. He stated that "I was stopped at the gate and told I could not bring the flag inside. I told them that the land and flag belong to Pakistan and I will carry it inside"(Correspondent, 2018). However, he was refused by the organizer to bring the Pakistani flag at the place of protest (Ibid). Waving the black flags instead of Pakistani flag by the protesters and abandoning the Pakistani flag at the place of protest is quite convincing that external powers and enemies will not need much more investment of effort to gain their interests through aggrieved Pashtun. The other factor that supports this assumption is the question of funding of this movement because such movements are considered very expensive (NewsDesk, 2018). Therefore, if the state remains failed to pacify the charged Pashtun then it will provide the opportunities for the enemies of Pakistan to urge them to go against the state.

Linking to the above factor, the contemporary PTM holds the potential to initiate the nationalist struggle within the state also. As one of the speakers in this movement said that this is the war and battle against Punjab who is the dominant figure within the state (Pal, 2018). This represents that the stigmatization of Pashtun somehow produced ethnicity-based grievances and has the tendency to rise up the voices of various nationalities within the state. Similarly, Baloch and Hazaras who are oppressed in Baluchistan were also seen participating and venting their feelings of oppression against Punjabis. Likewise, Muhajir and Sindhis in Sindh also enthusiastically participated in the PTM and expressed their feelings against state oppression (Pal, 2018). Undoubtedly, these are the indications that suggest that the stigma against Pashtun (and others) may inflame the situation of uniting all the oppressed people on the same platform and wage a united struggle against Punjabi dominated state (Ibid).

It means that the stigmatization of Pashtun has the great tendencies to disturb the mechanism of national cohesion also within the state.

4.8.3 Secession Movement of the Pashtun

One of the most destructive reactions to stigma may be the demand of separate homeland or secession of Pashtun from Pakistan under the banner of the historical demand of *Pashtunistan*. Pashtun is the second largest ethnic group and deeply rooted all over the country. Moreover, Pashtun ethnicity no doubt constitutes an influential political and military force within Pakistan (Francis, 1993). Besides this, the trend of new state creation based on ethnic nationalism due to proxy wars is the major dilemma for South Asian countries including Pakistan (Thomas, 1994). The analysts and academia remains convinced that the circumstances of the region indicate that it is becoming increasingly clear that the greatest threat to security and stability of South Asian countries may arise internally instead of externally as a consequence of contemporary violent separatist movement (Francis, 1993).

Within the context of Pakistan, the secessionist sentiments among Pashtun and few other ethnic groups were already present since decades (Staff, 2007). This could be traced back in the past by looking at the wide range of resistance by Pashtun against Punjabis who are supposed to control the armed forces (Ibid). Since decades ago, due to its sporadic nature, it was already observed that the revival of *Pashtunistan* separatist movement could again threaten the disintegration of Pakistan in future (Francis, 1993).

In this context, the recent wave of intense kind of Pashtun stigmatization is fading the state circumstances and leading them towards comparable consequences. Pashtun, due to the current PTM, are receiving strong support among national and international community and a show of successful gatherings around the world represents their worldwide unity (Alikhil, 2018). In the meanwhile, Pashtuns are going with the visible soft agenda which has no such demand. However, they are also making addition in their demands with the passage of time as they are making themselves 'organized' and 'strengthening' (Mohsin, 2018). Consequently, this could be the possible aspect of Pashtun stigmatization that they can later on demand for *'Pashtunistan'* also. The slogan of *'Da SangaAzadi Da'* (What Kind of Freedom is this?) is very popular among Pashtun

and can be widely listened in the protest rallies (Shah, 2018). Adding to this, few of the demands are quite threatening and unacceptable for the national security of state.

The value to this secessionist assumption is so important because in past it already happened with the state (Jha, 2015). So, it could happen in future that Pashtun may demand their realization as a separate entity. Therefore, the government should think about alternative strategies to pursue the matter of Pashtun stigmatization and their current demands. Neither it should be thoroughly appreciated and accepted full-flagged nor should it be ignored completely so that the secessionist and external involvement aspects to weaken the state could be avoided as it happened in past.

