

Social movement and politics of identities:

Understanding and Misunderstand PTM

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A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Science in Peace and Conflict studies

National University of Science and Technology

Islamabad.

September 2020



National University of Science and Technology

MASTER THESIS WORK

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“Social movement and politics of identities: Understanding and

misunderstanding PTM” be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements

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Read! And thy Lord is Most Honorable and Most Benevolent,
Who taught (to write by pen), He taught man that which he knew not.

(Surah Al-Alaq 30:3-5)

Al-Quran

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Acknowledgment

First of all, all the praises to Allah Almighty, for granting me the opportunity of to be a part of NUST family. The completion of this thesis would not have been possible without the support, understanding, and guidance of many individuals, family members and prestigious faculty members. Without their time, feedback, and encouragement, I would not have been able to see it through.

I would like to extend my utmost gratitude to each and every member of CIPS department for their assistant and guidance, to all my classmates for making my time at CIPS, full of joy and love. To my faculty members Dr. Tughral Yamin, Dr. Bakare Najimdeen, Dr. Ahmad Waqas Waheed and Dr. Imdad Ullah, words cannot do justice to your guidance and faith in me. Despite my countless failures you always encouraged me and provided insights that lighten my darkest moments. I would have never seen it through without your kindness and support.

Above all to my supervisor, one of the kindest and most supportive of all Dr. Muhammad Makki, how could words do justice to your efforts and faith that you put in me and my study. Whoever I am today, I owe it to you. Despite letting you down all the time, you never gave up on me. Your support and kindest words meant the world to me. My work is/was not worth your countless efforts and time, but you were always there whenever I needed you and your guidance.

I would like to extend my sincere gratitude to my parents, themselves being uneducated always supported me to chase my goals and especially my younger brother Zafar khan. Being younger, you proved to be the mature one and played the fatherly role. you sacrificed your own needs and goals just to fulfil mine. You have always put my needs before yours and I hope one day I would be able to repay your eternal debts whether moral, financial and/or guidance.

I would like to thank all the participants, for sparing their time to participate in this study and provide their precious insights and knowledge. How could I forget my brothers from another mother Marifat shah, Mahboob Alam, Dr. Jawad Ahmad, Zain Afridi and Abdur Rehman for constructive discussion, moral and financial support and investing your time in helping me find participants.

Last but never the least I would like to extend my gratitude to Diana Roberts being literally from other side of the globe, invested her time in my study and provided significant insights. Thank you so much for being my moral police and pushing me towards my goals when I never had the will or time to invest in my studies.

Dedication

This study is dedicated my Dr. Muhammad Makki and my family without whose support and guidance I would have been no one.

Abstract

Pathans are the second largest ethnic group of Pakistan. Erstwhile FATA has been an epicenter of proxy wars, violence, and extremism since colonial era. This study employs qualitative approach to highlight the plight and miseries of erstwhile FATA as a repercussion of such identity profiling and emergence of PTM to counter such stereotypical profiling to de-construct and re-present Pathan social identity. This study analyzes the internal contradictions of Pathan identity, and their social construction and politics of romanticizing and internalization has led to identity crisis. This study demonstrates that the very perception of Pathans, public domain as well as media representation are based on colonial discourse that lacks the understanding of identity pluralism. The analysis of NSMs demonstrate that PTM is not only a civil rights social movement striving for social recognition, acceptability, and an end of demonization but a pacifist movement i.e. anti-war, anti-terrorism. In the theoretical framework of social identity theory, this study emphasizes on pluralistic identity allegiance, affiliations, and their misinterpretations. This study demonstrates that how the very roots of colonial stereotyping and historical security paranoia is leading to misinterpretation as well as misunderstanding of PTM through dominant narrative transformation. This study concludes that PTM issue is identity rather than ethnicity, the very profiling of Pathan identity is a social construction embedded in dominant discourse.

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Abbreviations

BLM	Black Lives Matter
FATA	Federally Administered Tribal Area
GTI	Global Terrorism Index
HRCP	Human Rights Commission Pakistan
IDMC	International Displacement Monitoring Center
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
INGO	International Non-government Organization
KKM	Khudai Khidmatgar Movement
LGBT	Lesbian Gay Bisexual and Transgender
MQM	Muhajir/Muttahida Quomi Movement
MTM	Mehsud Tahafuz Movement
NGO	Non-government Organization
NWFP	North West Frontier Province
NSM	New Social Movements
OCHA	Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
PTM	Pashtun Tahafuz movement
SIT	Social Identity Theory
TTP	Tehreek e Taliban Pakistan

Chapter 1: Introduction

This chapter of the research provides background and rationale for this study and a brief account of Pashtuns in general and particularly the tribal Pashtuns of erstwhile FATA. This chapter not only indulges in the exploration of dominant colonial stereotypical discourse but how the internalization of this discourse has resulted in Pathan identity crisis. Albeit Pathans are known by different names such as Pakhtun, Pashtun and Pukhtoon but this study opts to use Pathan to refer to tribal Pathans because it is not only well-conceived in mainstream society but literature as well and/or diminish any confusion.

This chapter first depicts the socio-economic conditions of erstwhile FATA briefly and then later the plight and miseries of 'war on terror' in Pakistan as a whole and then particularly in erstwhile FATA. While to understand the perceived stereotypical identity of Pathans and its repercussion for wider society, in terms of extremism, violence, terrorism and/or Pathans' identity crisis, and very emergence of PTM as a social movement to not only de-construct this dominant stereotypical colonial discourse but re-present their culture, this study explores the internalization of so-called positive stereotypical colonial attributes that till today impairs their integration within Pakistan. The theoretical framework of social identity theory by Tajfel and new social movement paradigm are used for analysis of the very dynamics of social identity profiling dynamics and emergence of PTM. Dominance of colonial stereotypical discourse, ignorance of contemporary contextual realities and lack of understanding of pluralistic identity dynamics are the main themes explored by this study.

Pashtun Tahafuz movement (PTM), "Pathan protection movement" which is an identity-based movement, is not only explored but critically analyzed in this study. This study mainly focuses on erstwhile FATA because it has not only been very epicenter of radicalization and/or terrorism but the very birthplace of PTM and mass mobilization for this movement.

This study analyzes the very contemporary stereotypical assignment through historical dimensions. For example, plight and miseries in erstwhile FATA can easily be traced backed to colonial periods. How the internalization of colonial social constructed identities are still haunting Pathans in contemporary social contexts like post partition and its accession into Pakistan. Where academic studies and scholarly accounts have mainly focused on the already popular themes of violence and armed resistance, trying to justify it in terms of culture. This study explores an entirely different themes of the internalization of socially constructed discourse and non-violence, also questioning the perceived positive stereotypes by Pathans and their repercussions for society.

1.1 A brief account of contemporary & historical contextual realities of erstwhile FATA

1.1.1 contemporary contextual realities

Pathans are not only the largest tribal group in the world but second largest ethnic group of Pakistan. Pathans comprises 42% of the 38.76 million population of Afghanistan (world population review, 2020) and 15.4% of the 220.07 million population of Pakistan (The world factbook, 2020). Pathans are the largest tribal group in the world (Shukla, 2015).

According to OCHA (2018), 97% of the tribal population live in rural areas, with a literacy rate of 33.3%, 74% suffering from multidimensional poverty and due to ‘war on terror’ and elimination of extremism and militancy from this region, 72% of their houses were fully damaged while 28% partially. The region has been grossly lacked any signs of socioeconomic development and ranked lowest in terms of human development in Pakistan (UNDP, 2017).

1.1.2 Implications of ‘war on terror’

Presenting a statistical analysis of total fatalities because of ‘war on terror’ in Pakistan, SATP (2018) estimated 63898 fatalities, including 22657 civilians. Where Crawford (2011) further referring to an ad in the ”Wall Street Journal” on behalf of the Pakistani government with the

title “Which country can do more for your peace?”, that highlighted Pakistani sacrifices in the “war on terror” quoting “ 21,672 Pakistani civilians lost their lives or were seriously wounded; 2,795 soldiers were martyred; 8,671 soldiers were wounded; 3.5 million residents were displaced from their homes; there were 3,486 bomb blasts and 283 major suicide attacks; the combined loss for the Pakistani national economy amounts to 68 billion dollars. Where According to Pakistan Economic Survey (2017-18) the estimated direct and indirect economic cost suffered by Pakistan is US \$ 126.79 billion, which sums up to be Rs. 10,762.64 billion. While the report Body count (2018) claims that the numbers of bystanders killed during the “war on terror” is 50-100% greater than the number of combatants killed. Where Safdar (2018) reported that there were 50,000, civilian casualties, out of which an estimated 37,211 were Pathans.

Erstwhile FATA being the epicenter of extremism, safe havens of foreign fighters and militants suffered the most by war on terror. Where BBC (2009) reported that the erstwhile FATA was the most affected region with not only most casualties but severe repercussions, followed by Baluchistan. And according to Yousaf (2019) 4000 to 6000 civilians were only from former FATA. Whereas SATP (2018) estimated that there were 333 drone attacks carried out in these regions, killing 2857 while injuring more than 355. While Ackerman (2014) claims that on average it took three strikes for every single target, hence claiming more innocent lives that targeted militants. Where the estimated number of “high level” targets killed as a percentage of total casualties is only 2 percent of total casualties. While Safdar (2018) reported that out of 50,000, civilian casualties, 37,211 were estimated to be Pathans.

Along with such socio-economic and security crisis Pakistan further had to face temporary internal displacement crisis. As Qadir (2014) and Yousaf (2017) notes that ‘war on terror’ not only resulted in severe collateral damage but internal displacement. Where ICG (2020) reported that some 4 million estimated people were temporarily displaced. While Sayeed and Shah

(2017) claims that IDPs total figures in between 2007-16 were estimated to be 4.6 to 6.2 million because the official data only consisted of registered internally displaced personnel and missed out unregistered families. Further HRCP (2019) reported that about two-thirds of whom were women and children. While on their repatriation and reintegration IDMC (2018) reported that there were still 119,000 IDPs in Pakistan while 83,000 have made some partial advancement towards a durable solution. Furthermore, OCHA (2019) projected that 454,346 families have returned safely to their homelands while still there are some 16,780 families living as IDPs in Pakistan.

1.1.3 Post conflict analysis

According to GIT (2019) report due to Pakistan successful counter terrorism operations, terrorism has not only been declining consecutively, but number of deaths have fallen by 37 %, while the number of incidents by 36%, which are 81 % and 77% lower respectively than their peaks in 2013. Where the same study reported that Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) in general and erstwhile FATA particularly have been the most impacted regions. Further elaborating that KPK along with Baluchistan, collectively accounts for 77% of attacks and 84% deaths. Where on another occasion, the study also reported that TTP has/had been the deadliest terrorist group over the past decade. But due to government's National Action Plan (NAP) and crackdowns on militants' strongholds in erstwhile FATA.

1.1.4 Pathan social identity construction and stereotyping

The Pathan ethnicity and their genealogy is one of the most dominating themes in the literature but instead of indulging in popular themes this study explores the repercussions of identity fixation in terms of social interaction and group affiliations and allegiances. For a detailed depiction of Pathan genealogy (see Elphinstone, 1839; Caroe, 1958; Banerjee, 2000 & Lindholm, 1980).

Social identity is a social construction that is not only relative but adaptable depending on social contexts. And it is this social relativity and/or adaptivity of Pathan identity that needs to be

understood in terms of Pakistan contexts. The very statement that Pathans are Afghans (Ahmad, 2013; Elphinstone, 1839; Caroe, 1958; Banerjee, 2000 & Lindholm, 1980) not only ignores the pluralistic dynamics of identity, but insecurity of contemporary Pathan identity. As Sen (2007) elaborates that we are significantly influenced to an astonishing extent by people with whom we identify. And it is this choice less identity and conscious and/or unconscious identity affiliations that not only shows the conceptual misperceptions and/or misinterpretation of contemporary social contexts of the Pathans especially post partition and independence of Pakistan in 1947, but also their association with conflicts and barbarities through the illusion of such identity affiliations.

It is this internalization of such misperceptions and identity affiliations that put Pathans identity allegiance into question. As Sen (2007) quoting Wilde, claims “Most people are other people”, “Their thoughts are someone else’s opinions, their lives a mimicry, their passions a quotation.” Which very much puts the Pakistan security concerns related to PTM in a context.

The fixation of certain identity affiliation excludes any other anthropological empathies and/or social attributes and affiliations. For example, the very Muslims and non-Muslims of contemporary Pakistan and Bangladesh were Indians before partition and fought together against colonial powers. Similarly, Bengalis before separation in 1971 were primarily Pakistanis and both fought against India in 1965. These all are not only different social identities but means of contentions and/or allegiances. The very example is meant to explain the transition and relativity of social identities in different social contexts. As Sen (2007) claims where an identity could be a sense of pride, joy, strength, and confidence, it could also kill.

The assignment and ascription of Afghan identity by academic and scholars and internalization by Pathans is not only flawed but misperceived. And it is this generalized Afghan identity that has been resulting in all the atrocities happening and happened in the erstwhile FATA. As Sen (2007) comments “Violence is fomented by the imposition of singular and belligerent identities

on gullible people, championed by proficient artisans of terror”. Therefore, if PTM is really the voice of subaltern and striving for deconstruction and re-presentation of Pathan social identity, it must first reconsider its social identity affiliations and allegiances.

The assimilation of newly emerged social identities, first after demarcation of Durand line and then after inception of Pakistan. After the demarcation Pathans were not only divided but new identities were assigned. Where Pathans across the frontier remained Afghans, on the other hand Pathans in erstwhile FATA became Indians (Spain, 1961; Barfield, 2010). While after inception of Pakistan, the Indian social identity of erstwhile FATA transfused into a newly emerged Pakistani social identity (Caroe, 1958; Kraml, 2012; Barfield, 2010). Where the transition from Afghan identity to Indian identity was not only contesting but violent and resulted in resentment against imperial powers, on the other hand the very transition from Indian identity to Pakistani social identity was consensual and voluntary (Spain, 1961). Upon which Spain (1961) further comments that 99% Pathans voted for accession into Pakistan.

1.1.5 Politicization of frontier identity

According to Donnon and Wilson (1994) frontier anthropology is in fact an anthropology of political negotiations and contests. Albeit Pathans continued to exist and survive on both sides of frontier (Siddique, 2014; Yousaf, Rashid & Gul, 2018) but the very frontier political negotiations and contests have resulted in Pathan identity crisis in terms of fixation of singular identity.

The very roots of Pathan identity crisis lies not only in such frontier political negotiations and contests but politicization. Since the very inception of Pakistan, Afghanistan has not only contended the very demarcation of Durand line but politicized Pathan identity for gaining leverage over Pakistan (Johnson & Mason, 2008), by initiating an ethnocentric nationalistic movement known as “Pashtunistan” (Malik, 2016). That forced Pakistan to renegotiated certain colonial agreements with Pathan nationalistic elites and resulted in maintaining the special

status of tribal areas intact (Ahmed, 2011 & Shah 2012). Pakistan been already entangled in geostrategic politics and striving for its existence and stabilization in terms of immigration and ethnocentric crisis such as Pashtunistan, Sindhi and Baloch revolution and inadequate political structure had no option but to adopt a military approach to such politicized movements to assure its survival and stability (Waheed, 2017). Such contextual realities resulted in certain undesired political negotiations.

