

Impact of terrorism on Pakistan

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Abstract

The last decade has seen the escalation of instability, insecurity and political violence in the country as a result of Pakistan's role as a "frontline state" in the Global War on Terrorism. Pakistan is paying a huge price in this war. However, not much work has been done on the subject specifically in tabulating the losses of Pakistan in this war. This study tries to fill that gap by identifying the human, economic, political, social and psychological impacts of terrorism on Pakistan.

In terms of human losses, more than 52,000 people, including civilians, personnel of law enforcement agencies, and troops have been killed in terrorist attacks between 2002-2013. The exacerbation of domestic security challenges has exacted an extremely high cost on the economy, both in terms of direct costs of the fight against extremism, as well as in terms of a knock on effect on investment inflows and market confidence. Social impacts of this prolonged war are horrendous. In order to sustain their activities, militant organizations have established close nexus with criminal networks, which has resulted in increase in crime rate across Pakistan. Sectarian violence and target killing are the new tools of the terrorists. The psychological impact of terrorism is the most underestimated implication although it has the direst consequences for Pakistan.

Introduction

Instability, insecurity and political violence have been an evident feature of Pakistan since the 1980s. Unfortunately the last one decade has seen the escalation of these phenomenon as a result of Pakistan's role as a "frontline state" in the Global War on Terrorism (GWO). For Pakistan, even after twelve years of active participation and trying to "do more" there seems to be no end to this war. In fact, the threat of terrorism in Pakistan has increased manifold and, as a result, there are many serious implications of this for the country.

As a matter of fact, it would not be wrong to imply that Pakistan is paying a huge price in this war on terrorism at the cost of its sovereignty and survival. It

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has been globally isolated and is looked down upon as a country that is not doing enough.

Because of Pakistan's geographical proximity to Afghanistan, which was the theatre of this war on terrorism for the NATO/ISAF forces, Pakistan had to play its role. The Pakistani nation for a long time has not taken ownership of this war due to the role of the US and the West not only in this decade but also of their prior role in the Afghan war (1979-89). The subsequent withdrawal of these forces left behind a large paraphernalia of Islamic jihad in this region.

The research paper will try to identify some of these economic, political, social and psychological impacts of terrorism in Pakistan. More accurately, today the threat of terrorism is eroding the country's social structure, economic development and political system. The acts of terrorism are threatening Pakistan's law and order situation, violating human rights of the citizens, damaging basic infrastructure and future economic opportunities. Terrorism has soiled the reputation of the country, the prospects of prosperity, peace and stability are being negatively affected due to lack of economic growth and good governance.

Following are the various dimensions of the impact of terrorism on Pakistan.

Human costs of terrorism for Pakistan

Human cost is the most obvious impact in any war and Pakistan is no exception to it. The War on Terror has exacted a very high human cost for Pakistan in the last twelve years. On March 27, 2013 intelligence agencies in a report to the Pakistani Supreme Court said that Pakistan has lost 49,000 lives since 2001.¹ The Army, Frontier corps, Police, Levies, Paramilitary forces and Rangers have been the most affected group --- apart from the civilians in terms of casualties, injuries and disabilities caused by the terrorist attacks. Militants are also part of this death toll and most of them have been killed due to military operations as well as in drone strikes.

The human cost of terrorism can be calculated if we combine the figures of casualties inflicted by terrorist attacks, political and ethnic violence, sectarian violence and target killings, including the drone strikes. The reason being that today most of terrorist, sectarian, ethno-nationalist organizations have become closely enmeshed with each other.

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Over the years, Tehrik e Taliban (TTP) has been involved in a number of suicide bombings, rocket attacks, remote controlled bombs, abductions, and beheadings. It has widened its area of operations beyond Pakistan's tribal areas and targeted a number of government installations and organizations in the mainland, including the Federal Investigation Agency's Lahore office, the Naval War College in Lahore, the Marriott Hotel in Islamabad, the Wah Ordnance Factory, the Sri Lankan cricket team in Lahore, a police training school, the GHQ Rawalpindi and the Navy's Mehran base in Karachi —just to mention a few.

Generally, the mode of violence attacks included suicidal attacks, rocket attacks, beheadings, remote-control bombs, landmines, firing, sabotage, improvised explosive devices (IEDs), target killings and hand grenades. These losses have been documented by various security organizations in Pakistan as well as by other research institutions --- nationally and internationally --- but the problem is the discrepancy in figures in terms of human losses.

E.g., more than 24,000 people, including civilians, law enforcement agencies and troops were killed in terrorist attacks during the period 2002-2013. Year 2007-2013 have been costlier in human terms. Another 25,000-plus people were killed during military offensives against Taliban insurgents in the tribal regions of Pakistan since 2008. According to the law enforcement agency report submitted to the Supreme Court, since 2008, 15,681 has been the number of armed forces casualties in tribal areas.

After examining different reports and figures, the human loss in terrorist violence comes almost to 52,671 people in 18,634 attacks with estimated injured to 57,344 people. The figures provided by the Interior Ministry differ as probably their figures do not contain the death toll of law enforcement agencies, the military and the militants.