4.8.4 Increase in Deviancy and Terrorism

Another consequence of Pashtun stigmatization relates with the theoretical concept of stigma and the notion of deviance given by Erving Goffman. He was of the view that the deviancy and deviant behavior is not inherent property of an individual. Goffman further believed that the individual became deviant when his acts or attributes are perceived by others as *negatively* different (Susman, 1994). In this context, isolation of Pashtun ethnic group due to stigma may lead the innocent Pashtun to be aggressive and violent. Pashtun who have lost their loved ones, due to stigma based on their ethnic association with the terrorists and belonging to the more sensitive areas only, will definitely lead them to resist or chose the way they are labeled.

During my field work, it was highly observed that contemporary behavior towards Pashtun and their mistreatment made them realize that they were labeled as a security threat, essentially portraying them as a suspected identity. In this context, it can be undeniably assumed that Pashtun due to their stigmatization as a 'terrorist' based on their ethnic association may force them to be violent and establish links with terrorist in real. Similarly, an influential aspect of labeling theory, and debating factor among a number of theorists, also confirms that the deviant behavior is really reinforced by the process of labeling itself (Ward, 1971). Similarly, the Ulmer said that "Deviance sanctions can condition greater involvement in deviant networks and thus foster the development of friendship relations with other deviants"(Ulmer, 1994). Another influential work of Frank Tannenbaum (1938) also helps to understand this phenomenon more comprehensively.

Tannenbaum asserted that it is the response of community that forced the delinquent towards more serious crimes. Most often communities reject and isolate the delinquents. Consequently, this isolation forces them into association with those who lead them towards criminal paths and careers (Adams , 1996). Adams examined that negative perception and labeling of adolescent simply because of assumed association with delinquent peers ultimately lead the youngster to intensify associations with deviant peers (Adams , 1996). Moreover, it also increases the intensity of their crimes and makes them more tenacious (Ibid). Similarly, considering innocent Pashtun even delinquent just because of their ethnic association consequently may intensify their association with deviant peers - 'the terrorist'.

Undoubtedly, the successful operations carried out by the Army against terrorists have forced them on their way to home. This is also the reality that the continuation of such grip is essential for the security and safety of state itself, however; the responsibility of few Pashtun terrorist, if any, cannot be distributed among all innocent Pashtun. There is no reasonable support for assigning the equal responsibility towards those who are in fact guilty of something and who do nothing, who resist and those who resist more than others and similarly who do not resist, who support and the ones who do not support them in their guilt (Narveson , 2002).

Degrading treatment towards Pashtun by the state itself, as it happened in Punjab province in the form of circular distribution regarding Pashtun identity, would be justifiable by public also in future. The public will also start to dehumanize the Pashtun by excluding them as a suspected identity. The public may also start to reject them, discriminate them, and degrade them based on the assumption of security laps. In this way, this could also be the outcome that the identity of Pashtun become problem, for every single Pashtun, for their survival due to stigma. This thing will ultimately increase the intensity of Pashtun spirit to involve in the social movements.

4.9 Measures to Address the Consequences of Stigmatization of Pashtun in Pakistan

There is no solution for the issue highlighted in this research, except few of the policies, if fully implemented. The constant profiling of Pashtun has been historically built and frequent incidents continue to animate and intensify it. As a result, Pashtun-biased has

reached problematic levels amongst Pakistani masses now. It would take many years to get this image of the Pashtun 'normalized'. However, this study suggests few recommendations that may help to control and resolve the blatant issue of Pashtun stigmatization as a suspected identity.

1. It is a primary responsibility of the state to address the grievances of its populations. In this view, the Pashtun (or any ethnic) should have an outlet or a channel to raise their voices against mistreatment and victimization. Therefore, there must be a separate complaint cell at federal that should be responsible to receive the complaints regarding any segment of the society or institute that stigmatizes/discriminate or erodes the basic rights of Pashtun (or any ethnic). This cell should transfer the received complaints to all the higher authorities of relevant institutes, provincial police forces, and other armed forces so that they can take immediate action according to their jurisdiction. This will develop and ensure the confidence among people that no one can mistreat them wherever they are. This cell will also help to trace and lessen the contemporary issue of missing persons.

2. The federal and provincial authorities of the state should take immediate and strict actions against the anti-Pashtun narrative and discourse. The circulation of pamphlets, newspapers, etc shedding a negative light on the Pashtun culture and peoples should be monitored strictly. Moreover, the broadcast media and social media targeting the Pashtun ethnicity (or any other ethnicity) in Pakistan should be scrutinized for stereotyping or stigmatizing. Pashtun must also raise their voice against abuses and profiling through different campaigns, including social media. The state should also boycott and refuse to release the movies and dramas that are stereotypical.