1.1.6 Preservation of erstwhile FATA special status

The preservation of special status of erstwhile FATA was one of the results of such political negotiations. where Ahmed (2013) comments that Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the founder and first governor general of Pakistan, took certain trust building measures, by withdrawing all troops from tribal areas and announcing to maintain the special status of tribal areas intact. Which Tameez (2015) and Afzal (1996) reported that upon his interaction with Pathan elites he stated

Keeping in view your loyalty, help, assurance and declarations we ordered, as you know, the withdrawal of troops from Waziristan as a concrete and definite gesture on our part - that we treat you with absolute confidence and trust you as our Muslim brethren across the border. I am glad that there is full realization on your part that now the position is basically different. It is no longer a foreign Government as it was, but it is now a Muslim Government and Muslim rule that holds the reigns of this great independent sovereign State of Pakistan. Pakistan has no desire to unduly interfere with your internal freedom. On the contrary, Pakistan wants to help you and make you, as far as it lies in our power, self-reliant and self-sufficient and help in your educational, social and economic uplift, and not be left as you are dependent on annual doles, as has been the practice hitherto which meant that at the end of the year you were no better off than beggars asking for allowances, if possible a little more. You

have also expressed your desire that the benefits, such as your allowances and khassadari that you have had in the past and are receiving, should continue. Neither my Government nor I have any desire to modify the existing arrangements except in consultation with you so long as you remain loyal and faithful to Pakistan.

This very speech indicates the good will gesture and faith that Pakistan put in Pathans to not only assure their allegiances but meet their very desires of autonomy and traditionalism. Which has/had been misinterpreted and misrepresented by dominant literature. Such as Schofield (2011) and Tahir (2015) state that such Colonial approaches were adopted to counter such ethnocentric separatist movement. Siddiqi (2008), Wirsing (1991) and Zahab (2016) presenting similar views comment that such attempts were a counter narrative for displacement of Pashtunistan movement. Similarly, other contesting studies that ignores the very politicization of ethnicity and romanticizing of colonial stereotyping and blaming poor governance and policymaking. For example, (see Shukla, 2015; Taj, 2011; Jones & Fair, 2010; Hussain, 2010; Davis, 2011; Ahmad 2013; Nawaz 2009; Gul, 2010 and Alavi, 1991). While for romanticizing of Pathan culture “Pakhtunwali” (see Barfield 2004, 2010; Anderson, 1979, 1980; Johnson, 2011; Elphinstone, 1839; Johnson, 2011; Caroe, 1958; Banarjee, 2000; Barfield, 2010 and Bartlotti, 2000).

1.1.7 Exploitation of empathetic interdependencies

The very so-called empathetic interdependencies of Afghan and Pathan identities are nothing but political. Afghanistan’s Pathan identity politics are one of the significant factors contributing to identity crisis. Upon relationships of Pathans and Afghanistan state, scholars and academics like (Qaiyum, 1945; Caroe, 1958; Banarjee, 2000; Siddique, 2014; Jasins, 2012; Monsutti, 2013, among others) claim that these are only political as the government and its legitimacy was merely Kabul centric and had no control or access to tribal regions whatsoever.

The Afghan government only had political access to such regions on the basis of ethnic empathies for their mobilization against any foreign threat. Where upon such empathetic interdependency Keohane (1990) not only suggested to take empathy seriously but how such empathetic interdependence plays a vital role in “subordinate role” to rational interests. Which pretty much puts the ad hoc collaboration of Afghan rulers and Pathans into a perspective. While Rorty (1993) further elaborating argues that such empathies in terms of “The emergence of the human rights culture seems to owe nothing to increased moral knowledge and everything to hearing sad and sentimental stories” (cited in Rubin (2003)). And it was/is this empathetic interdependency dilemma that Afghanistan politicizes for not only political but strategic gains in the form of culture.

Internalization of colonial stereotypes and romanticizing of Pathan culture were not only the reasons behind the very negotiations for keeping the special status of erstwhile FATA intact but contemporary demise of Pathan. As Waltz (1979) argues that “a self-help system is one in which those who do not help themselves, or who do so less effectively than others, will fail to prosper, will lay themselves open to dangers, will suffer” (cited in Lebow, 2005). Further elaborated by Crawford (2018) stressing on the role on perceptions, world politics and politicization of identities, emphasized that the very core concept of a security dilemma depends on perceptions of intention, not reality. Because the defensive actions of one group may be perceived as offensive by another group. Which are very much obvious in Pathan interpretation of Pakistan and military interventions against insurgency and terrorism.

It is the very political gullibility of Ethnicity and identity politics that makes them insecure and complex. As Tapper (1988) argues that the very description of “ethnic groups” are political acts to create directives and/or enable control, whether for theoretical or constitutional purposes. As Monsutti (2013) notes that with the adoption of ethnic and tribal interpretation of society and conflict by Afghanistan government, the older themes of ethnicity and tribalism

received a new lease of life, carrying risk of reifying identities and conflating tribal belonging with political affiliation. Sen (2007) claims that “identity can be a complicated matter”. Further claiming that sharing an identity with another group merely exacerbate complications. Upon such identity complications and attribution, Maalouf (2003) claims that identity cannot be compartmentalized. Where this politicization of Pathan identity and description in terms of tribal traditionalism and/or cultural invasion is flawed because it is pervaded by power relations.

Where such misperception and misrepresentation of cultural invasion hampered the very integration of Pathans into mainstream society. As Lebow (2005) puts it that with conception of new institutions, a wide range of informal social practices emerge, that foster cooperation through shaping the discourse of a culture, by alteration of the way people think, feel and perceive their relations to others. Then why this ostensible neglect or blunder that entirely contradicts the dominant ontology? and it was this neglect and/or blunder by erstwhile FATA elites that resulted in alienation of Pathans, promoting frontier anxieties rather than cultural assimilation.

Frontier anxieties either perceived or reality had/has been the real concern for Pakistan, in case of infiltration of not only militants and insurgents but anti-state elements. As Ahmed (2011) elaborating on the paranoia of frontiers expressed that “To the center of any empire, the frontier is a site of anxiety, potential harm and barbarians who could be marching towards the gate of civilization. The imperial imaginations of the medieval Arab dynasties, the colonial British, and now the United States have been dominated by this anxiety”. And similarly, for Pakistan when militants and insurgents group in Afghanistan infiltrated erstwhile FATA frontiers and founding safe havens and support. As Salaman (2012) argues that the infiltration of such foreign fighters not only resulted in emergence of various Pathan militant factions but further

exacerbated the situation. Which resulted in not only further social distancing of Pathans but identity proofing.

1.2 Colonial stereotypical discourse, romanticizing and internalization

Social identities and discourse are not only context based but socially constructed. It is this social construction of not only Pathan identity but stereotypical discourse either negative or positive that needs an in-depth analysis for exploring Pathan enigma. As Wilde (cited in Sen, 2007) claims “Most people are other people”, “Their thoughts are someone else’s opinions, their lives a mimicry, their passions a quotation.” Where Maalouf (2003) claims that text affects reality only through the viewership, and these are certain phrases and skims over others that we dwell upon, without taking them in. Therefore, the exploration of colonial discourse is very much necessary to understand Pathan identity crisis.

Upon such colonial discourse assigned to Pathan identity Banerjee (2000) illustrated that “the British imperialists’ imagery and appraisal of the colonial ‘other’ shifted significantly from moralizing eagerness, curiosity and open mindedness into a bitterly judgmental and negative view”, while Titus (1998) comments that such attitudes of Britons towards frontiersmen ranged from romanticized administration to utter revulsion. Upon which Lindholm (1980) suggests that such fluctuating of attitudes illustrate their political role on frontier. Caroe (1958) further elaborated that all the colonial depiction of Pathans was through a military mindset, whom neither had knowledge nor understanding of social realities. And for Anderson (1992) such ethnographies were produced by political administrators in the form of personal memoirs rather than academics. For Caroe (1958) that’s how tribal territory beyond Briton border was referred to as Ghairilaqa (unadministrable territory) or Yaghistan (the land of rebels). While Banarjee (2000) claims that by terming it as ‘no man’s land’, colonial powers in fact made it everyman’s land.

As Khan (1947) claims that Pathans are not easy to love, because they clamor a lot of knowing. They are the most complexed simple people. And it was this unknowing and misrepresentation that Beattie (2013) emphasizes that during the colonial period, “tribal” Pathans were subjected to various negative representations, advanced through military interventions and expeditions in the tribal regions. Which is very much evident in Starr (1920) description of Pathans stating that Pathan tribes are men without law and expert thieves, indulging in raids and looting. a strange mixture, hard to classify, morally unappealing, the only commonalities amongst Pathans are fanaticism and turbulence. While Oliver (1890) categorize them as splendid fighting animals, labelling them as murderers.

Elphinstone (1938) goes even one step further and claims that “Their voices are revenge, envy, avarice, rapacity and obstinacy.” Where Anderson (1992) comments that as “worthy opponents” in the beginning, became “treacherous” and “unpredictable” at the height of empire. While Gady (2015) quoting Churchill on his description of Pathans, “The tribesmen are among the most miserable and brutal creatures on earth. Their intelligence only enables them to be more cruel, more dangerous, more destructible than the wild beasts. And at another occasion stating that “there were still savages and barbarous peoples.” While Rashid (n.d.) presenting similar views claims that Pathans were labelled as revengeful, savage, uncivilized people.

Caroe (1957) presenting a sketch of Pashtuns they are just what one might picture the leader of such a people: an enormous man, with a head like a lion and a hand like a polar bear, a more splendid specimen of human nature in the rough I never saw. And then upon Mahsuds and Wazirs he states that Mahsuds are wolves and wazir as panther. Further emphasizing that both are splendid creatures, but the panthers are slier, sleeker and has more grace to it while the wolf pack is more purposeful, more united, and dangerous. While for Bellow (1980) Pathans are not fit to govern either themselves or others, and sadly wants a master.

As Titus (1998) states that the very formula of imperial powers to rule this region was “Rule the Punjabis, intimidate the Sindhis, buy the Pushtun, and honor the Baloch.” As Holdich (1901) depicting Pathan states that they are not easy to control because of their tribal organization, freedom from bigoted fanaticism and/or blind allegiances to his priest. Further commenting that Pathan is the worst type of republican, a law unto himself and warlike and predatory. While depicting his cunning war nature, he states “[T]he Pathan will make use of any stratagem or subterfuge that suits his purpose. He will shoot his own relations just as soon as his enemy, possibly sooner—and he will shoot them from behind.”

Where Hopkins (2015) comments that the invention of imperial authority along the North-West Frontier (erstwhile FATA) of British Raj, Pathans were also divided between the ‘civilized’ populating the cultured plains and the ‘wild tribes’ living in the hills. Further emphasizing that these tribes already immune to the depravity, had dangerous potential for politicization, latent in colonial as well as recent U.S. modernity and civilization attempts. Hanifi (2019) illustrates similar views states that these (often ethnographic) forms of colonial knowledge sat alongside geographical idioms, including a distinction between ‘highlander’ or ‘mountaineer’. Where such negative stereotypes stigmatized Pathan social identity, it also assigned political positive stereotypes which upon internalization had severe repercussions in the form of romanticizing their identity.

Such stereotypes are not only prevalent in mainstream society and literature but even within Pathan themselves. Where the tribal Pathans look down upon the urban, educated, and modern Pathans as hybrids, not only lacking honor but cultural values. and similar goes for urban Pathans who sees tribal Pathans as backward and violent. Where some of the Pathan proverbs such as ‘even if Afridi is your right hand, cut it off’, ‘where there is Mohmand, there is mess’, and so on, are evidence of internalization of colonial discourse.

As Rashid (n.d.) notes that the Orientalist discourse of Pashtun society as a wild land of 'unruly' and independent people, who could be neither conquered nor tamed by the invading armies, lauded as a martial race that would rather die for its Pakhtunwali (Pathan code of life) than submit to the will of alien power. And then there is the romanticizing of Alexander reference that states

“I am involved in the land of a lion like and brave people, where every foot of the ground is like a wall of street, confronting my soldier. You have brought only one son into the world, but everyone in this land can be called an Alexander.”

Where Caroe (1957) not only termed them as 'the men of Roh' but 'king makers'. Where Crile (2003) not only depicted them as brave, real freedom fighters, holy warriors, whom has been socialized to always stand up for the underdog but whose code of life is "live free or die fighting for freedom".

Such positive stereotypes have widely been internalized and perceived as proud identity attributes without giving a second thought about their politicization and/or romanticizing, making it a perfect tool of exploitation. Which does raise the question that why certain stereotypes are questioned as contextual constructs and other assimilated and glorified as genetic characters? Which highlights the internal contradictions of Pathan identity.

1.3 Statement of the research problem

Pathans and especially that of erstwhile FATA have been a center of violence and abrupt emergence of insurgency and radicalization throughout the history of Pakistan. Either in the case of Mujahideen/Taliban or Tehreek e Taliban Pakistan (TTP). Their vulnerability to insurgent groups as well as inbuilt association and developed links with terrorism have always been a security concern for not only state of Pakistan but regional and international community

as well. That with certain international and regional pressure led Pakistan security forces to intervene and carry military operations to not only bring it under state control but restore peace and security to the region. which resulted in mass exodus, disappearance, extrajudicial killings, distortion of socio-economic life world and collateral damages.

Military intervention for restoring peace and security within this region has not only been misinterpreted but misrepresented as a war against Pathans, resulting in emergence of PTM. This study primarily not only explores that how and why politicization of Pathan social identity led to profiling of Pathan identity but the very dominant colonial discourse. which on one hand assigned stereotypes to Pathan identity but on another romanticized and glorified socially constructed Pathan identity as genetic and mobilized it for political incentives. This study also explores that how internalization of such romanticized and glorified attributes has been the roots of Pathan identity crisis and negative social interaction.

Where on the part of PTM, this study not only explores its emergence as a social movement to de-construct and de-represent Pathan social identity but a critical analysis of its tactics and functioning. The study also explores the colonial craftsmanship of romanticized and glorified attributes assigned to Pathan identity and the repercussions of internalization of such attributes that are politically exploited whether by elites or foreign states.

The ignorance and negligence of contextual realities have significantly undermined Pathan social identity and cultural construction, recognition as well as representation through the parameters of depiction of singular and choiceless colonial identity. Therefore, with the help of theoretical framework of SIT, this study explores the more dynamic aspects of pluralistic social identities and how it can lead to de-construction and de-representation of Pathan identity.

1.4 Research objectives

The main objective of this study is to explore the repercussion of internalization of romanticized and glorified dominant narratives that is politically exploited and brought nothing

but plight and miseries upon Pathans by internal contradictions. Therefore, this study not only critically analyses the dominant narratives whether profiling through negative stereotypical discourse or glorification and romanticizing through internalization.

While at the same time, the very objective of this study is to not only explore the emergence of PTM as a non-separatist pacifist movement but critically analyze its tactics and dynamics that somewhat represents the same dilemma of internalized dominant discourse/narratives. The objective of this study is to analyze the emergence of movement through new social movement paradigm and social identity rather than indulge in political narratives (blame game) and/or challenge or counter the claims or arguments against PTM. The objective of critical analysis of PTM is to represent not only the circulation of flawed and misperceived colonial social construction in literature but misinterpretation in contemporary contextual realities.

1.5 Research questions:

To analyze the construction of Pathan social identity and culture, its politicization and profiling, that resulted in emergence of PTM as a non-violent social movement and its impacts within the security as well as social contexts of Pakistan, this study explores and revolves around these three main questions. The very objective of these questions is to not only explore but understand Pathan identity crisis.

What was the context under which a certain discourse was constructed, thus established, to interpret the Pathan – as an identity?

This question is mainly targeted to explore the colonial and post-colonial contextual realities under which certain aspects were ascribed to Pathan as a singular ethnocentric identity and what parameters were used to interpret this identity.

How internalization of romanticized and glorified socially constructed attributes and allegiances are politically exploited?

This second question is to explore the repercussions of dominant stereotypical discourse (positive as well as negative) and its impacts over Pathans and Pakistani society in terms of “war on terror”.