Table 1: Human Loss in Terrorist violence in Pakistan (2002-2013)

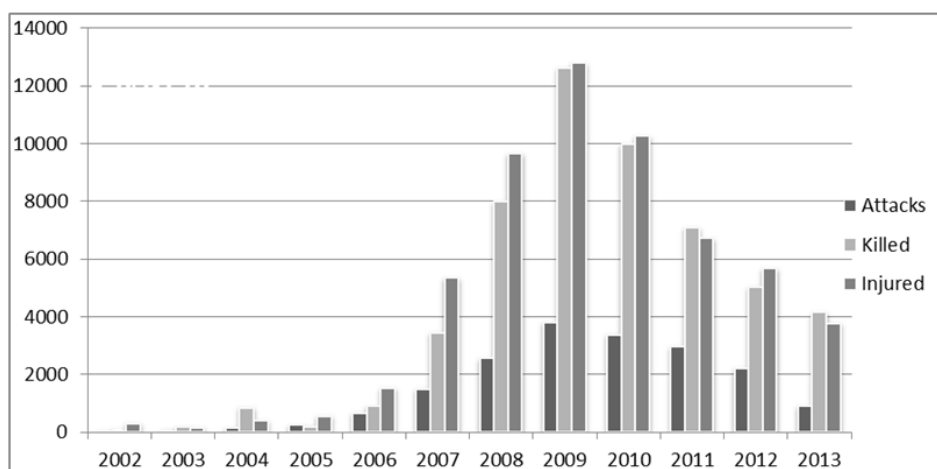
| Year | No. of Attacks | Killed | Injured |
|-------------|-----------------------|---------------|----------------|
| 2002 | 56 | 102 | 311 |
| 2003 | 88 | 189 | 168 |
| 2004 | 159 | 863 | 412 |
| 2005 | 254 | 216 | 571 |
| 2006 | 675 | 907 | 1,543 |
| 2007 | 1,503 | 3,448 | 5,353 |

Strategic Studies

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|--------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| 2008 | 2,577 | 7,997 | 9,670 |
| 2009 | 3,816 | 12,632 | 12,815 |
| 2010 | 3,393 | 10,003 | 10,283 |
| 2011 | 2,985 | 7,107 | 6,736 |
| 2012 | 2,217 | 5,047 | 5,688 |
| 2013 | 911 | 4160 | 3,794 |
| Total | 18,634 | 52,671 | 57,344 |

Sources: PIPS security reports, South Asian Terrorism Portal, Data from National Crisis Management Cell (NCMC), Ministry of Interior.²

The following graph depicts the number of terrorist attacks, casualties and injuries faced by Pakistan as a consequence of terrorism.



The human losses in the table show the number of people killed and injured as a result of terrorist attacks by militants; clashes between security forces and militants, operational attacks by security forces; suicide attacks; sectarian violence and clashes; ethno-political violence; target killings including through drone strikes and political targeting.

Some provinces/regions are more affected than others and bear a greater burden of casualties like KPK, FATA and Balochistan. Likewise some cities are more affected than others within these provinces/regions. In Balochistan, it's the

city of Quetta, in KPK, Peshawar has seen more bomb blasts than any other and in FATA, Kurram, Khyber Agency as well as North and South Waziristan Agencies have borne the highest death tolls. These three areas are the most affected firstly because of their geographical proximity to Afghanistan and have borne the brunt of spill over affects of war in neighbouring Afghanistan. Secondly, due to lack of proper governance and development, these areas have been the breeding ground for terrorism. Thirdly, most of the suicide attacks, all of military operations, most of the attacks on the military as well as drone attacks have taken place in these areas which has cost more lives. The following table shows the estimated loss of life province/region wise from 2007 to 2012.

Table 2: No. of casualties' province/region-wise³

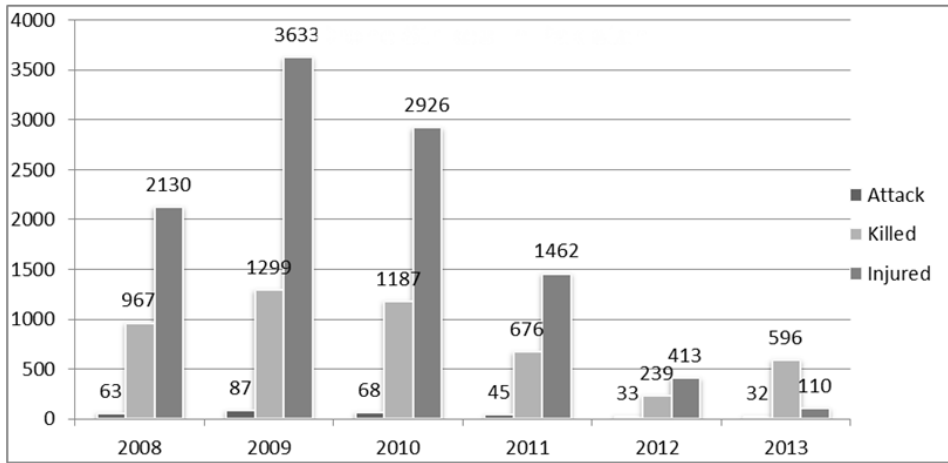
| Year | KPK | FATA | Balochistan | Sindh | Punjab | Gilgit-Baltistan | Islamabad |
|-------------|------------|-------------|--------------------|--------------|---------------|-------------------------|------------------|
| 2007 | 1096 | | 224 | | | | |
| 2008 | 982 | 619 | 296 | | 219 | 5 | 119 |
| 2009 | 1,438 | 644 | 386 | 73 | 420 | 3 | 30 |
| 2010 | 836 | 904 | 600 | 5 | 309 | 7 | 15 |
| 2011 | 820 | 612 | 710 | 120 | 116 | 9 | 4 |
| 2012 | 401 | 631 | 631 | 289 | 75 | 22 | 1 |

Suicide attacks have been one of the most common tactics used by militant organizations in recent years in Pakistan to inflict maximum damage. Suicide bombers targeted foreign nationals and envoys, security forces, political leaders and law enforcement agencies as well as civilians in shopping areas.