3. It is believed that movies are a medium through which the minds of a general public can easily be dominated. Adding to this, it is also believed that through the movies the general views of the public can be influenced by depicting negative image of anyone. Similarly, this medium could also be used to abolish the negative image and present the positive image in real. Therefore, the process of stigmatization of Pashtun

can also be reduced by broadcasting them as patriotic, hard worker, honest and anti-terrorist.

4. The efforts of the army and security forces in the Pashtun populated and conflict ridden areas has transformed to providing resistance and relief. They are involved in the practice of punishing the enemy of the stat and providing peace, education, awareness, emotional attachment, security, dignity, freedom, and opportunities to the civilians of the area. This has and will continue to urge the populations of those areas to view the anti-state elements which have originated in those places as enemies of the state. The efforts of the army and security forces in those areas should be promulgated and the narrative of their dedication should be highlighted in those areas, in other parts of Pakistan and internationally. Such a discourse would essentially bring into light the realities of the area and while the role of army is one of them, another would be that the Pashtun have been severely victimized, but they are over-all a peace loving nation. Consequently, the focus on the positive aspects of the Pashtun would bring a greater distance between Pashtun recruitment in anti-state activities.

5. Pakistan should announce a national cohesion day. The best day to represent that we all are united against the enemies under the banner of national cohesion day could be the 16th December in the context of one of the most painful days in Pakistan's history, in view of the partition with East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) and also the attack on Army Public School, Peshawar, in 2014. The culture of sharing love, emotions, and gifts in the form of resources, technologies, and culture among the provinces will definitely increase the national cohesion and development.

6. The state should tackle the contemporary situation of PTM by taking them into confidence. The state should oblige in their demands as much as it can. The demands that are contrary to the national security should not be addressed, but basic demands which are according to the constitutional rights should be given an audience. The PTM embodies the extent to which unaddressed grievances can explode into aggressive protests. Such developments can be tackled if addressed timely.

7. Inter Services Public Relations (ISPR) must not make any video for counter-propaganda against militants. This should be done by civilian government and civil society. ISPR lens of society is based on security and threat. So its counter-propaganda becomes propaganda for certain people. So, civil society representatives, who must consist of Pashtun majority, should take charge.

8. The state should try to overcome the sentiment of Pashtun who are anti-American. They do not like the involvement of any country in their own state while the focuses of US anti-terrorism policies remained at Pashtun dominated areas. This intensifies their aggression. The state should ensure that any external actor, particularly US-based policies, would not be implemented in those areas.

9. The state should immediately change the norms and whole heartedly spread and thoroughly implement the policy of 'say no to stereotyping'. Strict kind of actions must be taken against the people, institutes, and those who are found to be responsible. The state must ensure the equitable distribution of resources and power, equity, and should eliminate the culture of prejudice, discrimination, and exclusion of any ethnic group by developing new norms of social acceptance and cohesion.

10. One of the main roles to eliminate and lessen the stigmatization of Pashtun can be played by ethnic Pashtun themselves. PTM has become popular among the populace. So, any announcement and demand for national cohesion, from the leaders or activists of this movement, will make the ethnic image of Pashtun more positive. Pashtun in large number must participate to trace out the terrorist sanctuaries and to eliminate them and it should be widely publicize in public. The political leaders, business tycoon, journalist, educationist, and all other popular personalities who are ethnically Pashtun must give strict polarizing statement from those who are involved in terrorism, but belongs to their ethnicity. Such type of time by time statement will help to obliterate the negative image of Pashtun within the minds of people.

11. There is no doubt; the operation against the terrorism launched by Pak army restored once again the environment of peace in our state. The state authorities must now decide to launch such type of operation against the weapons also with the help of similar state apparatus to clean the state from weapons. The implementation of this clause will save millions of innocent lives. Along with this, the licensed system of weapons must be developed in such a way that each bullet must appear in a system of state as it passed through the null.