How the emergence of PTM can be understood - as a movement – to de-construct and re-present the image of Pathan for the wider public consumption, while challenging the attached ‘violent’ stigma and dominant narratives?

As Tajfel (1974) says “It is only when one views his plight from the contextually rich ‘outside world’ that the information he is offered seems trivial”. And therefore, this question explores the social interaction in terms of cultural diffusion that resulted due to political opportunities created by military intervention that put not only dominant narratives but profiling of Pathans to question. It is social interaction that not only highlighted the flawed glorified and romanticized external honors not only socially unacceptable but demonized. The very evaluation of social identity is dependent on social interaction and through the lenses of generalized others. These generalized others not only make who we are but determines our social recognition. As for Tajfel (1974) “the battle for legitimacy, is a battle for the acceptance by others of new forms of intergroup comparison. If these are not consensually accepted, the new characteristics (or the re-evaluation of the old ones) cannot be fully adequate for reconstruction of social identity. This is to understand that how PTM as a social movement is a struggle for reconstruction of this new identity that is positively evaluated and accepted by others to acquire attributes that Pathans were previously perceived deemed not to possess.

1.6 Research significance:

Literature review of Pathans and their stereotyping not only highlights the knowledge gap of contextual realities but also the elitism factor in such social construction of the perceived romanticized/glorified and demonized socio-political identity of Pathans. The very victimization of Pathan identity is not only a repercussion of the perceived Afghan genealogy

but glorification and/or misinterpreted past. Albeit much has been written in academic, scholarly, and biographic accounts over the violent nature and untamed identity of Pathans and glorious past, there is a huge conceptual as well as knowledge gap in the social paradigm. And that is why this study not only challenges the very misconception of Afghan identity and glorious past that has been dominant in historical as well as contemporary studies, through the theoretical framework of SIT but critically analyses the repercussions of internalization of socially constructed contextual identity and culture, by exploring the dynamics of pluralistic aspects of contemporary socio-political identity of Pathans.

Secondly the generalization of peculiar knowledge and interpretation of Pathan identity is mostly attributed to their flawed social system and way of life. But such misinterpretation and misrepresentation do raise questions over the reliability of the social knowledge and personal contested understanding of the scholars and academics. Where most of whom have tried to stick to the popular constructed knowledge pool and neglect the very visible benevolence of social identities in a particular social contexts and politicization of Pathan identity. As Monsutti (2013) claims that such knowledge production went hand in hand with power. Because they were not only a part of imperial enterprise but involved in imperial rivalries as well. Which Inayatullah (2014) terms as “exclusive knowledge” where such scholars and academics, claimed they not only knew but better understood these regions and people. And thus, resulted in circulation and re-production of colonial knowledge rather than critical analysis of the very internal contradictions of Pathan identity. Which not only led to misperceptions and misinterpretation but misrepresentation in dominant discourse.

As Sen (2007) criticizing this singular identity dimensional interpretation of certain ethnic groups and events, emphasize on the multi-identity dimensional conceptual and knowledge gap, that hinders the true depiction of socio-political identity, particularly in case of Pathans. The very emphasize on multi-dimensional interpretation of social actions is significant,

because of construction of social interaction within a particular social setting, where literature of Pathans lags drastically. Social identities not only evolve and transform in certain social settings, but a person can be associated with multiple identity at a time.

It is this social specific contextual knowledge construction and generalization that this study explores and questions the legitimacy of such knowledge in contemporary contextual realities. This study is mainly focused on the objective interpretation of socially constructed knowledge and its repercussions over Pathan social identity that has been first handedly experienced. Generalized others through Social interactions do not define who we are but give meaning to every single action that is interpreted under already socially constructed and prejudice discourse. Playing a significant role in not only our perception and interpretation but in our approach towards others.

It is this understanding of social realities that this study is exploring through NSM paradigm in the subjectivity of Pathans and evaluation of their social identity through their interaction with the outside world.

Contrary to the populace discourse, this study is mainly focused on the non-violent social movement that defies every single odd and how this social movement is trying to de-construct and re-represent their group identity, that will be positively evaluated and accepted by the outside world free of internal contradictions.

Secondly, there is a significant lack of academic research on the literature of mass mobilization and social movement dynamics that this study explores through social identity framework and new social movement paradigm. Social identity theory not only highlights the flawed singular identity attributions and internalization of stereotypes but provides different analysis dynamics in terms of pluralistic social identity.

1.7 Research design and methodology:

1.7.1 Research design

Silverman (2005) defines research design as those choices that a Researcher follow concerning the methods and tools used for data collection, analysis, and interpretation (cited in Yousaf, 2017). Where Makki (2015) comments that such choices of methodology are “crucial to developing an appropriate research design, sampling process, and data analysis”. While Marvasti (2004) categorizes such choices as theoretical research questions, sampling and data collection and analysis and lastly, conclusion.

1.7.2 Methodology

Research methodology refers to the methods that a study employs to conduct it (Bryman, 2012).

This study employs a case study method of qualitative approach methodology to not only explore but gain an in-depth understand of Pathan profiling and emergence of PTM. This study options for qualitative approach because according to Marvasti (2004) qualitative approach not only focuses on the reflexive reciprocal relationships between theoretical framework and methodology but the fluid and interactive nature of social interactions, a recurring theme at every step of the research. Furthermore, qualitative research has not only the potential to be more rigorous theoretically but provision of comprehensive description and analysis. It provides detailed description and analysis of the quality of social interaction within contexts. As Bamberger (1999) elaborates that it is this emphasize, over the role of socio-cultural contextual realities that makes qualitative approach significant. As Mason (1996) states that it comprehends our understanding of social world life and its interpretation (cited in Makki, 2015). And the very objective of this study is to critically analyze such social construction in terms of social interaction and contexts through subject-object consciousness. Which according to Bryman (2012) is seeing through the eyes of people studied.

Why case study methodology? This study opts for case study because PTM is not only understudied case in terms of academic studies but widely misunderstood and misperceived case. Therefore, it requires a very in-depth analysis to understand not only its emergence but functioning, tactics, and operationalization of goal attainments. As Bryman (2012) claims that Case study entails a detailed and intensive analysis of a single case, which in this case is PTM.

1.7.3 Secondary data collection

This study primarily adopts secondary sources for data collection to gain an in-depth understand of erstwhile FATA, Pathan social identity, stereotyping, and social movements. through semi-structured interviews. Therefore, secondary data was reviews for initial understanding of the broader contexts and social movements. the review of secondary data mainly relied on academic journals, research articles, opinion based new paper articles and books that are accessible online. Academic researches and articles are mainly obtained from JSTOR, SAGE Journals, google scholar, Pdf drive, academia, Research gate while online newspapers including major Pakistani newspapers (The News, Dawn, Tribune, Daily times, the Diplomat and The Express Tribune) as well as international ones (The New York times, Reuters, the Guardians and Aljazeera). These all were selected for gathering as much data as possible for theoretical conceptualization keeping resource availability and online open access in mind about erstwhile FATA related literature and NSMs that helped to understand the emergence of PTM and different social identity dynamics. Secondary data review also helped in devising semi-structured interviews. But due to the lack of academic studies and scholarly articles about PTM, this study heavily depended on primary sources for filling the knowledge as well as conceptual gap.

1.7.4 Primary data

Primary data has been collected through semi-structured interviews. Because according to Lindlof and Taylor (2002) “interviews are the best means of determining another person ‘s

perspective as they enable a researcher to interact directly with a participant” (as cited in Makki, 2015). While according to Bryman (2012) qualitative interviewing, has much greater interest in the interviewee’s point of view, because the researcher requires rich and detailed answers. Therefore, qualitative interviewing tends to be flexible, responding to the direction of interviewees resulting in emergence of significant issues in the course of interviews.

This study opts for semi-structured interviews to follow a script to a certain extent, having a list of questions that specifies the issues in consideration. Which Bryman (2012) refers to as an interview guide. But this does not mean that interviewees are bound by it. It is the clear focus of this study on the emergence on PTM and de-construction and re-presentation that this study opts for semi-structure interviews, rather than general notions.

The rationale behind selection of war-torn erstwhile FATA region and PTM movement is, their significant contradiction with the dominant discourse. Erstwhile FATA has been only the epicenter of violence, extremism, and terrorism but emergence of PTM. As Bourdieu (1992) states that to analyze such events, one should not adopt typical subjective interpretational patterns but try to understand such events from their perspectives, what is it that they want to achieve and how and why they want to achieve it. Therefore, he calls for Objectification of subjectivity to understand how they are behaving and why are they behaving the way they are. But for such evaluation and understanding one must understand their perception in unprejudiced manners.

10 semi-structured interviews have been conducted for the purpose of this study.

1.7.5 Theoretical framework

Tajfel’s Social identity theory (SIT) is the main theoretical framework of this study. Because it not only helps in understanding the very development of in-group and out-group contestation but construction of stereotypical identities and how they are internalized through social categorization. where according to Jenkins (2008) social categorizations are not only the means

of division of labor and assignment of certain stereotypical roles to in-groups and out-groups but they are so dominant that they become truism and the very social category starts analyzing oneself in terms of such categorization and role assignment. which remains the best framework for understanding internal contradictions of Pathan social identity, where on one hand, they not only provided and supported insurgent groups but on another, PTM claims to be anti-terrorism and anti-war movement.

This theoretical dimension not only helps to understand the assignment of certain negative stereotypical attributes to Pathan identity but how this categorization, through internalization has led to their proneness towards violence. As Sen (2007) quoting Wilde, claims “Most people are other people”, “Their thoughts are someone else’s opinions, their lives a mimicry, their passions a quotation.” Where Vygotsky (1978) emphasized that language and conceptual schemes are social construction and knowledge is not only constructed but co-constructed as well. And it is this social construction of not only language but conceptual schemes that this study is interested to analyze in terms of PTM. As Schonwald (2013) notes that Stereotypes are opinions and probability judgments, tapped into “socially shared structures of knowledge” and can be dangerous, particularly when used to justify behavior towards members of other groups. Therefore, SIT is not only suitable theoretical approach for this study but provides the very dynamics of such stereotypical social interactions within a socio-cultural context.

As for Eriksen (2001) social collective identities not only can be constructed out of thin air but are significantly connected to people’s personal experiences within social structure. They are not only relational but contextual as well and only a few garners such collective mobilization that they become capable of challenging power and contesting identities. It is these dynamics of identity politics that this study tried to explore and understand that why now, PTM is so actively seeking self-recognition and striving for out group perceptual changes?

1.7.6 Data Categorization and Analysis

After the completion of field work and data collection in the form of recording on cell phone. It was categorized into different themes, clustered around the research questions. According to Stake (1995) and Yin (1995) suggestions the peripheral concepts were excluded and research relevant thematized concepts were picked for supporting the thick portrayal of the case. which helped to analyze the data according to theoretical concepts and research questions, helping in structuring the data, particularly gathered from semi-structured interviews. With the help of theoretical and conceptual comparison of data to the relevant literature a coherent link, is established between the gathered data and theoretical framework.

1.7.7 Research limitations

Due to the current pandemic situation and the controversial nature of PTM, this study faced several hurdles and limitations in the form of participation or engagement in constructive communication. Where most of the sampling population that of erstwhile FATA was not only inaccessible due to country wide lockdown and curfews, but the very reservations of participants to take part in it because of the misperception that this study is trying to infiltrate their circle or would expose them to social control agencies. And where a few who were perusing this study on their own, when contacted through personal social capital, either refused to share their data or rejected participating in this study because of their professional and/or ethical obligation and on some instances they were banned from further perusing their study. Therefore, due to the sensitivity of time and space, this study had relied on limited interviews. Secondly, the current pandemic (COVID-19) due to nationwide shut down, lock down and curfews significantly, obstructed access to other resources. Therefore, this study had to work on the limited data available either in the form of research journals, research articles and/or newspapers opinion-based articles to make assessment of PTM. Inaccessibility of academia as

well as online paid or restricted access articles had been a significant factor in limited data collection.

The lack of academic research over PTM for whatever reason was the very prominent factor in opting for opinion-based articles and newspaper reporting. This study has been really, a roller coaster ride, not only in terms of health concerns but data availability, resources and emotionally.

1.8 Chapters outline

This section of the chapter provides an overview of the chapter's categorization and summary of the contents.

1.8.1 Chapter one: Introduction

This research chapter provides an introduction and analysis of the contemporary contextual realities of Pakistan generally and erstwhile FATA specifically. While further advancing in the chapter, an overview and analysis of the colonial discourse and their contextual realities is presented, leading to post 9/11 "war on terror". Then proceeding to the dramatic alternation of national as well as international narratives resulting in internal contradictions and identity crisis of Pathan.

1.8.2 Chapter two: Literature review

In chapter presents a detailed analysis of NSM paradigm and significance of social movements in terms of public policy reform, their dynamics of mobilization and participation, networking, and involvement of 'new middle class'. Further leading to social movement analysis of PTM.

1.8.3 Chapter three: Theoretical framework

This chapter not only presents the theoretical frameworks for this study but justification for opting such theoretical frameworks.

1.8.4 Chapter four: Critical analysis of PTM

This chapter not only presents a comprehensive account of in-depth but critical analysis of PTM in the light of thematical analysis of data.

1.8.5 Chapter five: Conclusion

In this chapter a on the basis of gathered data and thematical as well as theoretical analysis conclusions of this study are presented.

1.8.6 References

This chapter includes all the references used for conduction of this study.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Social movements have always been a crucial part of social change, either in latent or manifested forms in every single significant historical occurrence, imposing challenge to power or societal structure and/or dominant doctrine. The emergence of different religions either in the form of social movements or counter movements have always been a prominent examples of such collective actions seeking some sort of social change by establishing either new social identities (Christians, Muslims, Jews, Hindu etc.) or by mobilizing a particular aspect of pluralistic identity dynamics (Protestants, Catholics, Black and White, Sunni, Shia, Muslims, non-Muslims, East, West, North and South etc.). It was only the advancement in social sciences that brought them into the public domain and categorized them depending on their contextual realities. As Plotke (1996) commented that Movements are valuable not only because of their exploratory, uncertain, and unpredictable elements but by raising new questions, and recognizing and defining injustices. As defined by Blumer (1969) “Social movements can be viewed as collective enterprises seeking to establish a new order of life. They have their inception in a condition of unrest and derive their motive power on one hand from dissatisfaction with the current form of life, and on the other hand, from wishes and hopes for a new system of living. The career of a social movement depicts the emergence of a new order of life” (cited in Crossley, 2002).

The very scholastic accounts of prominent philosophers, to name a few like Socrates, Plato, and/or Aristotle, all have been social activists one way or the other. They all tried to bring about a new order of life by challenging intellects and opening them up to unimaginable realities and interpretations. Ibn-e- Khaldun in the 14th century, had reported numerous accounts of social distinctions and their categorizations but it was August Comte in the 19th century, also known as the founding father of political movements (Bourdeau et al., 2018), whom started interpreting movements through sociological lenses. As Traugott (1978) puts it “Social

movements have long held a fascination for analysts of society”. Social movements, having enormous potential for violence, and capable of profoundly transforming the social order, apparently, often arrive unannounced. Independent of their organizing principle, social movements, demand the attention of anyone who wish to understand the process of conflict resolution and effect large-scale change.

Expressing similar views Rubin (2003) claims that Social movements have clearly been a crucial factor in the implementation of human rights. For example, the last address of Holy Prophet Hazrat Muhammad (PBUH), 1400 years ago is the best example of not only the declaration of equal human rights but strive to reform already constructed stereotypical identities and eradication of discrimination. Where Lindisfarne (2012) claims that “some familiar universalizing discourses - which emphasize similarity and downplay difference - are inspired by Islam, others by Christianity. Yet others, including Marxism, derive from Enlightenment accounts of human potential”.