Table 3: Suicide Attacks (2008-2012)⁴

| Year | No. of attacks | Killed | Injured |
|--------------|-----------------------|---------------|----------------|
| 2008 | 63 | 967 | 2130 |
| 2009 | 87 | 1299 | 3633 |
| 2010 | 68 | 1187 | 2926 |
| 2011 | 45 | 676 | 1462 |
| 2012 | 33 | 239 | 413 |
| 2013 | 32 | 596 | 1100 |
| Total | 328 | 4,964 | 11,664 |

Table 3 is also depicted in the form of a graph in order to see the rate of suicide bombing in Pakistan.



Target killing through drone strikes has been another means of killing militants in FATA by the US. An estimated 318 drone strikes have killed almost 2,365 people. The debate around drone strikes revolves around violation of sovereignty and the collateral damage caused in the form of civilian deaths.

All these figures demonstrate that the overall security landscape of Pakistan has remained extremely volatile since Pakistan became the “frontline state” in the War against Terrorism. It also depicts how complex the situation has become with a spectrum of ideological elements entering into the fray, military which is secular and pro-West in general and a political system that is hobbled and not able to take bold decisions.

2008-2010 have been some of the bloodiest years in Pakistan’s history and since then there is a downward trend in the number of overall incidents of violence and casualties.

Economic cost of terrorism

The Pakistani economy suffered a severe negative impact as a consequence of terrorism. Though this downturn cannot be solely blamed on terrorism as other factors can be factored in These are namely the international financial crisis of 2009, undemocratic government, massive disruption of energy supply to the industrial sector as well as severe floods almost every year which were destroying the agricultural system.

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The war has spread to most parts of Pakistan and has affected the overall economy adversely. The intensification of domestic security challenges has exacted an extremely high cost on the economy, both in terms of direct costs of the fight against extremism, as well as in terms of a knock on effect on investment inflows and market confidence. A significant collateral impact has been borne by Pakistan in terms of the squeezing of fiscal space for critical development and social sector expenditures that has hampered growth prospects in foreseeable future.

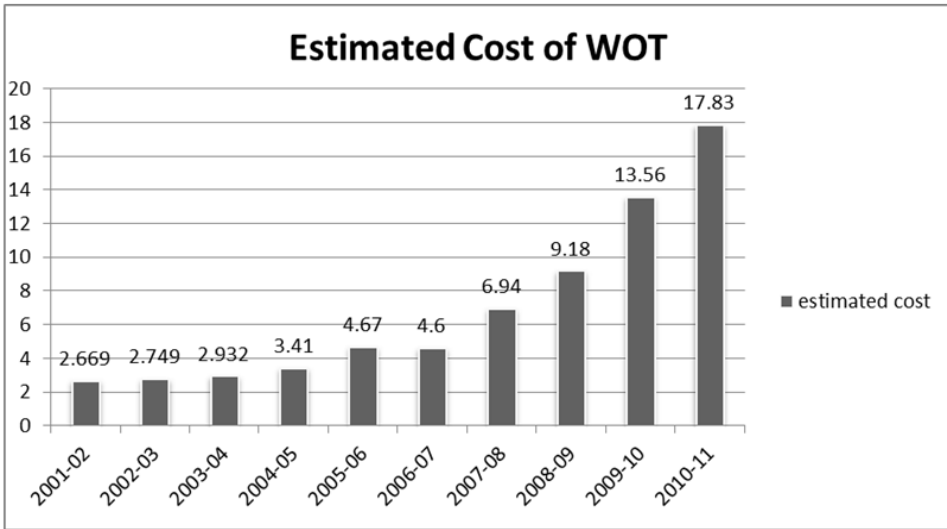
It is difficult to assess the exact total cost of war on terrorism. But a rough estimate of the direct and indirect cost incurred by Pakistan during the past 10 years (2001-2011) as calculated by the Ministry of Finance in its annual Economic Survey of 2010-2011 amounts to almost \$68 billion⁵. The cost of war incurred losses to Pakistan was in the range of \$2.669 billion in fiscal year

(2001-02), \$2.749 billion in 2002-03, \$2.932 billion in (2003-04), \$3.410 billion in 2004-05, \$4.670 billion in 2005-06, \$4.670 billion in 2006-07, \$6.940 billion in 2007-08, \$9.180 billion in 2008-09, \$13.560 billion in 2009-10 and \$17.830 billion in 2010-11, totalling the cost of war to \$67.926 billion in the last 10 years⁶.

Table 4: Estimated Direct/Indirect Cost of WOT (in billion \$)

| Year | Estimated cost of war |
|--------------|------------------------------|
| 2001-02 | 2.669 |
| 2002-03 | 2.749 |
| 2003-04 | 2.932 |
| 2004-05 | 3.410 |
| 2005-06 | 3.986 |
| 2006-07 | 4.670 |
| 2007-08 | 6.940 |
| 2008-09 | 9.180 |
| 2009-10 | 13.560 |
| 2010-2011 | 17.830 |
| Total | 67.926 |

Source: Pakistan Economic Survey 2010-2011, Ministry of Finance.



The figure of direct/indirect cost of war was given by Pakistan Economic Survey 2011.