12. Lastly, the state should change its usual practice of *response* when things happen and rather employ a proactive approach to issues plaguing the nation. For instance, policies such as: to erect the boundary walls around educational institutes after Peshawar school massacre, and introducing detectors at the entrances of tombs and shrines after Sehvan Sharif bomb blast on 16 February 2017, embody the responsive policies. Pashtun stigmatization has also no doubt emerged due to such responsive policies. The state will have to prefer the defensive policies rather than responsive policies. It means that state should prefer the policies which help to prevent the things happened rather than control the situation in a response.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

Pakistan has been plagued by some persistent problems which have been detrimental to the national integration and assimilation of the Pakistani populace as a united nation. The rightful *place* of the Pashtun ethnicity in Pakistan and the sporadic sabotages to the Pashtun identity are reminiscent of the aforementioned issues. In this view, the research undertaking has aimed to view the stigma ascribed to the Pashtun identity and has attempted to unravel the underlying inducements of such practices in Pakistan.

As elucidated by this research, the stigmatization of Pashtun identity, which includes, but is not limited to the label of suspicion, involvement and support of terrorist activities. Moreover, the Pashtun identity has become one of the most discursive issues of security threats in the country. Such stigma invariably makes the stigmatized community increasingly vulnerable and numerous cases and incidents in recent times, as mentioned in this research, attest to this.

The contemporary wave of terrorism and its counter strategies have proved to have an adverse impact on the Pashtun identity, for reasons which cannot always be true. And more importantly, it's pertinent to note that the Pashtun identity has been an unintended victim of the counter-terrorism strategies which have been employed, out of absolute necessity, to uproot the menace of terrorism. The fact that most of the terrorist incidents emanate or involve people from this community is not enough to malign a whole ethnic community. Over the last several years, Pakistan has witnessed and recorded series of violent incidents and terrorist related activities, which are solely not confined to the Pashtun ethnic community. Admittedly, terrorism mutated and spread to all the ethnicities and communities in Pakistan, essentially giving rise to the involvement of individuals in terrorism from all walks of life. However, the Pashtun ethnic community has carried more of the burden and brunt of terrorism than any other group in the country. Hence, they have been the sole victims of stigmatization due to terrorism. The implication of the latter on ethnic consciousness and identity is evident in the manner with which the community reacts to such labeling.

This research was thus geared at understanding this phenomenon and identifying, both the short and long term consequences of such stigma on the ethnic community in question and by extension whether or not such derogation is likely to be extended to other ethnic groups in the future. In order to place the study in perspective, ethnographic research approach was employed, which helped in answering questions such as are the Pashtun being stigmatized? Why Pashtun stigmatization emerged? How they are stigmatized? What are the impacts of stigmatization on them? What could be the reaction of Pashtun towards stigmatization? And what strategies should be adopted to lessen the stigma if at all, it exist?

Two main theories were applied to see the process of Pashtun stigmatization. One was the Social Identity Theory (SIT) postulated by Tajfel and Turner, and the other one being the Theory of Stigmatization given by Goffman. Though the notion of stigmatization as understood by other scholars were equally used. The latter was helpful not just to theorize, but in developing a conceptual understanding and see how stigmatization evolved from mere abstraction to manifest social reality. Through the theoretical lens, the research can safely assert that the Pashtun community in Pakistan is highly stigmatized and their identity is dented.

The research has thoroughly summarized how the dynamics of Pashtun stigma emerged. An intractable wave of terrorism, few years ago caused death to thousands of innocent people in Pakistan. The research has also demonstrated that the roots of such wave of terrorism was certainly connected to the state decision to become US ally in *WOT*. Actually, US was convinced that the mastermind of 9/11 attack dwelled in Afghanistan. Hence, the US decided to attack Afghanistan with the help of Pakistan. Consequently, millions of Afghan refugees forcefully migrated to the neighboring countries in which Pakistan was one of the biggest countries to host them. Along with this, the porous border between Afghanistan and Pakistan and lack of control on the bordering areas remained favorable for the transfer of masses as well as weapons from Afghanistan to Pakistan. As a result, many terrorist found their destination in the bordering areas of Pakistan under the canopy of Afghan refugees. Along with this, due to lack of monitoring, they became able to move towards settled areas of Pakistan as well. In a response to state decision on

US-led war, almost all the segments in Pakistani society were disappointed. Particularly, Pashtun, which is the second largest ethnic group in state, due to its strong cultural and ethnic ties along the border, did not accept it whole heartedly. Subsequently, the state decision to make alliance with US against Afghanistan proved to be destructive one for the internal security of Pakistan. Adding to this, it also disturbed the social fabric of the Pakistani society.