Such popular mobilizations had direct influence over regimes to recognize human rights. Further claiming that social movements have played an equally central role in the theory of human rights. The very evolution of the core concept of human rights and protection associated with them are the contribution of social movements. Resulting in the developing recognition of governments certain restraints in the treatment of their citizens. That later, at the end of eighteenth century were incorporated into the natural rights tradition and led to Human rights theory. The practical examples are the freedoms of speech and religion (toleration), prohibition of slavery and torture. These all are deeply rooted in the civic humanism of the Renaissance and religious fanaticism of the Reformation.

On the emergence of such social movements and their expanding scope and significance Brym (2009) has commented that “Three hundred years ago, social movements were typically small, localized, and violent”. As the reach of the state grew and controlled almost every aspect of its

citizens, the scope and significance of the social movements grew as well. They became national and less violent, directing themselves towards central governments rather than local targets. Where Tilly (1978) have expressed similar views stating that as social movements grew in size, recruited literate participants and with advancement in mass media and communication channels, they not only became well organized but stabilized and became sufficiently powerful enough to achieve their goals without resorting to extreme measures.

2.1 Stages of Social movements

While Brym (2009) identified four stages in social movement processes. First the struggle against the kings for civil citizenship in the eighteenth century. Social movements often used their power to expand the rights of citizens, free speech, religious freedom, and lawful justice. Second working class (proletariats) struggle against bourgeois for political citizenship, the right to vote and official status in the nineteenth century. Thirdly, the succession of struggle of women and working class for political citizenship, right to vote and economic security. As Marshall (1965) terms it the struggle for political as well as civil citizenship by means of the creation of modern welfare state. And lastly, as Melucci (1980) puts it, the emergence of new social movements (NSM) in early twentieth century. As Brym (2009) comments the newness of these new social movements is the diffusion of goals, recruit mobilization and their global potential. While, further comments that “New social movements are also novel because they attract a disproportionately large number of highly educated, well-to-do people from the social, educational, and cultural fields: teachers, professors, journalists, social workers, artists, actors, writers, and student apprentices to these occupations”.

On the globalization potential of new social movements Spilerman (1970) comments that new social movements possess more potential for globalization than old social movements. In the 1960s, social movements were typically national in scope, and perceived their problems could be only solved by the federal government (Brym, 2009). Where Brym (2009) further

emphasizing the significance of globalization of NSM, states that during the emergence of NSM, there were 110 international social movement organizations. While Forty years later, there were 631. Where Smith (1998) further elaborates that most of NSM, are human rights organizations and other environmental organizations. While Brym (2009) on the very emergence of NSM, states that Western countries (more particularly rich countries of North America, Western Europe, Australia, New Zealand, and Japan) estimated to be only 15% of the world, were the center of emergence of these NSM, which sought broadening of democracy through the expansion of citizenship rights. While the “other 85 percent” of the world (Asia, Africa, and South America) that was still weak not only economically but politically and militarily resulted in colonization, resulting in suppression and subjugation and thus resulting in failure to muster up any resistance neither in terms of civil nor political citizenship. And because of the dependency of small and weak bourgeoisie or influential leaders in these countries, democratic ideals were either unacceptable or had little chance to sink deep roots, thus failing to muster up any social movement.

Due to the evolution of globalization and mass communication in the twentieth century, NSM had significant spillover effects and resulted in resentment, resistance, and revolts against imperialism and led to independence movements (Brym, 1980; Wolf, 1999). Where Brym (2009) further emphasized that religion was a key factor in anti-imperialist sentiment. For example, the Khilafat movement played a significant role in the mobilization of Muslim world in the name of Muslim identity. And as a result, in 1928, “Muslim Brotherhood Movement” in Egypt was formed that challenged not only western values and imperialistic domination but urged for a return to Quranic teachings and demanded Egypt to become an Islamic state. And as a spillover, in Asia, not only the nationalism was promoted but resulted in demanding a separate state for Muslims in the form of Pakistan (Niemeijer, 1972). Where Worth (2001) further commenting on the universal spillover consequences of NSM, states that there is a clear

pattern of intellectual influence and development leading from the early Muslim Brothers to Osama bin Laden. While Brym (2009) further elaborates that Al-Qaeda an extremist movement, one of its kind, is one of these intellectual influences and developments is based on the desires of restoring independence and dignity that they lost when industrialized world showed up on their doorstep uninvited. While Lindisfarne (2012) claims that the abolition of slavery in Western countries, was in fact due to the spillover effects of Evangelical movement and the abolitionist movement.

2.2 Interpretational dynamics

Throughout the history, social identity has always been a prominent aspect of social movements, be it revolutionary movements, class movements or new social movements. As defined by Tajfel (1974), social identity is “that part of an individual’s self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the emotional significance attached to that membership”. In the light of this definition, class is a social identity just like race, ethnicity, nationalism, and many to name. As Crossley (2002) comments that “the question of interpretation is just the sort of Pandora's box”, and it is this Pandora’s Box that has brought every aspect to social movements depending on the personal experience and understanding of scholars. But ruling social identity out of so-called old movements because they were merely for economic gains or some political dominance is not only faulty but ill interpreted as well. And that is why Crossley (2002) claims that social Movements not only problematize the ways of social life but “call for changes in our habits of thought, action and interpretation”. Because they, in themselves are the very basic manifestation of social change.

2.3 Distinctive features of NSMs

On the fascination of Social movements Traugott (1978) comments that they frequently arrive unannounced and not only have significant potential for violence but are capable of profound

social transformation. Further stating that social movements' dynamics of conflict resolution and social change are lurking in themselves. They not only occur outside the already existing institutional frameworks of routine life but defy the familiar web of ordered expectations. The degree of their internal order, purposeful alignment and organizational potential empower them to challenge established institutions for social reforms. Of course, it could be true both ways, for social movements as well as counter movements. The twentieth century ideological and social identity interpretation of social movements not only changed the scope of such social movements but provided a whole new paradigm. According to Eyerman (1984) and Olofsson (1988) social theories failed to provide a better explanation to Contemporary movements, because they saw the working class as the site of revolutionary protests. As Fuchs and Plass (1999) elaborates that the ideology dimension is much more aggressive than the truth one. Because a shared ideology not only unites the networks of its adherents, but it also kindles them against competing or counter ideologies. And as a result, to this flawed interpretation and weakly adopted social theoretical paradigm, social theorists adopted a completely new paradigm for social movements and started to term them "new social movements", better equipped with multi exploration tools and different interpretational skills.

According to Eriksen (2001) the term 'new social movements' is a cluster of movements that emerged out of the student movement of the 1960s. The "New" Social Movement (NSM) paradigm a recent addition to social theory not only stresses on the Macro but micro historical analysis of social movements. On the macro level, the NSM paradigm concentrates on the relationship between the rise of contemporary social movements, the economic structure, and its cultural dimensions. While On the micro level, the NSM paradigm is concerned with issues of identity and personal behavior. Along with historical visions it also provides a sociopolitical environment, that how individuals not only fit into it but response to it and strive to change it (Pichardo, 1997). According to Olofsson (1988) the central claims of the NSM paradigm are,

that they are not only a product of transitional postindustrial economy but their uniqueness from the movements of the industrial age. Thus, the emergence NSM paradigm marked the beginning of a fourth stage in the history of social movements, that not only promoted universal citizenship but inclusive citizenship rights to society (Roche, 1995; Turner, 1986).

Different studies emphasize that their demands are believed to have been transitioned from the instrumental issues of industrialism to the quality of life issues of post materialism (Inglehart, 1990; Parkin, 1968). Similar claims have been made by Melucci (1981) that NSMs are, qualitatively unique. While Raising concerns over the exclusiveness of counter movements Boggs (1986) states that where NSM paradigm claims to explain left-wing movements of the modern age, the focus is mainly on movements like "urban social struggles, the environmental or ecology movements, women's and gay liberation, the peace movement, and cultural revolt linked primarily to student and youth activism".

While contradictorily Plotke (1996) claims that two major changes have occurred over the last decade that reshaped the political context for social movements. First, the very political composition of the main movements has altered, becoming more inclusive and multi-dimensional. Collaborating with other movements for expanding their network. For example, the collaboration of civil rights, feminist, and gay movements and similarly as a response the collaboration of counter movements like anti-abortion, religious and anti-homosexuality movements, and their interpretation of social movements as a reformed version of the left tradition. While Secondly, the rise of pro-democratic, anti-statist movements that are strongly committed to marking off social and private spheres, away from the state and separate from normal politics. Thus, challenging the very questions of conventional views of social movements. Further elaborating the significance of social movements, the author claims that the very aim of social movement is to weaken social domination and increase social and private autonomy. Emphasizing that "Social movements have normative as well as distributive aims,

they seek to change the criteria by which decisions about recognizing value and allocating resources are made”.

Some NSMs, such as the peace movement, the environmental movement, animals’ right movement and the human rights movement, are universally inclusive, promoting the rights of not specific groups but of humanity to peace, security, and standard life. While other, such as the women’s movement, the gay rights movement, and ethnic movements, promote the rights of groups that have been excluded from full social participation. These exclusive group movements have fought for laws that eliminate all forms of discrimination based on gender, ethnicity, and sexual orientation (Adam, Duyvendak, and Krouwel, 1999).

Where the latest social movements such as “Black lives matter (BLM)”, “Pashtun Tahafuz movement (PTM)”, “Kurdish Movement”, “Kashmir Freedom movement”, “Khalistan movement”, “Me Too movement” and “Palestinian movement” to name a few are typical examples of such exclusive and group specific movements fighting against socially constructed stereotypical identities, recognition and representation. But their exclusiveness does not mean that they are not unique or universal in their nature. The very politics of their identity have transcended national as well as social boundaries, globally recognized and supported. Upon this universal impact of NSMs Brym (2009) comments that it is due to the ease with which people in various social movements could travel and communicate with like-minded activists from other countries and gather mass support either in the form of resources or participation.

NSMs have not only different meaning making for the activists and participants but for social scholars and researchers alike. For example for Traugott (1978) NSMs are anti-institutional, their emergence is extra institutional not only outside the bourgeois public sphere but rooted in civil society (Boggs,1986) while for Evers (1985) their newness is transformational potential from political to socio-cultural values, where for Offe (1985) their values center on autonomy and identity. Further elaborated by Kauffman (1990) presenting similar views comments that

identity claims are their most distinctive feature, centered upon quality of life (Touraine, 1971), claiming it to be a radical departure on their level of reflexivity and transformation of locus and stakes of the struggles, which is fought on symbolic and identity levels (Kauffman, 1990). While Rubin (2003) further elaborating on their transformation comments that they stress upon issues of identity, participation, and quality of life rather than economic matters, calling it "liberation" of the civic sphere.

While according to Cohen (1983), Gusfield (1994) and Melucci (1994) their ideologically uniqueness is their "self-reflexive character", constantly questioning the meaning of what is being done, through their potentiality of making not only power visible but due to their expressive dimensions (Rubin, 2003). Where Crossley (2002) citing Gorz (1982) elaborates that their very aim is "not to seize power in order to build a new world, but to regain power over their own lives by disengaging from the market rationality of productivism". "If the modern 'problem of identity is how to construct an identity and keep it solid and stable, the postmodern 'problem of identity' is primarily how to avoid fixation and keep the options open" (Bauman, 1996).

Further commenting on the issues of social construction Crossley (2002) states that culture, knowledge, and identity, are social products and they can be reproduced. Therefore, NSMs are focused upon issues of representation, recognition and other cultural or symbolic stakes. As Melucci (1985) notes they push toward the renewal of cultures, languages, habits. While for Habermas (1988) they fight against "the colonization of the life world" and for its reconstruction. Further elaborated by Blumer (1969) they generate potentiality to challenge old habits of thought and develop new ways of thinking and acting. Their very aim is to change public perceptions, media, and cultural representations, where legal and big "P" political change may have either marginal or instrumental role, if any at all in their struggle. Which McAdam (1999) termed as "cognitive liberation", through strategic subversion, a process of

reconstructing identity through de-legitimizing its rivals' identities (Gurbuz, 2016), and ways of self-change (Crossley, 2002). Seeking policy changes by what Meyer (2003) termed as "politics by other means", centered upon educating and mobilizing activists and participants, thereby promoting awareness and action that extends beyond the boundaries of one movement or campaign. Further claiming that "Activists make history, but they do not make it just as they please. In fighting one political battle, they shape the conditions of the next one".

NSMs have normative as well as distributive aims, seeking to change the criteria of decision making about social recognition and resource allocation (Plotke, 1996). Where Thompson (2002) comments that NSMs highlight personal troubles as public issues through what Mills (1959) terms as "sociological imagination" (cited in Thompson, 2002) and advocate collective solutions (Carter,1997). Thereby acting as "pressure groups on behalf of people excluded from routine decision making and the dominant power structure and are crucial actors in bringing out social and political change" (Taylor, 2000).

2.4 New middle class and NSM

While emphasizing on the significance of NSMs' activists and participants Offe (1985) comments that they are highly educated, and this "disproportionately large number of highly educated, well-to-do people from the social, educational, and cultural fields: teachers, professors, journalists, social workers, artists, actors, writers, and student apprentices to these occupations" (Brint, 1984; Rootes, 1995 cited in Crossley, 2002) further elaborates on their participation, they claim that their higher education exposes them such radical ideas and makes them appealing. Secondly, their jobs are outside the bourgeois community, which often opposes their values. Thus, personally involving in such problems and even becoming advocates of social change, resulting in increased political activism through political efficacy due to already existing political distrust (Inglehart, 1985), which is the contemporary struggle

for democratization" (Cohen 1983). Where Ashmore and Jussim (1997) comments these issues and conflicts are discursive and can only be resolved in discourse.

One of the most significant factors of NSMs is public opinion, because it is the social legitimacy that their success or failure is dependent on, centered in civil society as their main concern is about questions of recognition, representation, and dominance through discourse. Where certain social movements are resonated as socially acceptable while others are stereotyped and opposed because of the dominant discourse that resonates in people perceptions but in mass media as well. Emphasizing on this factor researchers have not only categorized NSMs but researched inter as well as intra movement political dynamics. For example social movements like civil right movements, peace movements, anti-war movements, environmental movements, nuclear freeze movements and liberation movements have been globally hailed for their universal values and norms while social movements like abortion movement, Lesbian Gay Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) movements, anti-psychiatric or mental health movements, feminist movements, victim's rights movement and certain separatist or ethnic movements have/had their fair share of not only social unacceptability but stereotypical labeling.

2.5 Stereotyping Social Movements

As Crossley (2002) in his study of mental health issues, notes that such activists and participants were not only labelled as 'nutters' or 'schizos' and publicly disposed as violent and threatening. Where Thompson (2002) claims that homosexuals were/are labelled and stereotyped as mentally ill. While the pro-abortionists were/are labelled as unethical, immoral, sinful, and murderous while the ethnic and/or indigenous movement participants as freedom fighters, wholly warriors while at some instant's terrorists, radicals, fundamentalists etc. depending on their contextual realities. Where such labels and stereotypes are constructed to target movements related public opinions. As repercussions of such stereotyping not only

participants were hesitant to join but even other social movements were cautious about any coalition or association with such stereotypical movements. Resulting in failure of developing any social solidarity. Religious as well as political pressure groups were/are also one of the prominent factors in either social boycotting or total rejections and institutionalization of such movements.