This figure of \$ 68 billion was till year 2011 and expected estimates were to be released by Finance Ministry for Pakistan Economic Survey 2012-13. It was held back according to media reports. Though in a news conference at the Ministry of Finance on June 11, 2013, he Minister for Commerce, Mr.Ishaq Dar gave a figure of \$125 billion as the economic cost of war for Pakistan. Dar said: “In his personal opinion, the country had already faced a financial loss of \$180 billion in this war”.⁷

Economic costs in Pakistan accruing from terrorism also includes the extra cost for maintaining law and order, maintaining forces for counter terrorism, training and upgrading weapons and facilities for the law enforcement agencies, providing security to politicians, diplomats, foreigners, hotels, mosques, schools and facilities of the security agencies. But the official figures on the estimated cost of war do not include the damage and loss of private property, businesses (shops, private schools and hospitals), and agricultural lands (farms and cattle) of the people. According to the figures provided by the National Crisis Management Cell, Rs. 330051,29 Million or \$ 3690,941 million was the official estimated cost of the war to physical infrastructure.⁸

According to these figures the total amount of compensations paid to the martyrs, injured and deceased from 2010-2013 totals Rs.166,714 million. Just the

installation of extra security measures like installation of security cameras in public places, fencing and barricading has cost Rs.49,655 million.⁹

Budget allocations for law enforcement agencies had to be significantly increased due to increase in terrorism in the country. According to the statistics provided by the NCMC, the total expenditure overrun for various law enforcement agencies from 2010-2013 amounted to Rs.27440.59 million or \$305.59 million.¹⁰ This has not only overstrained the budget and eroded resources for development all over Pakistan, particularly in FATA and KPK areas but has also added to human sufferings and strained resettlement costs¹¹. For instance, several development projects, started earlier in the affected areas were afflicted with delays which would ultimately result in large cost over-runs. There was also expenditure over-run on additional security spending, destruction of physical infrastructure, both military and civil, a massive surge in security-related spending and migration of thousands of people from militancy-hit areas.

Foreign Direct Investment Inflows (FDI)

Foreign direct investment is basically the inflow of capital or investment from outside countries whether in form of any kind of assistance or full operations like multinationals etc. FDIs produce positive productivity effect in host countries. The main benefit of this direct investment flow from adoption of foreign technology and know how through licensing agreements, replication, employee training, process innovation, and link between foreign and domestic firms.

Since the start of the anti-terrorism campaign, the pervading sense of uncertainty has contributed to capital flight as well as slowing down domestic economic activity by making foreign investors jittery. It is apprehended that Foreign Direct Investment, which witnessed a steep rise for several years was adversely affected by military operations in FATA and other areas of KP in addition to an excessive increase in the country's credit risk, which has made borrowing from the market extremely expensive.

Also, Pakistan's role in the war on terror has affected the country's exports, prevented inflows of foreign investment, affected the pace of the privatisation programme, and slowed economic activity in general.

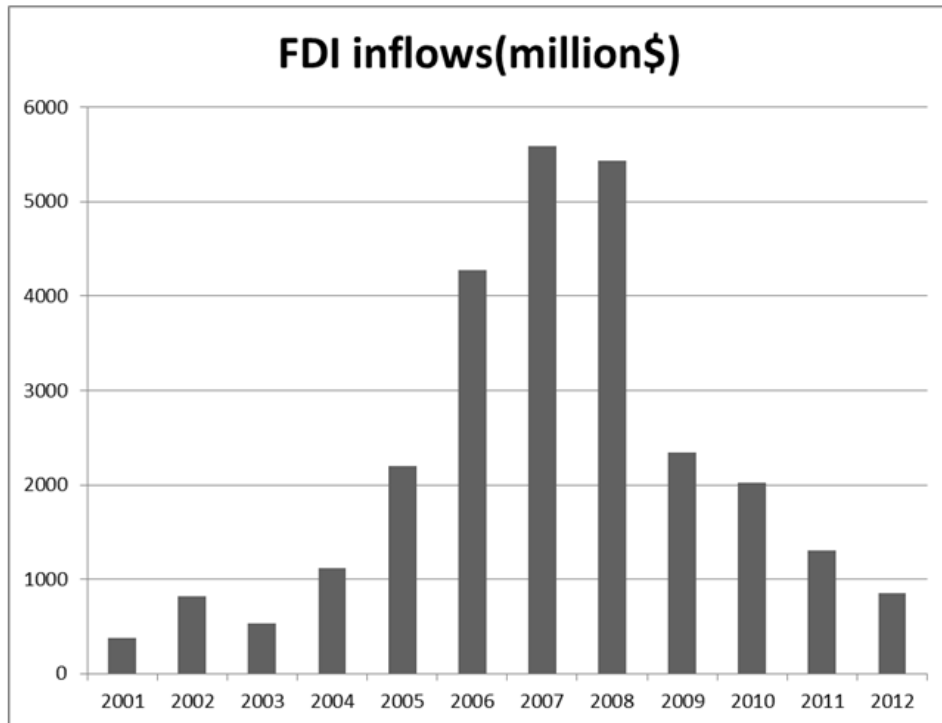
Increase in security expenditure also means greater fiscal deficit and cutting down of social and development expenditures. Energy pipelines have been blown up by separatist organisations; Chinese engineers have been targeted; NATO

containers torched and looted and many more daily incidents of violence and terrorism shown on media have damaged investors' confidence over the years. In all, security concerns and terrorism has created a sense of drift, reduced confidence and increased risk perceptions-- leading to declining rates of investment and lower economic growth.