In this way, strong sense of grievances further developed among Pashtun as Pashtun was already aggrieved due to their marginalization. A number of anti-state organizations emerged in a reaction to state decision of WOT. TTP led by Pashtun leader also emerged and indulged in terrorist activities. In this way, Federal Administered Tribal Areas of Pakistan became the safe heaven and hub of terrorism. The factors like an intensive increase in terrorism as a result of US attack on Afghanistan, establishment of terrorist bases in Pashtun dominated areas, cultural and ethnic ties along the border, and development of terrorist organization in northern areas under the leadership of Pashtun ultimately led the domain of suspicion towards Pashtun community. However, other factors like *Pashtunwali*, culture of weapons possession, revenge, and aggressive behavior of Pashtun also added value to these assumptions. They were accused of hiding and showing soft corner for the terrorist.

Therefore, state preferred to talk with them as state knew that the operation against them would definitely result in deaths of thousands of innocent people. However, failure of peace talks due to inflexible behavior of Taliban started to polarize the nation from the *bad Taliban*. Adding to this, the Peshawar school massacre on 16th December, 2014, which is consider as a black day in the history of Pakistan, worsened the situation and united the nation against terrorism. The whole nation wanted to crush the terrorists wherever and regardless of their ethnic affiliation. In the meanwhile, the claim of the responsibility of Peshawar school massacre by TTP led by Pashtun leader presented the image of Pashtun as a terrorist which did not go in the favor of the Pashtun. Along with this, the aforementioned factors compelled the state to start operations in Pashtun dominated areas. All these things produced a socially constructed reality that Pashtun were somehow involved or supporting the terrorist in their activities.

In this research it is argued that in past, the process of Pashtun stigma was limited to the security forces, but the Peshawar school massacre no doubt increased its intensity. The research suggests that the domain of Pashtun stigmatization has increased to every single Pashtun now. The research further suggested that in the contemporary times, other segments of the Pakistani society are reluctant to have social relations with Pashtun these days because of the fear that he/she will also be stigmatized due to *association*. Therefore, it can be contended that the Pashtun are highly mistreated and abused based primarily on their ethnicity. They are socially excluded based on the assumption of links to terrorism or terrorism related activities. Consequently, they are extensively humiliated and refused from full-fledged social acceptance.

Moreover, the respondents for this research attested that the Pashtun are strictly checked at various check-posts based on the assumption of affiliation with terrorism. They are commonly refused from the things and resources that are accessible for other ethnicities. Pashtuns are now 'other' within their own state. The people have lost their trust in Pashtun and with the passage of time the intensity of such practices is increasing. The stigma of suspicion attached with Pashtun community impacted them a lot as it was discussed in the 4th chapter. This research demonstrated the importance of geography and the level of stigma attached to this ethnic community, that is, how places can suffer stigma and become immoral and disadvantaged. And by extension due to stigma, association with certain geography makes them vulnerable for poor attention, poor wellbeing and mistreatment. More importantly, the study illustrates that Pashtun who are highly concerned about their dignity and honors have over several years become victim of daily dejection, derogation and devaluation. Adding to this, they have become more outraged by police forces' violation of their family system, such is deeply affecting the psychic of these community and they strongly believe that their human rights should not be violated under the umbrella of security threat. They feel psychologically tortured and abused whenever only Pashtun are selected and asked to verify themselves among others.

Along with this, the research process shed light on the fact that few months ago, some circulars from responsible institutes were also distributed among public in which Pashtun was as much negatively stereotyped as terrorist. The concerned pamphlets contained the

message that immediately informed the police regarding suspicious individuals who merely looked Pashtun or Afghan. Though, it must be mentioned, the measures taken by security forces are deemed necessary as it's their foremost responsibility to secure the public. However, the circulation of pamphlets spreading negative stereotyping of Pashtun gives us reason to suppose that these things undoubtedly developed a sense of grievances among them. Due to stereotyping, the Pashtun have become aggressive and have moved towards social movements to demands their basic rights.