For example the rejection of recent “Aurat march” in public sphere in Pakistani context is one of the best example where religious pressure groups and political agents not only initiated counter movement called “Haya march” but also by labelling it as immoral, liberal and anti-social norms and values. Where further Meyer (2003) claims that certain prominent presidential candidates in 1980s had to revise their prior support for abortion rights because of mass protests and fear of losing vote pool. Even certain counter movements (antiabortion movement) were developed to tackle their impacts if they had any at all. While Klatch (2004) comments that even civil rights movement as well as women rights movement parted their ways with LGBT movements because of stereotypes. Where in the same article citing Echols (1989) reports that many straight men and women parted their ways with the movement, because either the turmoil was too painful for them or to avoid being treated like second-class citizens in the public sphere. While Taylor (2000) citing Gamson (1992) noted that such social movements that are/were subordinated or excluded by restrictive state and social practices merge into a unified group that Meyer and Whittier (1994) termed as ‘consensual movements’ to act against common rival movements. But Gurbuz (2016) also claims that rival movements do not remain rival forever and when contextual realities change, their rival transforms into coalition.

2.6 NSMs Tactics

Social movements arise social settings and therefore use different tactics depending on socio-contextual realities. Depending on different arrays of possibilities, opportunities, and constraints, they may use media, courts, parliament, and/or any social/public spaces, which

they find adequately to address their issues and struggles (McCright and Dunlap, 2008). As they further elaborate that the success and failure of social movements is not only dependent on their goals but public opinion about such goals as well. Because mass mobilization is only possible if their message is properly conveyed. Where Rubin (2003) comments that NSMs tactics mirror their ideological orientation. As for Meyer (2003) NSMs are politics by other means. Because they may not only face certain restraints in certain legal arenas like the Media, Courts, and parliament, as they all either promote state interests or controlled by government. Therefore, social movements most of the time have been dependent on other public and social space tactics, such as protests, civil disobedience, marches, rallies, demonstrations, and social boycotts but one of the distinctions of NSMs is their non-violent approach. As D'Anieri et al. (1990) comment that conventional tactics such as party politics and lobbying remain marginal to their actions instead, they may adopt different unconventional tactics such as mass rallies, site occupations, sit ins. Similar views have been presented by Rubin (2003) claiming that NSMs not only adopts nontraditional tactics but also use the successful tactics of past social movements for example lobbying, boycotting elections, court cases, utilizing media etc.

Protests have been one of the prominent tactics of NSMs. As Brym (2009) notes that the wide scale protests by students in Europe, were the defining events that Tarrow (1994) terms as “cycle of protests”. While further sharing similar views on the reciprocity of social movements and protests Crossley (2002) states that Movements and protests occur with regularity, cluster in time, and occur with greater frequency amongst certain social groups in certain cultural areas. Commenting on their emergence and success Tarrow (1998) suggests that not only protests but social movements emerge and flourish with in transitional political opportunities. While Crossley (2002) further elaborates that according to stereotypical collective behaviorist, the objective hardships are not only necessary but sufficient cause of pretests and movement formation. But commenting on their impacts and success, he also notes that “protests by

oppressed and powerless groups may often need to be 'patronized' by middle-class elites if they are to succeed. Which resonates the importance of transitional socio-political opportunities. Protests are not only legal rights but means to raise concerns and voices about social issues. They are necessary tools of communication, awareness, mobilization, and networks expansion. It is through mass scale protests that NSMs seek changes in public policies. As Crossley (2002) notes that protests are practical representations of ideology and behavior that albeit 'harnesses aggressive impulses' but in controlled manners.

Where on the impacts of contemporary as well as classic social movement protests D'Anieri, Ernst and Kier (1990) reported that it was their impressive demonstrations and novel forms of direct action (road blocks, civil disobedience, social boycotts) that had not only direct policy agenda effects but forcing the government to acknowledge the problem and to address it. Where Meyer and Whittier (1994) have comprehensively detailed the protest impacts on American politics and policy change. Be it civil right protests, anti-war, feminist and/or LGBT. Protests have become a routine tactic of bring concerned authority attention to the issues at hand and to address them immediately. The recent protests of BLM, PTM, environmental and/or any civil society is nothing but a succession of previous successful attempts of resolving social issues. As Minkoff (1997) notes that it was the initiation of widespread "cycle of protest" by civil rights movement that not only created opportunities but shaped the trajectories of other activists and social movements, for example women rights movement, progressive students movement, and lesbians and gay men. While further emphasizing on such influences Tarrow (1991) states that it was the Protest by early risers that encourages protest by other participants because they signaled the potential vulnerability of elites to challenges. As Minkoff (1997) emphasizing on the civic sphere (where culture and identity reside) as an arena for protests, comments that NSMs tactics of engagement of civic sphere is they are most challenging and enlightening aspect.

Crossley (2002) citing Eisinger's (1973) paper in his book, suggests that protest channels these feelings in a potentially fruitful direction. As noted earlier, he believes that protest has an instrumental rather than an expressive form and that it 'harnesses aggressive impulses'. They feel aggrieved by the slowness of the political machine and find the pace of change intolerable. Their protest 'expresses' their 'impatience'. But further commenting that as social movements and collective actions are precisely communicative situations where emotions are hyped and channeled for productive outcomes. And that is why Interlocutors of such movements may persuade members to refrain from violence and adopt more constructive ways to persuade their goals.

2.7 NSM Networks

Humans are social being always living within groups or networks through social interactions. Self or social identity cannot exist apart from society because it is through these social interactions that self is constructed. As both Meads (1967) and Cooley (1902) have emphasized on the role of society in shaping the very perception of self through social interaction. For them, the perception of generalized others and society as termed "glass looking self", through social interaction not only construct but verify the self. Individuals' whole life is a struggle for social acceptance and recognition (cited in Brym, 2009). While Vico (1948) further elaborates that "many of our most important memories turn out to be social constructions" (cited in Lebow, 2005). Humans not only attach great emotional meanings to their representation but internalize those meaning to their daily life and thus become truism. Where Crossley (2002) emphasizing on this social aspect of construction claims that humans are historical beings, significantly affected and transformed by substantial life events.

Different contesting scholastic accounts emphasize on the role of Identity in social categorization and stereotypical roles assignment. Identity being a basic human need is pursued at any cost. Which is constructed through socialization, the most prominent aspect of not only

self but collective identity (Cunningham, 2001). As Lebow (2005) notes “We become who we are through close association with others”. While further commenting that external honor (that is the positive attributes of one’s identity and social recognition) accompanied by certain expectations and demands albeit a relational concept, means the most to us. And it is this external honor, when hurt, discredited, and/or questioned, results in social instability, inter group conflict and reactionary actions. And that is why, collective identity is mobilized when already existing definitions and values are acceptable no more.

Upon which Crossley (2002) elaborates that “The process of world building, in this respect, is a collective and collaborative venture achieved through human interaction”, mutual understanding and sense making. “If the modern ‘problem of identity’ is how to construct an identity and keep it solid and stable, the postmodern ‘problem of identity’ is primarily how to avoid fixation and keep the options open” (Bauman, 1996, cited in Eriksen, 2001). And that is why social movements emerge as informal networks, striving for cooperation and collective actions to change such stereotypical meaning attached to certain identities by reshaping the discourse and general perception, striving for changing the old ways of thing and develop new ones.

Porta and Diani (1999) define social movements as “informal networks, based on shared beliefs and solidarity, which mobilize about conflictual issues through the frequent use of various forms of protest”. This definition is important in two ways, first it gives us an aspect of informal networks and protests that are prominent tactics of NSM paradigm. And secondly the importance of shared beliefs, solidarity and social recognition that also resonate with SIT themes. According to Taylor (2000) social movements emerge in the everyday networks of activists and participants while Morris (1984) and McAdam (1995) notes that these informal networks are places where frequent and regular social interactions take place. And that is why Taylor (2000) claims that these are the everyday networks, where social movements are rooted.

Where people not only communicate on frequent and regular basis but develop close reciprocal affective ties through mutual recognition and meaning sharing. As DAS (1981) claims that “individuals who share similar experiences must come to realize, that their experiences are not unique but are shared by others who possess the same traits physical or social as they. This realization requires communication and exchange of information”. That resulting in network formation. And that is why Whittier (1995) and Melucci (1986) claim that NSMs networks are diffused and decentralized rather than political organizations.

Upon the diffusion and decentralized impacts of NSMs Meyer and Whittier (1994) notes that there are several factors that facilitates such diffusion. Firstly, personal social capital. Secondly, the mass media and thirdly, newly emerged social movements organizational density and lastly, social movement communities. Where Diani (1997) notes that social movement networks are complex and multifaceted. They consist of not only different types of networks but sub networks within as well. While further emphasizing on social capital claims that it can also be a prominent outcomes of movement activities. Such networks not only resource them but also produces other networks that will resource them as well. While Melucci (1986) elaborates that such networks play a significant role in keeping social movements alive and going in their latency phase. As Tilly (1978) calls it “Carnet” factor. Where people live together in close association and networks and are easily mobilized over issues of shared grievances because of their shared social category such as ‘blacks’, ‘Pathans’ or ‘tribal’ etc.

Klatch (2004) and McAdam (1988) claim that Peers are one of the significant factors in individual’s introduction into a movement, enlightening members about sociopolitical realities and developing social solidarity by transforming diversity and alienation into mutual sympathy. Which, Blumer (1997) calls *esprit de corps* (cited in Crossley, 2002). For Morris and Mueller (1992) personal links are very important in network formation. Friends are way too easy to mobilize than strangers. And similar findings are reported by McAdam (1988) in his study on

‘freedom summer’. He notes that students were not only successful recruits, but they also brought their friends into movement networks. While Crossley (2002) presents that primarily friends invite each other to participate in social movement activities, without even asking to believe in either cause or doctrine of the movement. But once integrated they become full members. Where Porta and Diani (1999) notes that churches and universities are one of the contexts where networks are developed. While on this expansion in size and network Morris and Mueller (1992) state that with different networks, social movements achieve different expertise and become even more powerful. Especially with the inclusion of this ‘new middle class’ that comprise highly educated, well-to-do people from the social, educational, and almost all fields of life.

But Taylor and Whittier (1992) notes that in early stages movements tend to keep their networks personal and exclusive to maintain solidarity and refrain infiltration, which they call “boundary maintenance,” which maintains we/they distinction and sustains collective identity. And when they become inclusive and their network expands, they become vulnerable as well. The universal and boundless aspect of NSMs transit not only group specific networks but national as well. As now certain national and international nongovernment organization (NGOs and INGOs) provide facilitation, resources but meaningful support as well. As Brym (2009) states there are 631 such organization because of the emergence of NSM paradigm while Smith (1998) notes that most of them are human rights organizations and other environmental. Which not only provide humanitarian assistance but legal and financial as well. As Riggs (1998) points out that “International recognition and policies clearly play an important role in movement’s success or failure. Illustrating that it was the international recognition that resulted in independence of Baltic States from the Soviet and made secession of Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina from Yugoslavia successful. Where the very creation of Pakistan was due

to international recognition, while the lack of similar international recognition is not only failing Kashmir freedom movement, Palestinian state establishment and Kurdish movement.

Expressing his expertise McAdam (1984) notes that dependency upon external resources and expertise can have significant impact on NSMs, because such dependency acquires leverage to steer such movements into pacifist directions by persuading them to tone down their aggression and adopt a more moderate form in their speeches. New members and networks bring their own ideas and goals into the movement and thus jeopardize the very existence of social movements by creating internal drifts.

Where such instants have been well reported by Meyer (2003) and Klatch (2004) in case of feminism when black women, abortionists and lesbians felt isolated or neglected and started their own movements. While similar scenario is reported in case of civil right movements when gays, bisexuals, mental patients, and aged people developed feeling of negligence and exclusion, resulting in their own indigenous movements. Where such claims are further supported by Pinel and Swann (2000) by noting that people who perceive that social movements are failing to provide them with self-verification become less committed to that social movement.

While Tarrow (1989) presenting similar views claims that despite their ideological commitments new recruits bring certain level of heterogeneity to the movement. Such heterogenic membership influences the likelihood of splits, which is inevitable in most cases. New recruits may even disagree with social movement tactics as they feel aggrieved by the slow pace of change and become intolerable, thus demanding more aggressive tactics. Upon which McAdam (1984) comments that extra movement networks are double edge sword, where they may facilitate social movements by injection of resources, but they may also hinder others to participate in movements. Secondly, this dependency over external resources may not only hinder social movements but exploit them for their purposes. Where Eriksen (2001) has also

explored this exploitative aspect of interdependency in his study as well. Especially in terms of diaspora.

2.8 NSMs and Neo media

The reciprocal ties between mass media and social movements are of great significance. NSMs being discursive and communicative in nature, striving for recognition and representation in public domain are greatly dependent on mass media especially in twenty first century. Mass media is not only a prominent institute of socialization but may facilitate social movements by providing a contestation field, source of publicity and mass mobilization, channels of communication, lobbying and counter narratives, addressing assigned stereotypical attributes, promote grievances and even facilitate network expansion. At the same time mass media may also hinder them by promoting dominant discourse, labelling movements, through negative representation and blocking communication, lobbying and representative channels. The role of mass media in social movement is also dependent on contextual realities.

As Mueller (1973) expresses that mass media can be used for both, maintenance of status quo and promoting change. Where Crossley (2002) presenting similar views, claims that mass media has played a significant role in movement formation either one way or another. It has been instrumental in enlightenment of civil society and developing socio-political consciousness. It heightens discontent and social change by rapid information diffusion and consequently acts as contagion. That is why not only movement and counter movements, but states as well try to control media. Where upon the role of media in maintenance of status quo, DAS (1981) notes that the very obstruction of communication channels practiced since slave owners' is one of the most prominent tactic of anti-change agents. Where in contemporary contexts such tactics could be observed in the form of curfews (banning any political or social activities), censoring news media and/or obstructing any sort of media coverage at all. Which is very much evident in the cases of Kashmir liberation movement, Khalistan movement and

PTM. But then such movements have found significant sympathetic coverage in not only indigenous social media but international mass media through diaspora.

Crossley (2002) claims that the influence of media for or against the emergence of a movement is related to two things. First, the ability to label effectively and secondly, the manipulation by either side targeted at public sphere. The ability of circulating information directly and instantly on a vast scale is the most distinct advantage of media. Where emphasizing on the labelling of media, he claims that it categorizes situation as legitimate and illegitimate. And labels them as acceptable and unacceptable. That is why the aim of most social movements is changing not only public perception and/or media but representations. Where Brym (2009) notes that the sixties black protest movement was fed by the mass media by heightening their sense of relative deprivation and racial discrimination. Where similar instances could be observed in the latest BLM that started after the shooting of a black man by police.

Meyer (2003) also comments that albeit favorable media coverage helps to boost the movement but unfavorable coverage disrepute it as well. As evident in the cases of civil rights movement, feminist, LGBT, and/or pro and anti-abortion movement. Where Crossley (2002) notes that the media representation of mental health patients and homosexuals not only played a significant role in labelling them as illegitimate and unacceptable but also resulted in mass participation as a repercussion. Where upon such impacts of media, Meyer (2003) terms it as relatively an autonomous game, whose opportunities are not stable or evenly by any means. While Tarrow (1998) presenting similar views states that the cycles and trends of media work in particular ways, with a 'currency' of its own, depending on the news value. Further emphasizing that legally and political viable movements are of no interests to media, while on the contrary movements with little or no legal and political viability not only get attention but mass publicity. Which in layman term means rating. They would broadcast and report anything that is appealing to viewers.

Further elaborating Tarrow (1998) comments that media is far from neutral bystanders. If it is not directly working for the ruling class, it certainly does not work for social movements either. It stays in business by reporting what is appealing to readers and viewers. That is why, media prefers to report the more sensational aspects of movement activities such as violence, chaos and stereotypical attributes ascribed to them. Where Crossley (2002) terms such process 'media amplification' that even mobilizes the latent ones. He further elaborates that such processes make the public domain more seriously involve in social movements. Supporting such views McCarthy (1994) in his analysis of US anti-drunk driving groups, by questioned the emergence of some incidents into social movement formation. Where there were equally tragic and similar death, even before the tragic death of this child that sparked the very emergence of such groups, then how come they failed to muster up any movements? Concluding that the crucial factor between them was media prevalence. He states that "prevalence, within media discourse, of a 'drunk driving' frame which construed driving accidents in such a way as to invite moral condemnation and action for legal change" was lacking in prior incidents.