Table 5: FDI Inflows to Pakistan 2001-2011¹²

| Year | FDI (million \$) | Net inflows as %age of GDP |
|-------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 2001 | 383 | 0.54 |
| 2002 | 823 | 1.15 |
| 2003 | 534 | 0.65 |
| 2004 | 1,118 | 1.16 |
| 2005 | 2,201 | 1.97 |
| 2006 | 4,273 | 3.4 |
| 2007 | 5,590 | 3.9 |
| 2008 | 5,438 | 3.3 |
| 2009 | 2,338 | 1.4 |
| 2010 | 2,018 | 1.1 |
| 2011 | 1,308 | 0.6 |
| 2012 | 853 | 0.4 |

Sources: World Bank Country Reports; Board of Investment (BoI), Pakistan; Economic Survey of Pakistan; United Nations Conference on Trade And Development (UNCTAD) statistics.



As is evident from the figures, FDI inflows to Pakistan saw a sharp rise from 2005-2008 and right after the military operations against the militants were launched a sharp decline in the FDI can be seen because the number of terrorist attacks in major cities increased thus causing extreme insecurity. Before the military operations were launched the terrorists and militants were mostly restricted to FATA and KPK, which account for some of the poorest regions of Pakistan. FDI has always been focused toward major cities and lately a major percentage of FDIs has been in the energy and services sector.

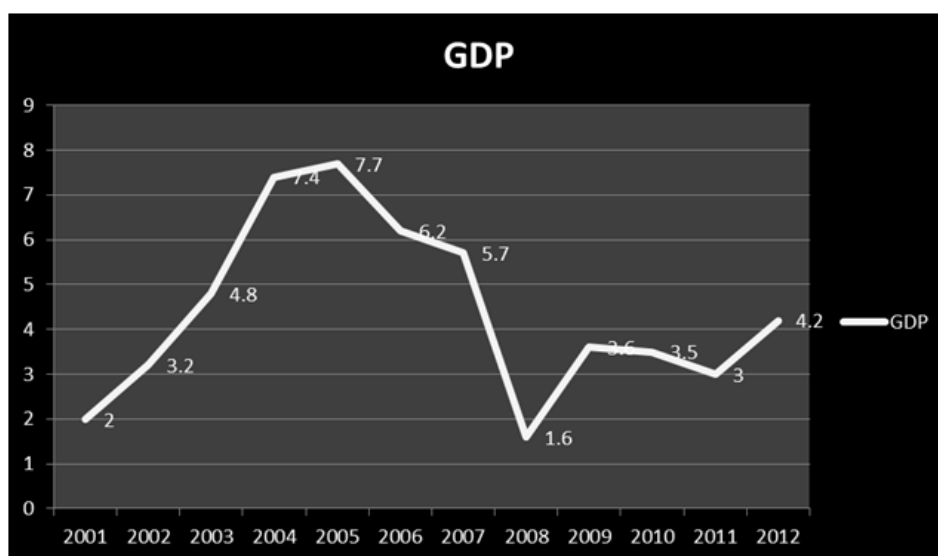
Despite considerable fluctuations in their FDI shares, the US, UK and the UAE remain the major source of FDI inflows in Pakistan. The share of FDI from UAE fluctuated between 1.61 % in (2000-01) to 40.46% in (2005-06); that of the UK between 28.07% in (2000-01) to 6.25% in (2001-02) and that of the US between 67.34% in (2001-02) to 14.67% in 2005-06¹³.

According to United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) report on FDI in Pakistan, Pakistan has gone from number 74 in 2008 to 100 in 2009 to 110 in 2010 in international ranking to attract FDI.¹⁴

As in the case of FDI, the GDP growth rate in Pakistan witnessed a high from 2004-2007 but and has been falling since then as seen from the following table:

Table 6: Annual GDP growth (%)

| Year | GDP |
|------|-----|
| 2001 | 2.0 |
| 2002 | 3.2 |
| 2003 | 4.8 |
| 2004 | 7.4 |
| 2005 | 7.7 |
| 2006 | 6.2 |
| 2007 | 5.7 |
| 2008 | 1.6 |
| 2009 | 3.6 |
| 2010 | 3.5 |
| 2011 | 3.0 |
| 2012 | 4.2 |



Sources: World Bank, Board of Investment Pakistan, Economic Survey of Pakistan.

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The only financial source of stability in the economic state of Pakistan has been the migrant remittances that have helped sustain the Pakistani economy. The migrant remittances have increased from 3.554 billion in 2002 to 14 billion in 2012.¹⁵

Table 7: Remittances from Overseas Pakistanis (2002-2012)

| Year | Migrant remittances (\$ billion) |
|-------------|---|
| 2002 | 3.554 |
| 2003 | 3.964 |
| 2004 | 3.945 |
| 2005 | 4.280 |
| 2006 | 5.121 |
| 2007 | 5.998 |
| 2008 | 7.039 |
| 2009 | 8.717 |
| 2010 | 9.690 |
| 2011 | 12.263 |
| 2012 | 14.010 |

Source: UNCTAD¹⁶

Internally Displaced People (IDPs)

After the Taliban violated the Nizam-e-Adl Regulation 2009 in Malakand Division, the Pakistani government conducted five major military operations against the militants namely: Operation *Rah-e-Rast* in Malakand Division; Operation *Rah-e-Nijaat* in South Waziristan Agency; and operations *Dargahlam*, *Bia Dargahlam* and *Kwakhbadesham* in Khyber Agency. As a result of these counter-terrorism and counter-insurgency military operations in addition to sectarian violence resulted in mass displacement of people in FATA and KPK.