In addition to the aforementioned argument, PTM under the leadership of Manzoor Pashteen is demanding the elimination of their stigmatization. The PTM is becoming very popular day by day and a large number of young Pashtun are enthusiastically associating them with it. However, the tone of the language of PTM leader is undoubtedly very aggressive. The leaders of PTM, in their rhetoric, are directly assigning the responsibility of their stigma to security a force which, of course, is unbearable for the whole nation. Adding to this, with the passage of time they are increasing their demands in which few of the demands really a contrary one at the same time.

The issue of Pashtun stigmatization needs an urgent consideration to resolve it and this issue must not be underestimated. Otherwise, many destructive consequences are looming in near future as demonstrated in the previous chapter. In this context, few recommendations are also suggested here in the preceding chapter. The study has suggested that the state should investigate the matter with an inordinate devotion. The state should take actions against those who are involved in abusing the Pashtun. The stereotyping of any ethnicity in any sense should be discouraged by the state. Pashtun which is the second largest ethnic group and has an influential role must be given their due respect. It is essential for the national cohesion to curb such type of negative stereotyping of Pashtun.

Although the research has tried to do justice to the subject matter, though it is confined to those Pashtun who assumed that they are stigmatized. Therefore, the finding(s) of this study must be regarded with some caution; it has limited generalizability as the study did not follow the experiences of those respondents who are not convinced with this assumption. Along with this, the study was confined to understanding only those

theoretically driven issues which are relevant to the Pashtun stigmatization to keep the study within manageable proportions to ensure demanding investigation and to maintain meanness.

Appendix A

Proforma Information Sheet and Consent Form

National University of Science and Technology

Center for International Peace and Stability

Information sheet

Ethnic Image, Stigmatization and Conflict: The Case of Pakistan Pashtun.

We would like to invite you to be part of this research project, if you would like to. You should only agree to take part if you want to, it is entirely up to you. If you choose not to take part there won't be any disadvantages for you and you will hear no more about it. [*If appropriate:* Choosing not to take part will not affect your access to treatment or services in any way].

Please read the following information carefully before you decide to take part; this will tell you why the research is being done and what you will be asked to do if you take part. Please ask if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information.

If you decide to take part you will be asked to sign the attached form to say that you agree. You are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason.

The "Pashtun" identity in Pakistan has become a victim of stigmatization in recent years despite the status of the Pashtuns as the second largest ethnic group. The stigma of Pashtun identity based on the assumption of their involvement or support in terrorist activities within Pakistan has developed a strong sense of resentment amongst them. Moreover, this stance towards the Pashtuns has fragmented the national cohesion of Pakistan, giving rise to the fear of separatist movements and increased participation of violent activities within the state. This study aims to highlight the Pashtun perspective about their suspected and stigmatized identity through open ended questionnaires from subjects living in the Khyber PakhtunKhwa and Punjab. This undertaken study hopes to examine the causes of manifestation of stigma and its consequences within the stigmatized identity. The study expands to include the stigma management strategies adopted by the Pashtun in order to avoid being stigmatized. Furthermore, it aims to outline recommendations to better the assimilation of ethnic identities in Pakistan. By using this study's wide range of available sources of Pashtun oral views and grievances; this project will contribute to future research on similar topics.