Thus, dominant discourse determines the facilitation or hindrance of media in movement formation. Similarly, it also helps to understand the widespread outrage sparked by Burhan Wani in Kashmir, Naqeeb Ullah Mahsood and Zainab in Pakistan, and George Floyd in U.S. where such incidents lead to either movement formation (PTM) and legislation (Zainab Alert Bill) in contexts of Pakistan and (BLM) in U.S. and/or further strengthened Kashmir Freedom movement in case of Kashmir.

Crossley (2002) notes that right claims and litigation campaigns for social justice are the particular trends of media, particularly in case of U.S. while on this appealing impact of legal rights claim and litigation in media as well as in public domain, McCarthy and Zald (1987) note that media usage becomes significant factor for social movements. While Tarrow (1998)

comments that media not only becomes a site of contention but battleground of meaning making for competing parties.

On the network and mass mobilization impacts of mass media Taylor (2000) notes that electronic communication and popular culture provides suitable sites for not only identity affiliation but projection of their claims locally, nationally, and internationally as well. As evident from the networks that resulted in third-wave feminism, gay employee groups, and many modern self-help movements of 1980s and '90s. Where Meyer (2003) illustrates similar views by noting that anti- nuclear or environmental movements may similarly use mass media, electronic or telephonic campaigns for appealing to feminist, anti-racist, abortionist, and other movement networks for consensual membership.

2.9 Why social movements become violent?

When the distinctive feature of NSM is seeking reforms and progressive change through public domain involvement then why certain social movements like Kurds, Kashmir, Palestinian and/or Irish liberation movement is/are violent? Albeit state repression can hinder social movements, but they may also produce opportunities for mass mobilization and particularly radicalization. As Tarrow (1998) suggests “that such repressive forms of control can have a radicalizing effect upon collective action, because they sometimes scare away the moderate dissenter, leaving radicals to control the opposition, and/or because they persuade moderate to adopt a more radical stance”. Further suggesting that increased level of repression may not only garner increased contentions but produce new movements because “it increases the cost of not resisting”. The practical empirical evidence is Palestinian, Kashmir, Kurdish, Irish and Taliban to name a few that are currently active.

Where Klatch (2004) reports that “Incidents of surveillance, harassment, beatings and arrests at demonstrations, and encounters with infiltrators” are some of the prominent factors that generate feeling of paranoia and distrust, resulting in radicalization. Where Gurbuz (2016)

emphasizes on the political opportunity structure (especially Authoritarian ones) that push movements towards militarism and radicalization. Presenting case studies of protest waves in El Salvador and Paul Almeida, suggested that it was primarily state sponsored repressions that caused violent forms of resistance. Where commenting on further contributing factors, the author claims that growth in size, the escalation of political events and government failure in responding positively to protestors, combined with state repression were some of the factors that resulted in reactionary rebellious responses in the left movements of late 1960s. similar evidence can be found in latest BLM movement where state not only deployed security agencies but adopted a repressive manner, spreading propaganda that it is sponsored by terrorist to hinder this movement, that resulted in violent repercussions (Wasson, 2020).

Klatch (2004), Taylor and Whittier (1992) and Meyer (2003) all have presented similar views about the impacts of new recruits heterogeneity and their inevitable aggressive approach and further over the boundary maintenance that derail certain diffusion and heighten militancy and government oppression. Where further highlight the government inadequate response and their slowness in addressing social movement's demands thus leading to escalation of political events and resulting in anger, frustration, and militancy. While Crossley (2002) clarifies that social strains that are mismatch between expectations and reality, give rise to social unrest and when such unrests are tried to be prevented or suppressed through social control agencies like police and media. They may have significant repercussions causing more outrage and mobilizing even those who might not have involved in movement activities.

Oberschall (1973) cited in Crossley (2002) emphasizes over the injection of external resources and support. Where similar claims have been made by Eriksen (2001) noting that external agents, their support, and injection of resources are also some of the factors that results in militancy and radicalization. Which is quite evident in contemporary Gulf and African

movements, Taliban movement against Soviet Union and now against U.S. in Kurdish and Kashmir liberation movements and pro-democratic movement in Hong Kong.

According to Olsson (1988) developed model called 'the personal pathway model', albeit mainly concerned with understanding the transformation of people into terrorists but it can also be very handy in elaborating peaceful social movements transformation into violent one. He identifies four elements

- 1) Early socialization into a violent environment. That may help in understanding social movements like Kurdish, Kashmiri, Irish and most of Gulf and African movements.
- 2) Narcissistic injuries (i.e.: negative identity). This does explain the whole paradigm of NSM and especially latest movements like BLM, PTM, Me too, Khalistan movement and Baloch movement.
- 3) Escalatory events (i.e.: conversion experience). This helps in understanding sociopolitical contextual realities. For example, in terms on BLM where the presidential elections in U.S. is around the corner, movement has garnered significant support in terms of national as well as internal politics. And in case of PTM, it was the military interventions to tackle militants that resulted in huge socio-political vacuum.
- 4) Personal connections to terrorist groups. This point is the most relevant one to most of the liberation movements and particularly to PTM, where Pashtunization of Taliban has been a significant hindrance in constructing a favorable public opinion in civic support for PTM mobilization.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

This chapter introduces social identity theory (SIT), identity politics and their prominent aspects as well as new social movement (NSM) paradigm. Then presents justification for why SIT and NSM are the best theoretical frameworks for this study and how it can help to understand not only Pathan social identity, its stereotyping/profiling and emergence of PTM to de-construct dominant discourse and re-present Pathan social identity and cultural representations.

3.1 Social identity theory (SIT)

According to Tajfel (1974), social identity could be defined as “that part of an individual’s self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the emotional significance attached to that membership”. where the basic principles of this theory are psychological processes (such as social categorization, social comparison, and social identification). They not only explain how people’s social identities are different from their individual identities but how the concept of “us (in group)” and “them (out group)” which either leads to conflict or cooperation depending on the nature of social interaction of these groups within a particular social context. Social identities are not only dynamic and responsive but descriptive, prescriptive, and evaluative as well (Appiah, 2000).

As Berger (1966) has emphasized that society not merely defines but construct socio-psychological realities, it is also a containment of repertoires of the objective knowledge of its members about identity (cited in Tajfel, 1974). Therefore, exploration and explanation of social contexts are significant for understanding social interaction, group behaviors and attitudes. As Maalouf (2000) comments that it is this intergroup relationship and interactions that plays a significant role in their perception about social realities. Social identities being a social construct are not fix but transitional and depending on the socio-contextual realities adopts accordingly. For example, in case of Pathans, such transitions have been very prominent.

Where at the time of partition it was this dichotomy of Muslims and non-Muslims, that they optioned for accession with Pakistan and so were the cases in wars from Alexander to American intervention in Afghanistan. Up till Pakistan military interventions in former FATA regions and Pashtunization of Talibanization that transformed social contexts and Pathans social identity became ethnocentric, because it was no more Muslims vs non-Muslims, Pakistani vs Indians and/or Afghans but Pathans vs out groups (specifically perceived Punjabis). As Maalouf (2003) and Appiah (2000) puts it that such social relationships are reciprocal. They not only affect outgroups but ingroups as well. The more you feel at home in your society, the more you adopt to the mainstream culture but the moment you feel threaten or discriminated, it not only results in resistance but respective strategies depending on social contexts. As Maalouf (2003) states “People often see themselves in terms of whichever one of their allegiances is most under attack”.

The Pathan proverb “ when the world is in a turmoil, pray for your country, when your country is in a turmoil, pray for your town, when your town is in a turmoil, pray for your home and when your home is in a turmoil, pray for yourself”, pretty much puts the entire social contextual realities of in group and out group allegiance into a perspective and how identity allegiance transforms.

3.2 New social movement paradigm

According to Plotke (1996) social Movements are valuable not only because of their exploratory, uncertain, and unpredictable elements but by raising new questions, and recognizing and defining injustices. Where Tilly (1978) expresses that as social movements grow in size, recruit literate participants and with advancement in mass media and communication channels, they not only became well organized but stabilized and act as a pressure group to achieve their goals without resorting to extreme measures.

According to Melucci (1980) NSM paradigm emerged in early twentieth century. And for Brym (2009) the newness of these new social movements is the diffusion of goals, recruit mobilization and their global potential. Which Crossley (2002) claims that social Movements not only problematize the ways of social life but “call for changes in our habits of thought, action and interpretation”.

According to Eriksen (2001) the term 'new social movements' is a cluster of movements that emerged out of the student movement of the 1960s. The "New" Social Movement (NSM) paradigm a recent addition to social theory not only stresses on the Macro but micro historical analysis of social movements. On one hand the NSM paradigm concentrates on the relationship between the rise of contemporary social movements, the economic structure, and its cultural dimensions. While on other, the NSM paradigm is concerned with issues of identity and personal behavior. Along with historical visions it also provides a sociopolitical environment, that how individuals not only fit into it but response to it and strive to change it (Pichardo, 1997).

The emergence of NSM paradigm not only promotes universal citizenship but inclusive citizenship rights (Roche, 1995; Turner, 1986). Their demands are believed to have been transitioned from the instrumental issues of industrialism to the quality of life issues of post materialism. As Melucci 1994) the unique, ideological feature of NSMs is its self-reflexive character. This means that participants are constantly questioning the meaning of what is being done.

NSM paradigm emphasizes on self-change in terms of identity, cultural representation, and socially ascribed attributes. As Ashmore & Jussim (1997) claims the issues of identity, cultural representation and profiling are discursive and can only be resolved in discourse. And thus, NSMs according to Melucci (1985) pushes toward the reconstruction of identity, cultures

representation and habit of thoughts which Habermas (1988) claims to be reconstruction of lifeworld.

3.3 Identity Politics

According to Bernstein (2005) the word identity politics was first introduced by Anspach in 1979, to refer to activism by people with disabilities to transform both self- and societal conceptions of people with disabilities. Which was then modified “to describe (a) ethnicity as a contemporary form of politics (b) a form of subjective critical pedagogy that links social structure with the insights of poststructuralism incorporating a Marxist commitment to politics and (c) general efforts by status based movements to foster and explore the cultural identity of members. Where Bliss (2013) claims that identity politics is not only a US-based concept but rose from civil rights movement such as Black and feminist movement.

Where Bernstein (2005) further comments that it was the 20th century that identity politics were associated with violent ethnic conflicts and nationalism. For him “Identity politics is a form of political activity based on the collective experiences and memories of injustices affecting identity-based social groups”. Therefore, it is mass mobilization in terms of identity by PTM that this study is exploring to understand and analyze. As Bickford (1997) claims that this concept has been used as a critique of certain political practices than as an in-depth analysis.

Kauffman (1990) defines identity politics as "the belief that identity itself- its elaboration, expression, or affirmation is and should be a fundamental focus of political work;" identity politics politicized not previously defined as political, including "sexuality, interpersonal relations, lifestyle and culture.” Therefore, the concept of identity politics in terms of understanding PTM to de-construct and re-present the colonially constructed identity and profiling associated to it, remains the main concern of this study.

3.4 Why SIT and NSM?

Because social identity theory attempts to articulate socio-psychological processes that explain group behavior in terms of concepts and recognize the primacy of society over individual, a socio-cognitive process, that also depersonalize social attraction (Hogg, 1992). SIT places emphasis on intergroup relations in terms of the role played by out-groups and how social world affects social behavior (Appiah, 2000). It also explains cognitive and social belief aspects of racism, prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination (Tajfel, 1974; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). The very emphasizes on subjective belief structures that impact group adopted behaviors in pursuit of self-improvement through self -evaluation, signifies reciprocity of social groups and their social interaction in a particular context that social identities actually seeks to acquire self-meaning (Burke & Reitzes, 1981). SIT explores the transfusion of master statuses (in case of social identities) into particular social contexts (Stryker, 1987).

As Crawford (2000) claims that the very perceptions of others and attributed motives, depends on actors' preexisting knowledge and emotional relationships among certain social contexts. Upon which Gilpin (1986) argues that "as Thucydides put it, men are motivated by honor, greed, and, above all, fear."

The very basic idea of social identity is context-sensitive, with mutual expectations prescribed by social groups within a specific social situation. As Banerjee (2000) reports that when Bacha khan, was asked if he was a Pathan, Muslim or Pakistani. He would often reply that I have been a Pathan for centuries, Muslim for decades and a Pakistani for years, which brings us to the very question of Maalouf (2003) "Would I exist more authentically if I cut off a part of myself?", the answer is of course not, a Pathan is not only Pathan but Afghani, Muslim and Pakistani at the same time, but it is our allegiance to a particularly identity in a particular social context that defines us. And then it is the attitude of generalized others that reduce us to a singular identity and allegiance that proclaims anger.

The tribal Pathans have been inhabiting these localities way before the very conception of Afghanistan itself. As Ul Haq et al. (2005) notes that the first authentic account of Pathans is found in Al-Biruni's *Tarikh-al-Hind*, in 1017. Therefore, it is worth mentioning that the Afghan parameters over Pathan identity is not only corrupt but gravely flawed. And it is this misunderstanding of the dynamics of social identity that Pathans and particularly of erstwhile FATA have been facing grave repercussions, not only in colonial imperialism, Soviet war but most importantly in post 9/11, "war on terror". A Pathan who proudly used to announce himself as an Afghan, no longer defines himself by those allegiance especially after the inception of Pakistan but can be claimed to resent it. The very failure of indigenous academics and scholars to counter such singular narratives is one of the most significant factors in contemporary Pathans downfall as Waltz (1979) argues that "a self-help system is one in which those who do not help themselves, or who do so less effectively than others, will fail to prosper, will lay themselves open to dangers, will suffer" (cited in Lebow, 2005).

And Ahmad (2013) claim that Pathans are also known by exonyms such as Afghan, Pashtuns, Pakhtun and Pukhtoon, supports multifaceted social identity dynamics within Pathans. As Crawford et al. (1992) argues "We remember what happened to us in the past, how this thing has affected us and what we did about it. Then we imagine how it will affect us this time and estimate whether it will be harmful." Therefore, the very emergence of PTM is self-evident to de-construct such misperceived affiliations and allegiance. And to understand the emergence, identity politics and struggle for reconstruction of social identity and re-presentation of their culture, NSM paradigm provides significant guidelines and thematical understanding.

The profiling of Pathans as a repercussion of 'war on terror' and post conflict social interactions as Yousaf (2017) claims a widespread crackdown against anyone who merely "looked Pathan or Afghan," was initiated by national security and law enforcement agencies targeting and portraying them as "suspected terrorists" especially in Punjab. It is upon this insecurity and

fear that Maalouf (2003) comments that when a whole population is afraid, then they are dealing with reality of fear rather than reality of threat. They are prompted to such actions that they would have never considered. And it is the identity politics in terms of narcissistic injuries that assured mass mobilization of Pathans in post conflict scenario. As Hussain (2010) claims that the U.S. and its alliance “war on terror”, was/is actually a war against “Pathans” in Pakistan and Afghanistan.

SIT also plays a significant role in understanding not only the construction of Pathan identity but its compartmentalization and stereotyping due to social categorization. The understanding and analysis of colonial discourse transformation from romanticizing and glorification to negative stereotyping and profiling. Where NSM paradigm helps in understanding PTM emergence as a social movement to not only challenge such dominant colonial discourse and cultural representation but its reconstruction. As Spain (1961) states that albeit the British left the Indian subcontinent in 1947, but they did leave behind a number of problems on the “Pathan Borderlands.” And it is this colonially constructed identity that haunts Pathans till date, in the form of internal contradictions.