A report published in June 2013 by the International Displacement Monitoring Center (IDMC), claims that around 5 million people have become internally displaced as a result of conflict in the North West of Pakistan since

2004. There are more than 1.1 million IDPs registered as displaced by conflict in the North West and millions are unregistered.¹⁷

Khyber and Kurram Agencies are the worst-affected areas with FATA. More than 415,000 people were newly displaced in 2012 and at least 131,000 more have fled their homes since March 2013. According to the UN High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), there are 1.1 million registered IDPs in the region and many more are unregistered in the region and elsewhere. Most are from the Khyber agency (83,000 families), South Waziristan (36,000 families), Kurram (34,000 families) and Orakzai (21,000 families).

There are also a large numbers of unregistered IDPs. Around 34 percent of KPs displaced population were not registered at the end of 2012. This includes families from Khyber, Orakzai, Bajaur, Mohmand, South Waziristan, Kurram and Hangu and Tank. Returns on large scale have been seen in some cases like Swat where there has been a 90% return of the IDPs. In other cases like most of the Agencies, there has been disappointing numbers of return as most of the infrastructure and livelihoods have been destroyed by the military operations, and what is left, is open to drone attacks. So, drone strikes by the US in FATA are another salient reason for forced displacement in the region.

Most of the IDPs tend to become an economic burden on the government and at the same time the economic losses and psychological trauma of leaving their hearths and homes and seeing their family members killed is immense and will have a far reaching effect on the society in the long-run. The hatred and abhorrence thus induced towards the Pakistani military and state in displacing them is severe and provides fertile breeding ground for yet more terrorism as well as makes them easy recruits for militant organizations.

High unemployment rates and their movement from rural to semi-urban and urban centers are creating security issues. Apart from the conflicted displaced IDPs Pakistan also hosts the world's largest and most protracted refugee caseload as more than 1.6 million Afghan refugees are currently registered in Pakistan and a further one million are yet to be unregistered as well as around 15 million flood IDPs. Though the Pakistani government has been keen on supporting the repatriation and rehabilitation of these IDPs the cost incurred would be very high for rebuilding FATA while Pakistan has still not been able to rehabilitate and repatriate the IDPs of the 2005 earthquake.

Social implications

The social impacts of this prolonged war on Pakistan have been horrendous. Hundreds of suicide bombings that occurred country wide inflicted colossal damages to the physical infrastructure and expenditure incurred on law and order squeezed the economy more than ever resulting in the diversion of public expenditure to security. The present socio-economic situation is likely to have adversely affected the efforts for poverty reduction. Counter terrorism campaigns against the militants in KPK and FATA also brought social and psychological sufferings to them. Approximately five million people were displaced which is considered as one of the largest displacements in the history of Pakistan.

Education

Education is the key to progress for any nation of the world. It too became a victim of the war on terror. Most of the girls' schools were destroyed and vandalized by the extremists for dispensing modern or western-style education generally to children but particularly to girls. Schools were also abandoned because of fear of being persecuted by the extremists in KP.

The Taliban had banned girls' education altogether and at the same time the incidents of torching and bombing schools intensified. Parents were asked not to send their daughters to "un-Islamic" schools for western education. Schools were particularly targeted in Swat and FATA but a lot of schools were closed down and the security forces used them as camps in the operation against militants. Militants attacked and destroyed a number of boys and girls schools in FATA and KPK as a strategy to instill the youth of the area with militant values. "We are targeting schools because they are part of an infidel system of education", said Sajjad Mohmand, Mohmand Agency spokesperson of the TTP Mohmand Agency in January 2011. This statement shows the resentment and vengeance of the extremists against the education system in Pakistan.

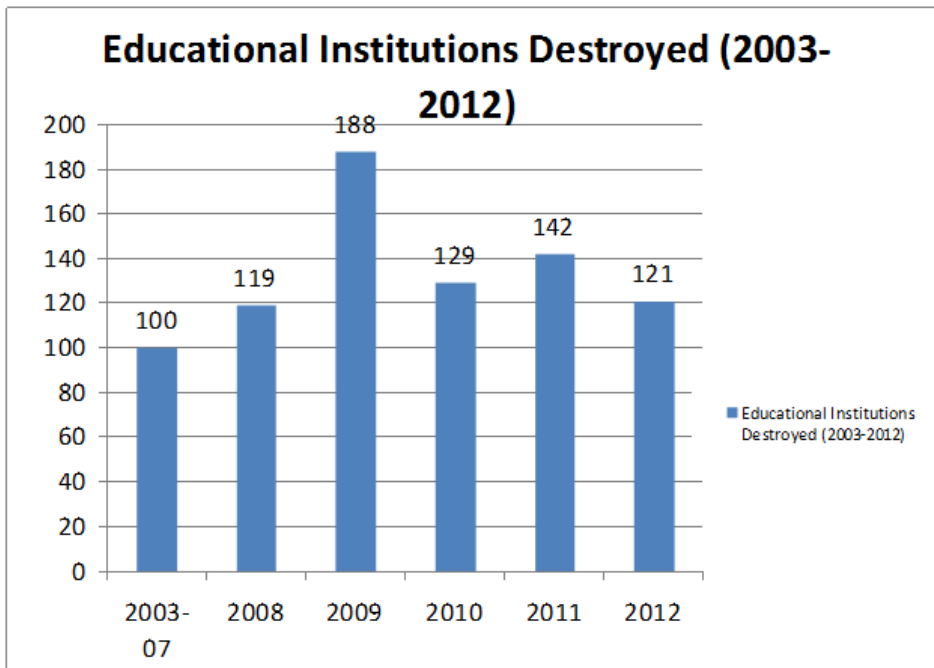
Militants attacked 119 schools in 2008; 188 in 2009; 129 in 2010, 142 in 2011 and 121 educational institutions in 2012. According to the law enforcement agencies report to the Supreme Court, the militants had destroyed almost 1,030 schools, mostly girls' schools, in FATA and KPK but documentary proof suggests that almost 799 schools were destroyed from 2003-2013. In FATA alone, a total of 458 schools were destroyed from 2007-2012. While in KPK militants have blown up 282 schools, which affected 13,000 female and 18,000 male students.¹⁸ FATA had 5,468 public schools and 430 private institutions in FATA in 2007-08.¹⁹