It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you do decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a consent form. If you have any questions or concerns about the manner in which the study was conducted please, in the first instance, contact the researcher responsible for the study. If this is unsuccessful, or not appropriate, please contact the Center for International Peace and Stability, National University of Science and Technology.
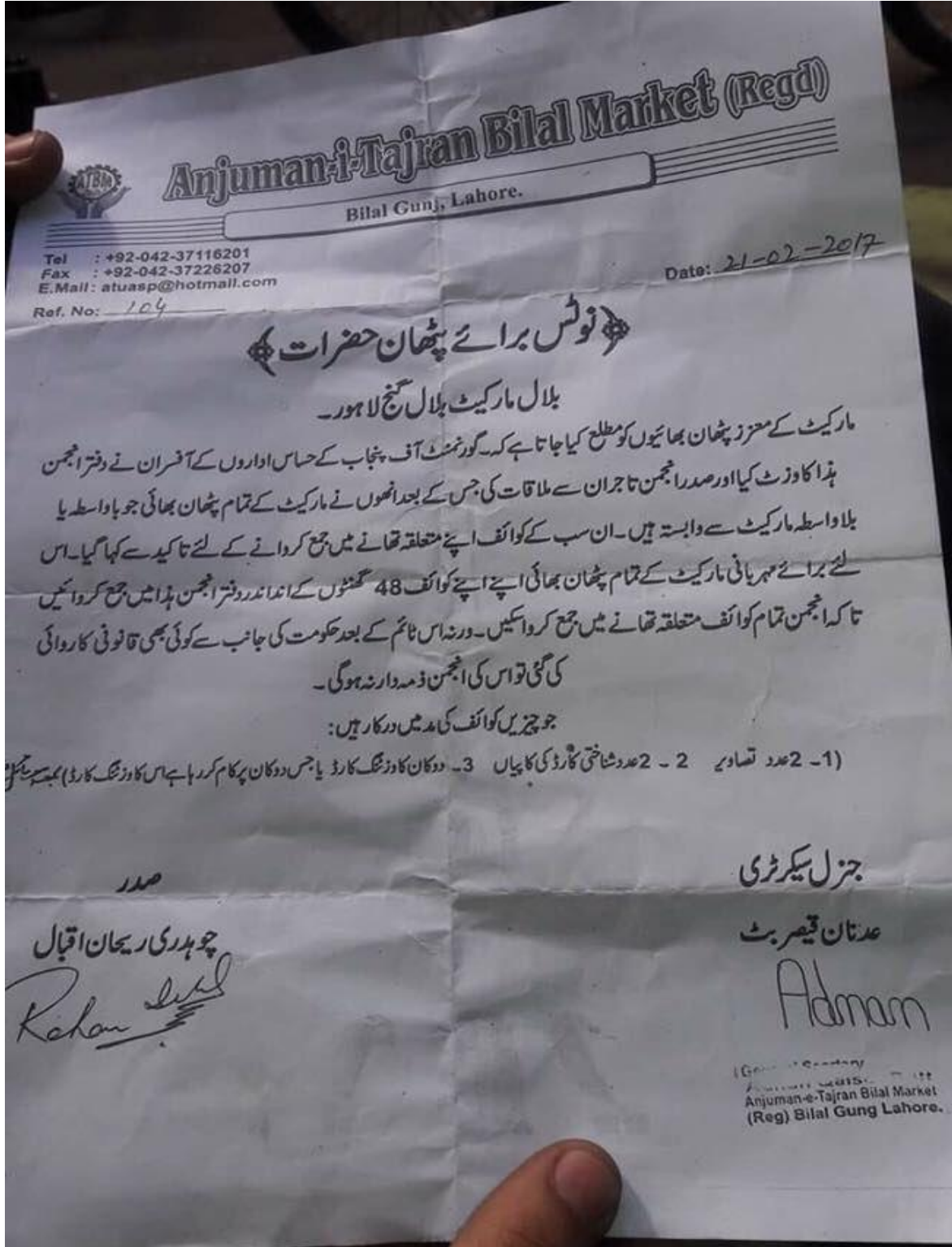
Appendix B

Source:https://www.dawn.com/news/1084259

Source:https://thediplomat.com/2017/03/pakistans-pashtun-profiling/

Appendix D

ضروری اطلاع

حالیہ دہشت گردی واقعات کے پیش نظر عوام الناس سے التماس ہے کہ چند مشکوک اشخاص جو کہ حلیہ سے افغان یا پٹھان باشندے لگتے ہیں جن کو مختلف علاقوں میں پشاوری قہوہ، خشک میوہ جات، کھلونے اور گھریلو استعمال کی اشیاء وغیرہ دیکھا گیا ہے اپنے ناپاک عزائم سے ملک میں کسی بھی علاقہ کے اندر دہشتگردانہ کاروائی کر سکتے ہیں اگر کسی ایسے شخص کو جو کہ افغان یا پٹھان لگتا ہو اور پشاوری قہوہ، خشک میوہ جات، کھلونے یا گھریلو استعمال کی اشیاء فروخت کرتا ہوا دکھائی دے یا ان کے علاوہ مشکوک نظر آئے تو فوری طور پر قریبی تھانہ، چوکی یا پولیس وائرلیس کنٹرول 15 پر اطلاع دیں۔

آپ کا تعاون تحفظ کی ضمانت

ترجمان پولیس

ضلع منڈی بہاؤالدین

Source: https://thediplomat.com/2017/03/pakistans-pashtun-profiling/

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