3.5 Politicization of Pathan identity

The thematical analysis of Pathan identity, its politicization and political mobilization dependent on contextual realities and social construction, not only highlights the multifaceted identity dynamics of Pathan identity but leading to internal contradictions. As social identity and ascribed attributes are socially constructed not generic, therefore, it is the social construction that needs to be analyzed rather than subjects.

And it is this analysis of social contextual realities that explores that how on one hand, the social construction and ascribed attributes that resulted in not only Pathan identity crisis but internal contradictions and alienation.

3.5.1 social contextual realities and multifaceted identity dynamics of Pathans

According to Bronson (2008) by 1980, the tribal region was a hub of military training camps for youth and arms provision, where Rana (2010) argues that state alliance agents provided not only financial but military support to freedom fighters against Soviet invasion, resulting in a construction of discourse of “Holy warriors”, “freedom fighters” and “Muslim warriors” fighting for Islam. As Crile (2003) puts it, in 1980, came the mullah’s new call to jihad, to take up the holy war. And mullahs being a power center of the tribal areas (Shukla, 2015), resonated this discourse and having a huge blind followership especially in the rural areas not only made tribal areas susceptible as a “safe sanctuary”, and a “hospitable location” but rather gathered not only immense men power but financial support in the form of charities from these regions. While on the role of international agents Frappier (2013) claims that American role in the promotion of so-called radical Islam, not only provided massive funds for madrasas’ construction along the frontier but produced explicitly violent religious textbooks. Upon which Jones (2007) further comments that these explicit books promoted symbols and texts of Islam (from Qur’anic verses) through violent images, language, and war. While Johnson and Mason (2008) highlighting the role of international coalition claims that U.S. and Saudi Arabia invested \$7.2 billion of covert aid into the jihad against the Soviets, where Frappier (2013) further commenting on the repercussions of promotion of such radical ideas, states that albeit, in 1989, the Mujahedeen drove out the Soviet from Afghanistan. But such radicalized religious education by then had already encouraged a group of Islamist students and former Mujahedeen, to take over the reins in the name of Islam, who became to be known as the Taliban. Where Blanchard (2008) explained that Talib is an Arabic word, that means student. they studied and trained in the madrasas, read U.S. produced religious books and started advocating radical Islam. But what he and other fail to understand is that Talib is a singular and in Arabic its Plural

form is “Tulba” not Taliban. Taliban is a Pushto origin word that does highlight the stereotypical and discriminative politicized discourse about Pathans and their identity.

Frappier (2013) claims that this politicization of madrassas and their dualistic terminologies “Islam against the West” or “believers against unbelievers” is hardly surprising in view of the political discourse in those socially constructed contextualities. Noor et al. (2008) drawing attention towards the politicization and specificity of social context, claim that political arena either domestic or international, have greater implications over militancy and radicalization rather than madrasa system. Further validating their point, the authors point out that the very rhetoric of “Islam against the West,” “Holy war against imperialist occupiers” or “believers against non-believers” is a social construction not systematic. And highlights the dynamics of ingroup and outgroup conflicts and inter group interactions.

Frappier (2013) further emphasizing on politicization of identity states that a contract of \$50 million was articulated between The University of Nebraska Omaha (UNO) and USAID to oversee the agreement with the mujahedeen-supported Education Center for Afghanistan (ECA). where Spink (2005) methodically reveals how the US exploited this contract to spread anti-Soviet ideas and promote its own political agenda. Shirazi (2008) comments that the American strategy being far from harmonizing Western thoughts with narratives of Islam, merely used it as a pedagogical vehicle to motivate and mobilize resistance against the Soviet War.

Similar sentiments were promulgated and proliferated in the western media which is very much illuminating in Crile (2003) depiction of such warriors narrated as their code to “live free or die” and brave, desperate fighters, fighting against the demon in the sky, whom has been socialized to always stand up for the underdog. Where further justifying their cause, he emphasizes that from the start U.S. and Pakistan agreed upon one single goal and that was seeing tens of thousands of freedom fighters shouting “Allahu Akbar” and blasting off joy shots

from their CIA issued Kalashnikovs, in the central streets of Kabul. While on another instance in the same book he calls them “real freedom fighters, “They made the Contras and the Cambodians look like urban cowboys.”

Such were the narratives, within Pakistan, where Pathans have been cherished and adored for their loyalty and bravery especially in the liberation of Azad Jammu and Kashmir, in other major wars with India and then most particularly in war against Soviet invasion. But soon after 9/11 incident, Islam was no longer an appropriate way to vehicle US interests. Islam was now evil and threatening the US political projects. Islam now had to be eliminated at all costs. Pathans were not merely labelled/profiled as terrorists but the entire colonial stereotypical discourse was propagated once again and this time bearing severe consequences even than the colonial era. Which was hard for Pathans and especially those of erstwhile FATA to cope with such dramatic and sudden revolution of narration. From socio-psychological paradigm whenever conflicting new information coincide with cherished beliefs, this results in a great deal of psychological discomfort and trauma, also known as cognitive dissonance.

Where Yousaf (2019) expressing similar concerns over such drastic narrative alteration leaving Pathans puzzled and confused. The same people who were supported by state alliances, became enemies of the state suddenly? Hussain (2016) Portraying this ‘inconsistency’ and ‘confusion’, over the preposterous narrative transformation over the 1979 Jihad and “War on Terror”, tribesmen were unable to comprehend that how on earth ‘within a single lifetime, the status of tribesmen of FATA transformed from brave warriors to minions of al-Qaeda’. Where Lindisfarne (2012) raising concerns about the powerful discourse of the “war on terror”, the author does question not only the demonization and profiling of Pathans but also questions the disguised imperial competition by making Pathans seem exceptional and unparalleled. Where Asad (1991) has called such a discourse “ethnographies of imperial hegemony”.

While Lindisfarne (2012) stating that the weapon of poor already known, be it strikes and/or demonstrations for social justice but yet People can also choose other forms of defiance, including non-violent and/or armed resistance, as “speaking truth to power becomes not just fraught but frightening”. Where Unclarity of resistance leads to a confusion that is easily exploited via the dominant discourse of contemporary empire. Be it Islamophobia or the rhetoric of the ‘war on terror’. Lindisfarne (2012) further claiming American imperialism to be a system of indirect domination, not direct colonization. Where after certain revolutionary shocks especially the Islamic and the communist revolution, U.S. formally adopted their domestic ideology of divide and rule to foreign policy – a strategy that was evident in their support of the Pashtun mujahidin in Afghanistan as well.

Ferguson (2001) claiming that “U.S. has to take the role of colonial imperial power or lose the world to chaos” is not mere a reflection of colonial discourse but reaffirmation. While Nojumi (2002) claims that with contrasting political equilibriums, the interpretation took an entirely different perspective on war, that is ‘ethnic’, mutually understood by the leading powers. Where Lindisfarne (2012) claiming Such differences to be irreversible and more than skin deep. And Moghaddam (2009) claiming that the passion behind such differences and profiling of Pathans, sublimed other factors like extreme poverty and resistance of multiethnic groups all over the country. As represented in Saeed (2014) that not only Pathans especially of erstwhile FATA, were least supporting of the insurgent groups due to direct as well as indirect firsthand repercussions but Punjab contribution is estimated to be 78% in insurgency and militancy. Therefore, SIT and NSM paradigm not only remains pivotal to this study but provides the very insights in terms of social interaction and inter group dynamics that not only helps in understanding Pathan dilemma within society but even amongst themselves. And how PTM can be the very tool of emancipation from colonial legacies once and for all, resulting in a more constructive role of Pathan in mainstream society rather than revolutionary.

Chapter 4: Understanding and Misunderstanding PTM

As D'Anieri, et al. (1990) claims that the very new characteristics of NSM have historical predecessors. Therefore, before plunging into analyzing PTM, this study first presents a brief account of Khudai Khidmatgar movement (KKM). Because the philosophical inspiration of this movement is claimed to be Bacha Khan. As Meyer (2003) comments that movements may wane, fail in achieving their immediate goals but they can make a lasting impact. Further claiming that “in fighting one political battle, they shape the conditions of the next one”. Where Kurtz (1997) emphasizing similar stance, claims that movements that even wane, may resurge in contemporary contexts with new characteristics, goals, and tactics.

4.1 Khudai Khidmatgar Movement

Khudai Khidmatgar movement was the very first social movement that not only challenged stereotypical discursive issues but strived for improving with social lifeworld of Pathans. As Banerjee (2000) comments that it was the incident in Qisa khani bazar, when Ghaffar Khan also known as Badshah Khan and/or the “Frontier Gandhi” (Tendulkar, 1967), upon encountering that even being a native officer, they had to salute a British soldier even of lower ranks, made him realize that how discriminative and unjust Imperial system was. Disappointed by this system, even successfully applied for commission, he rejected the idea of joining this system and preferred serving his own community.

Further elaborating, she states that at the age of 20, he started indigenous school system in 1910, which was funded by government but faced rejection and resentment due to involvement of mullahs, terming it as secular education system. That then transformed into self-help movement, by establishing schools with indigenous curriculum and performing communal activities like cleaning of villages and improving sanitation system, with communal funding in terms of zakat and participation. Later, joined by Haji of Turangzai. Where Kurtz (2009) comments that such activities were seen by imperial powers as social disobedience and resulted

in arrest and imprisonment of not only Ghaffar Khan but participants. Where Banerjee (2000) comments that such arrests and imprisonments, had not only repercussions in the form of violent resistance by Haji and other mullahs in the form of jihad but as a drift b/w Haji and Ghaffar Khan over the tactics of resistance. As Ghaffar Khan was persistent over nonviolent resistance.

Banerjee (2000) notes that it was then in 1921, that Ghaffar Khan launched the *Anjuman-e-Islah ul Afghanistan* (society for the reforms of Afghans), striving for social as well as educational reforms. By opening different madrasahs for indigenous education, by opening madrasahs for education, which expanded to 70 such madrasahs in different villages with hundreds of pupils. Promoting social reforms of malign social customs, abolishing practice of violence and inspiration of patriotism. Further elaborating that with escalation of political struggle in the form of Khilafat movement, Ghaffar Khan and other prominent nationalist leaders opted for 'Hijrat movement'. Where they were first welcomed by Afghanistan but later, asked to return due to imperialistic pressures. Where they were again arrested and imprisoned.

According to Kurtz (2009) and Reetz (1997) it was in 1929 that Ghaffar Khan launched a proper political movement, known as "Khudai Khidmatgar movement" also known as "Servants of God" and/or "Red Shirts", the secular, anti-Khan, pro-peasant, pro-land reform and sometime Pakhtun nationalist movement (Lindisfarne, 2012). Where Tendulkar (1967) comments it was "the world's first nonviolent army, a force of perhaps 100,000 Pathans who took a solemn oath in joining the "Servants of God" movement, with each stating that "since God needs no service. I promise to serve humanity in the name of God. I promise to refrain from violence and from taking revenge. I promise to forgive those who oppress me or treat me with cruelty. I promise to devote at least two hours a day to social work".

While Korejo (1993) notes that the very complications of this movement, were not only their distinctive identity claims but nonviolence in the wake of violent resistance and resentment to

imperial powers. As Kurtz (2009) quoting Ghaffar Khan, states that there were two freedom movements at that time. The violent one, preaching hatred and violence and the nonviolence movement, preaching love and brotherhood, striving for not only identity recognition but a better life for the Pathans.

As Reetz (1997) observes that KKM was battling against the very stereotypical identity attributions, as Pathans were not only perceived savage, uncivilized and violent by imperial powers but even Indian. And this is what Ghaffar Khan quotes in the same article, tried to convey that “If Reform is a good thing, as all of them say it is a good thing, then it should be increased. And if it is a good thing why should we be deprived of it?” where on another occasion Ghaffar Khan again quoted in the same article, exclaims “whose condition is worse today? Whose children are dying naked today. These are the children of the Pakhtun. Think, at least something, about this degraded state of yours”.

While on the tactics of KKM, Kurtz (2009) comments that they not only included protests and persuasions, marches and demonstrations, boycotts and civil disobedience, noncooperation, refusal to pay tax, symbolic clothing as ‘red shirts’, blockade of government offices, memorial anniversaries of brutal events but launching indigenous newspapers, journals, establishing nongovernment schools, training of activists against survival of military drills and imprisonment and most particularly mobilization of women for participation in not only civil resistance but communal uplift. Where Banerjee (2000) quoting his stance of nonviolent tactics states that “Earlier, Violence had seemed to me the best way to revolution, but experience taught me that it was futile to dig a well after the house was on fire”.

Where on its the success and failures Kurtz (2009) notes that it though succeeded in achieving reforms such as release of political prisoners, inclusion of Pashto in education and land reforms. Albeit involvement in electoral politics resulted in loss of its charm and eventually waded. But he further elaborates that it became a benchmark for all contemporary nonviolent resistance

rooted in contemporary Islamic world. While commenting on the conundrum of KKM and inception of Pakistan, the author states that albeit, Ghaffar Khan initially against partition, swore allegiance to an independent Pakistani state. But then again struggling for sociopolitical reforms and newly adopted policies in Pakistan had to meet the same fate of arrest and imprisonment for civil resistance and ultimately went into exile in Afghanistan.

4.2 Transition to Pashtunistan

It was the political opportunities and escalation amongst India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan in terms of demarcation and allegiances, because of 1947 partition that not only resulted in security dilemma but interventional politics. And unfortunately, KKM was one of the significant players caught up in the center of state politics. And that is how it was misinterpreted on their pre-partition allegiance and affiliations. But what researcher and academic scholars fail to understand was the multi-identity conundrum. The very transition of KKM into Pashtunistan movement also known as Pakhtunistan movement (Bezhan, 2014), represents such faulty interpretations and lack of pluralistic identity understanding. Which has already been highlighted in chapter two, as Reetz (1997) comments that the interpretation of Pashtunistan movement varied significantly. For example, the incorporation of all Pathan areas into Afghanistan, on other occasions into Pakistan, their consolidation into an independent Pathan state and on contrary as renaming of Pathan areas into Pashtunistan.

Secondly the geostrategic and political involvement of not only Afghanistan but India and particularly the allegiance of movement leaders with Indian congress, muddled new allegiance and affiliations, resulting in misperceptions and stereotypical discourse on both sides, the movement participants and state as well (Harrison, 2008). where Banerjee (2000) reports the very dynamics of pluralistic identity dynamics that when Bacha Khan, was asked if he was a Pathan, Muslim or Pakistani. He would often reply that I have been a Pathan for centuries, Muslim for decades and a Pakistani for years. While Bezhan (2014) notes that official claims

and public opinion, suggests that the educated and general Pathan population on both sides of frontier were neither interested in Pashtunistan politics nor supported it in any way. The very politicization of Pashtunistan movement was nothing more than dominating geostrategic politics and diversion from domestic issues.

Pakistan been already entangled in geostrategic politics and striving for its existence and stabilization, had to adopt a military approach to such politicized movements to assure its survival (Waheed, 2017). Further elaborating that the geostrategic security paranoia in Pakistani context was one of the prominent factors in state policies regarding any such movements such as Baluchistan movement, Pashtunistan movement and Sindh movement. Where particularly Pashtunistan movement was not only interpreted as a separatist movement but anti-state as well. Such misperceptions and misinterpretations exist even till date in the dominant discourse of Pakistan and resonates even in analysis of PTM.