Apart from the destroyed schools, the number of partially-damaged or non-functional schools is more than 829 in FATA. Other than these, 149 schools that have been closed down as a result of the security situation or being close by to militant strongholds.²⁰ The constant threat of targeting the educational institutions is the major factor behind increase in dropout rate in FATA educational institutions. Malakand region was the region worst hit by education institution destruction and closure in KP as more than 640 schools were destroyed, according to the Ex-KP Minister for Education, Sardar Hussain Babak.²¹

Apart from dispensing western-style education as proclaimed by the TTP, one of the other reasons for destruction of schools may also be the fact that most of the schools in FATA were closed down in 2007 by the government due to insecurity as well as in advance of military operations in the agencies. Most of these closed schools were used as camps by Pakistan military. As such there was no death toll reported from bombings and destruction of schools. Following are numbers collected over years of destruction of educational institutions by the militants.

Table 8: Number of educational Institutions destroyed (2003-2012)²²

| Year | Number of educational institutions destroyed |
|--------------|---|
| 2003-2007 | 100 |
| 2008 | 119 |
| 2009 | 188 |
| 2010 | 129 |
| 2011 | 142 |
| 2012 | 121 |
| Total | 799 |



The toll this conflict has taken on education will impact Pakistan in innumerable ways. Targeting schools has not only instilled fear in those seeking and dispensing education but is also symbolic attack on the state. Destruction of schools has deterred many children from pursuing education. According to the Annual Status of Education Report 2012 reveals that 16 percent of children in KPK have either never been enrolled in school or have dropped out and out of this nine percent are girls. The situation in FATA is even worse with 25 percent rate of dropouts.²³ Increase in dropout rate has been because of the prevailing security situation in KPK and FATA. Not only have teachers been targeted but there have been incidents where school vans carrying school children and teachers were bombed by remote control devices by militants. On October 9, 2012, school girls campaigner and activist Malala Yousafzai was shot in the head by the TTP while travelling on the school van, to convey to parents and teachers to stop attending school or be killed. The issue also led to increasing dropouts in the region. The issue of drone attacks also looms like the sword of Damocles on the citizens of FATA as one does not know when one will be hit by them. So, sending children to school is impossible in such precarious scenario.

Tourism

Terrorism, political instability and violence are among the most important factors controlling tourist flows to any country. Until a few years ago, tourism used to be a major source of revenue for the Pakistani government. The war on terror served as a major setback as the number of foreign tourists declined drastically after certain western countries started issuing Negative Travel Advisories (NTA) for Pakistan. An NTA is a warning issued by a government to prevent its citizens from visiting certain countries. Even when some countries had relaxed the travel advisory, situation in Northern Pakistan had become worse. The militant takeover and later the military operation in Swat has badly affected tourism in the region. The most reliable source of inflow of money to Pakistan's northern areas was from tourism—tourism based on either viewing, hiking through, or climbing some of the world's most beautiful and challenging peaks. Unfortunately that is in great peril if not totally gone today.

One of the first terrorism attacks on tourist site was in Malam Jabba (Swat), the only ski resort of Pakistan was torched and burned down by militants in June 2008 causing a loss of Rs. 60 million to the PTDC. The other big blows to tourism in Pakistan was witnessed on June 22, 2013 at the Nanga Parbat base camp when ten foreign climbers and a local tourist guide was killed. The Tehreek-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) claimed responsibility for the attack and justified the killing as retaliation to the drone attack that killed one of TTP's leader Waliur Rehman in May 2013. Mountaineering has been a bright spot of tourism in Pakistan. Unfortunately, as a consequence of this terrorist act, all mountain expeditions in the area have been suspended. The Nanga Parbat terrorist act investigating team was also murdered in Chilas proving that the militants do control these tourist areas.

Pakistan earns around 300 million USD from tourism annually and receives approximately 1 million tourists in Pakistan every year.²⁴ These include foreigners who visit Pakistan for business, tourism (visiting the northern areas and other tourist attractions like Harrapa and Mohenjodaro; Buddhist archeological and historical sites as well as forts all over Pakistan), and also includes those Pakistanis who are visiting their families in Pakistan. The definition of tourist is very confusing in this regard. The UN World Tourism Organisation defines a tourist as “any person who travels to a country other than that in which he/she has his/her usual residence but outside his/her usual environment for a period not exceeding 12 months and whose main purpose of visit is other than the exercise of an activity remunerated from with the country visited, and who stay at least one night in a collective or private accommodation

in the country visited”.²⁵ The World Economic Forum Travel and Tourism Competitiveness Index 2013 ranks Pakistan at 122 out of 140 countries based on travel and tourism sector trailing behind Ethiopia and Cameroon while it was at 125 in 2011.²⁶

Though the number of tourists visiting the country to see its beauty and visiting the sites of historical and religious significance have decreased, the number of Pakistanis visiting home have increased in the past. One of the reasons for this frequency of visit is because a lot of second and third generation Pakistanis living in Europe, Middle East and America have brought money back home and bought properties in big cities of Pakistan. Secondly, the youngsters of Pakistani origin living in Europe and America have the issue of identity crisis which tends to bring them back to their roots. Though the number of tourists visiting Pakistan has increased but instability and insecurity as a consequence of terrorism has resulted in overall decline in interest of foreign and domestic tourists.