4.3 Understanding Pashtun Tahafuz movement

According to Kurzman (2008) the purpose of human life is constant pursuit of understand social world around them and imposition of meaning to it. Which is a spur to action and a site of contestation. Meaning making includes moral understandings of right and wrong, cognitive understandings of true and false, perceptual understandings of like and unlike, social understandings of identity and categorization.

The Mehsud Tahafuz Movement (MTM), a reactionary social movement with different contradictory claims about its initially formation in 2014 (Paracha, 2020) and 2016 (Aljazeera, 2020), by a group of eight students to highlight the struggles and miseries of native people of Waziristan sandwiched b/w militants and ‘war on terror’. Manzur Pashteen is the charismatic and ultimate leader of PTM (Salam, personal communication, September 16, 2020).

Initially, the very goal of this movement was to raise voice for Mehsud tribe as the name suggests (G. Majeed, September 16, 2020). And was participating in humanitarian work and

protests long before emerging as MTM. Albeit a group specific movement fighting for civil rights of Mehsud tribe and against targeting killing (Hai, personal communication, September 18, 2020; Aljazeera, 2020). It not only remained latent initially but campaigned against unmarked landmines (from the anti-Soviet jihad and War on Terror) in erstwhile FATA (Jiwani & mallick, 2020; Paracha, 2020). Further elaborating in their article, it was the News of 60-80 children, killed by landmine explosions in FATA, which resulted in a protest march Dera Ismail Khan to Islamabad to stage a sit in. and then later the killing of Naqibullah Mehsud by police in Karachi, turned out to be the turning points for MTM.

A protest march started only by twenty students turned into a mass protest joined by several thousands (Pashteen, 2019). This social legitimacy and public domain acceptance especially by Pathans, was one of the prominent factors that it transformed into Pashtun Tahafuz movement also known as Pashtun protection movement. The resonating narcissistic injuries, shared grievances, and participation of Pathans from all over Pakistan demanded to transform MTM into PTM (Gandapur, personal communication, September 15, 2020). With its transformation from MTM to PTM, not only it became a prominent ethnic movement and established a widespread network but also started advocating civil rights and narcissistic injuries of negatively colonial attributed social identity of Pathans. Its tactics as well as narratives transformed from a specific group to ethnic ones. Their campaigned primarily against removal of landmines and unexploded ordnance, started including enforced disappearances, extrajudicial killings, internally displaced person crisis, discriminative and unjust policies of profiling of Pathan and humiliations by security agencies not only at check posts but in public domain as well (Hai, personal communication, September 18, 2020; Jiwani & mallick, 2020).

PTM has not only succeeded in mobilization of Pathans in the name of collective identity but in their 'cognitive liberation', a term borrowed from McAdam (1999). Where now they not

only see themselves as deprived of socio-political domain but demands for abolition of ‘colonization of social life’, a term borrowed from (Habermas, 1988), (Afridi, September 15, 2020). It is through PTM that Pathans are now demanding more inclusive public policies and social recognition. They are demanding not only decolonization of stereotypical identity but dominant discourse through self-change (Khan, personal communication, September 18, 2020). Which is very much evident in their peaceful protests and demonstrations (Hai, personal communication, September 18, 2020).

It is anti-war, anti-terrorism and anti-racial discrimination social movement (Hai, personal communication, September 18, 2020; Gandapur, personal communication, September 15, 2020; Wazir, September 12, 2020; Jiwani & mallick, 2020). According to HRCP (2019) PTM has become the voice of subaltern (a terminology borrowed from Spivak (1983) demanding the removal of landmines from not only Waziristan but other parts of erstwhile FATA, where simultaneously drawing attention to the suffering endured by Pathans as repercussions of ‘war on terror’, terrorism, the FCR and restricted movement due to security checkpoints.

4.4 Why PTM?

This study optioned for PTM in the first place because it is only the second social movement that has garnered such a mass mobilization of Pathans after KKM and its universal resemblance with not only historical civil rights movement but NSMs. It possesses all the universal dynamics of NSM paradigm. First, it is a peaceful social movement and contradictory to any contemporary ethnic movements that are violent and destructive. Secondly it is not a separatist movement and/or anti-state, yes, it is anti-institutional and purely based on identity politics. It is a wholesome package of pluralistic identity dynamics that NSMs paradigm is interested in. thirdly, it is striving for not only social recognition but decolonization of dominant discourse and stereotypical discriminative system.

The main demand of PTM is truth and reconciliation. That is establishment of an independent commission that will not only find but public the commission report about ‘war on terror’, militancy and collateral damages whether social or economic (Hai, personal communication, September 18, 2020; Gandapur, personal communication, September 15, 2020, & Salam, personal communication, September 16, 2020). Lastly, they are striving for socio-political reforms demanding a better life chance and public policy reforms (Majeed, personal communication, September 16, 2020). Their very demands are legal and legitimate, even officially accepted and recognized (Afridi, personal communication, September 15, 2020). But there is a huge gap of knowledge and perception in social contexts. And it is this socially constructed gap that PTM is striving to reconstruct through interaction and communication.

The very aim of PTM is to reconstruct not only public but media stereotypical perception by de-constructing Colonial stereotyping. Pathans are neither brave, martial and/or unconquerable nor radicals, terrorists and/or savages. They should be seen as human being just like others (Gandapur, personal communication, September 15, 2020). Therefore, PTM is Seeking policy changes and demanding social justice within their constitutional rights (Hai, personal communication, September 18, 2020). Their battle arena is not only courts but mass media and nonpolitical institutions (Majeed, personal communication, September 16, 2020). They have garnered not only national support in terms of mass participation but international one as a consensual one. PTM not like its predecessors’ movements are dwelling on historical myths and retaining its colonial traditional social system but constructively emphasizes on the contemporary contextual realities and demanding decolonization of not only dominant discourse but traditional system imposed on them (Gandapur, September 15, 2020).

4.4.1 PTM Networking

As the name suggests MTM was purely based on exclusive communal networks of Mehsud tribe, Close friends, and face to face networking. But with its transition into PTM, it also

becoming an inclusive group and its network expanded to all Pathans (Salam, personal communication, September 16, 2020). But still their main networks are the erstwhile FATA people, who has/had firsthand experienced 'war on terror' and its repercussions. As McAdam (1995) notes that it is the significance of cultural diffusion that movements succeed in network as well as protest cycle expansion. Further elaborating that the initiator movements, also plays a prominent role in creating opportunities for other movements. And that is why certain other social movement activists such as feminist, humanitarian, civil rights advocates and most particularly students and academics have joined their circle. Where diaspora, certain national political patrician as well as International support of humanitarian and certain human rights groups and most particularly Afghanistan, has provided significant support for movement maintenance but resulted in antagonistic reactions in Pakistani civic society. Upon which (Khan, personal communication, September 14, 2020), claims that PTM accepts and stands with anyone who fights for civil rights and their association with other such groups are merely ideological and humanitarian. PTM not only believes in the constitutions of Pakistan but state authority and that is why, it is demanding their civil rights within Pakistan and according to the law and constitution. And such foreign associations and support of political parties albeit appreciated but is never the driving force of PTM (Gandapur, personal communication, September 15, 2020). Therefore, the very perception of foreign alliance and funding is not only flawed but illustrates the very colonial misperceptions about Pathans (Hai, personal communication, September 18, 2020).

PTM networking mainly concepts of three committees. The core committee also known as central committee that consists of 30 members, each from eight districts and subgroups representing their own sub-ethnic groups. Then provincial committee and lastly, District committee that mainly consists of eight districts where PTM has established their roots (Hai, personal communication, September 18, 2020).

The functioning and operations of such committees are to provide in mass mobilization in terms of protests, demonstrations and sit ins and financial supports for such event organizations in the form of charities (Majeed, personal communication, September 15, 2020).

4.4.2 PTM Tactics

PTM tactics not only includes protests, marches, sit in but public demonstration in public domain (Marjan, personal communication, September 18, 2020). PTM also conduct open study circles that are aimed to educate participants about contemporary contextual realities (Gandapur, personal communication, September 15, 2020). Where on the harsher protest narratives of some of PTM members Wazir (personal communication, September 17,2020) stated that only those who have witnessed the narcissistic injuries, would understand the pain. The harsher protest language according to McAdam (1995) is the universal characteristic of protest cycles for public attention and support. Then there are the tactics of mobilization through different wings with in the provincial and district committees. For example, student wing, doctor wing, lawyer wing and female wing (Salam, personal communication, September 18, 2020).

For the mass mobilization and protest tactics PTM has distant itself from any political and religious demagogues that could exploit PTM for their goals (Gandapur, personal communication, September 15, 2020).

4.4.3 Participation of New middle class

PTM is an inclusive group, there is neither registration nor any formal structure for participation (Hai, personal communication, September 18, 2020). Anyone can participate in its activities as long as they are peaceful and committed.

The participants of PTM are not only students but academics and other professionals (Marjan, personal communication, September 18, 2020), which D'Anieri, P. et al. (1990) terms as 'new middle class' that includes a disproportionately large number of highly educated, well-to-do

people from the social, educational, and cultural fields. Such as teachers, professors, journalists, social workers, artists, actors, writers, and student (Crossley, 2002). It is through such participations that Blumer (1969) emphasizes on their potentiality of challenging old habits of thought and reconstruction of new ways of thinking and acting through changing public as well as media perceptions and/or cultural representations. After the emergence of PTM not only have Pathan folk music but way of thinking and acting have been significantly changed (Hai, personal communication, September 18, 2020), the participants prefer to use the surname Pashteen instead of tribal/familial surnames to eradicate the colonial divisions and promote solidarity (Gandapur, personal communication, September 15, 2020). The strategic subversion, a process of reconstruction of identity through de-legitimization of rivals' identities (Gurbuz, 2016). That is why, not only network creation and expansion but mobilization of PTM is universities, professional workspace and personal networking through communication and group discussions (Marjan, personal communication, September 18, 2020). While another significant aspect of PTM is its distancing from religious groups, which not only literature but even analysis of KKM suggests that results in violence, one way or another.

4.4.4 Financing

PTM is totally dependent on charity work of members and participants (Hai, personal communication, September 18, 2020). Every single receipt of charity contribution is present with finance managing committee of PTM (Marjan, personal communication, September 18, 2020). For PTM every single and no matter how small, contribution of members matters because these are the contributions of members that has kept PTM sustained for this long (Gandapur, personal communication, September 15, 2020).

4.4.5 The role of Neo media

The role of Neo media is one of the significant factors in mainstreaming PTM. It was/is the depiction of Pathan identity in Neo media that resulted in not only profiling of Pathan but social

exclusion (Hai, personal communication, September 18, 2020). Therefore, PTM having no access to media coverage is mainly relying on social media to counter Pathan representation and spread its message to public and members (Marjan, personal communication, September 17, 2020).

4.5 Misunderstanding PTM

The general perception about PTM is that it is a brainchild of Pashtunistan movement that is generally perceived as a separatist and anti-state movement. The very activists of PTM are perceived as treacherous and working for anti-state domestic and foreign agencies (Khatak, 2018). These are mere propagandas to hinder this social movement (Hai, personal communication, September 18, 2020). Depending on the context different propagandas such as foreign agents, Taliban supporters, ISI agents and/or liberals, only to discourage mobilization (Gandapur, personal communication, September 15, 2020). Furthermore, the historical linkage between some of PTM activists and Taliban, especially Mahsuds (Aljazeera, 2020), are perceived as a disruptive and state destabilizing acting in revenge, financed, and strategically supported by rival states like India and Afghanistan (Dawn, 2020). The very victims of Taliban and target killing were the family members of PTM, then how can we be their supporters? (Salam, personal communication, September 17, 2020). Where the most important misperception and misinterpretation of the movement is that it is anti-Punjabi movement, developing antagonistic emotions in the name of identity politics. PTM is not anti-state or anti-ethnic group movement, it only demands equal civil rights and better life changes and provision of basic human needs from the state for Pathans as well (Marjan, personal communication, September 18, 2020).

Chapter 5 Conclusion

The thematical analyses of PTM dynamics, operationalization of social media and networking this study concludes that PTM is identity based social movement, striving for social reforms and recognition. Through the demand of truth and reconciliation, PTM is trying to de-construct the dominant discourse/narratives and re-present cultural as peaceful and pluralistic. War in itself is a problem, it is like a cancer that consumes everything (Hai & Gandapur, personal communication, September 15, 2020). The demand of truth and reconciliation in itself is a counter narrative of the dominant discourse that led to profiling of Pathan and Pashtunization of Taliban. Through truth and reconciliation PTM wants to prove that Taliban are/were not Pathan dominant ethnic group but a religious identity that includes not only other ethnic groups from within Pakistan and Afghanistan but international states as well.

The issue of PTM is discursive rather than ethnic and/or nationalistic. PTM is trying to de-construct the dominant stereotypical discourse whether positive that depicts them as brave, strong and/or martial race or negative that profile them as terrorists, extremists, and security concern. Pathan is as human as anyone and should be depicted and understood as a human being (Afridi, personal communication, September 15, 2020). As Rashid (n.d.) notes that the Pathans have a significant presence in the professional organization and the leadership of Pakistan, especially in its military, constitute around 51% of Pakistan's army. Therefore, the issue is discourse rather than ethnic.

Where upon the persistent violence and war this study concludes that the identity issues lie in socialization rather than nature. Pathans are not instigator, they have never waged war on others. Wars have always been imposed on them by warlords and masterminds (Hai, personal communication, September 18, 2020). The analysis of politicization of Pathan identity, internalization of stereotypical discourse and socialization illustrate nurture flaws rather than nature. It is their socialization in violent environment that they perceive violence can only be

countered through violence. PTM is striving not only for changing old habit of thoughts but the very way of socialization and cognitive development (Gandapur, personal communication, September 15, 2020).

PTM is a social pressure group that demands public policy reforms, social recognition, and basic human rights under their constitutional rights. Pathans are Pakistani citizens and therefore, their very demands are from state to take necessary measure to provide them better life chances, rather than challenging state authority. We are taxpayer citizens and it is states responsibility to provide us security and basic human needs. We demand equal educational, economic, and social rights (Gandapur, personal communication, September 15, 2020). PTM has no intentions or interest in party politics or elections because their main aim is to unite Pathans and such contestation would only result in further categorization and failure to garner mass mobilization (Hai, personal communication, September 18, 2020).

On the analysis of participation of new middle class that comprises scholars, academics, students and youth, this study concludes that PTM as a social movement through conducting study circles is striving for self-change and de-construction on internalized stereotypical discourse. It is a constructive movement rather than disruptive, trying to educate the youth for more integrative and pluralistic future.

PTM is based on Bacha khan's philosophy of non-violence, pro-democracy, anti-khan, and anti- traditionalism. It is anti-war, anti-terrorism and anti-discrimination. it is a perfect contemporary pragmatic example of new social movement paradigm. PTM is working on formalizing its organizational structure and will be presenting a written manifesto very soon. Albeit the news is not official yet but PTM has consensually selected Manzur Pashteen as their charismatic leader for the next ten years. And he is the ultimate decision maker. At the end, it is his decision that formulates movement tactics and functioning (Hai, personal communication, September 18, 2020).

PTM comprises all the universal distinctive characteristics of NSMs. It is a civil rights movement rather than nationalistic, seeking social recognition and better life chances. The very demands of PTM are not only universal but legal. They are striving for de-colonization of dominant stereotypical discourse that is not only unacceptable but unauthentic in contemporary contexts but flawed and disruptive. That demands better understanding and in-depth analysis. Being rooted in discourse, PTM issues can only be resolved in discourse rather than by suppression or dominance. It does not demand power or dominance but social inclusion. Understanding and utilization of PTM could be the very answer that Pakistan has been seeking for pluralistic, tolerant, and peaceful society. Addressing the identity-based issues of Pathan more responsively and seriously, can end the war enigma of Pakistan once and for all in terms of integrative post conflict development.

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