Terrorist activities and military operation in areas like Swat have been responsible in shrinking the tourism industry and reduced the earnings from the Hotels and Motels located in these areas. Though the tourism sites have not been well maintained and preserved, but Pakistan has a lot of unique sites to offer to the world. The local population of the Northern areas of Pakistan. From the majestic and beautiful mountains and lakes of North Pakistan to the deserts of Balochistan and Sindh to the historical sites of Indus Civilization. Terrorism and terrorist activities in the past decade have been a non-starter for any Pakistani government to promote tourism.

Sports

On March 3, 2009, the visiting Sri Lankan Cricket team was attacked by terrorists in Lahore injuring six players and killing eight Pakistanis including six policemen and two civilians. This was not the first time a sport was targeted by the terrorists in Pakistan. In May 2002, New Zealand abandoned the Test-series in Pakistan after suicide bombing outside their hotel. Though no group had claimed both these acts but in 2004, Lashkar-e-Tayyaba (LeT) had issued a fatwa against playing cricket and called it un-Islamic. The terrorist incident had a deep impact on Pakistani cricket. The 2011 Cricket World Cup was to be hosted by Pakistan, India, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh but in the wake of these attacks on the Sri Lankan cricket team, the International Cricket Council (ICC) stripped Pakistan of hosting rights. Hosting the world cup also meant improving sports facilities where the matches were to be held and also a lot of revenue would have

generated if Pakistan was allowed to host. Since then no international cricket teams have played in Pakistan because of the security situation and threat perception from extremists vis-à-vis sports.

Due to increasing militancy, no international cricket team has visited Pakistan since 2009 & Pakistan Cricket Board (PCB) is constrained to host all its home series at neutral venues in United Arab Emirates, which not only entails reduction in income but also causes increase in expenses. Since the attack, cricket teams of India & Bangladesh have cancelled their scheduled visits to Pakistan which resulted in overall loss of about USD 97 Million to PCB. Loss is sustained in the heads of sale of: Television Rights, Sponsorships & In-stadia rights, Radio broadcasting, SMS and Audio Streaming Rights, Gate Money etc. As a result of hosting its home series at neutral venue, PCB is incurring additional expenditure of about USD 1.4 Million per series.²⁷

Apart from financial losses to the PCB, young Pakistani cricket players are not getting opportunities of playing international cricket in the country as Pakistan is unable to host even junior tours. As a result, Pakistan is losing the “home ground” advantage as all the “home” tours are now played abroad.

There has been a decline of interest towards cricket in Pakistan, which is also seen in the lack of maintaining cricket facilities and stadiums. A number of projects have been stalled in this regard. Development plans in other parts of the country including upgradation of existing facilities in various grounds has been put on hold to save costs and ensure continuance of PCB’s day-to-day operations.

Increased criminal activity

With stringent financial controls and checks and balances on charities, it has become difficult for militant organizations to sustain themselves. We see an emerging nexus between militant organizations and criminal networks, which has resulted in a rise in crime. Militants are now involved in abductions for ransom across Pakistan and the link between militant organizations and criminal gangs are obvious. With regard to the militant-criminal nexuses, Karachi, Balochistan, parts of Punjab, the tribal areas and even Islamabad have become critical areas. The following chart can explain in depicting this rising criminal activity during the last decade in Pakistan.

Table 9: Crimes reported in Pakistan (2003-2012)

| Offences | 2003 | 2004 | 2005 | 2006 | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 |
|--------------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| All reported | 400680 | 440578 | 453264 | 537866 | 538048 | 592503 | 616227 | 652383 | 673750 | 646900 |
| Murder | 9346 | 9719 | 9631 | 10048 | 10556 | 12059 | 12491 | 13208 | 13860 | 13846 |
| Attempted murder | 11562 | 12678 | 12863 | 13729 | 13840 | 15083 | 14962 | 15478 | 15496 | 15338 |
| Kidnapping/ abduction | 8450 | 9637 | 9209 | 10431 | 10725 | 15135 | 16313 | 18556 | 19806 | 20194 |
| Dacoity | 1821 | 2338 | 2395 | 2895 | 3260 | 4529 | 4457 | 4727 | 4980 | 4259 |
| Robbery | 8434 | 11851 | 12199 | 14630 | 16639 | 19943 | 19138 | 21907 | 20632 | 17081 |
| Burglary | 13049 | 13647 | 12067 | 12872 | 12067 | 14943 | 15073 | 16638 | 18195 | 17638 |
| Other theft | 20189 | 22024 | 24793 | 31166 | 29473 | 36023 | 35697 | 37878 | 42223 | 40102 |
| Others | 327829 | 358684 | 370107 | 438156 | 441488 | 474788 | 498096 | 523991 | 538558 | 518442 |

Source: National Bureau of Police Research and Development, Ministry of Interior.

These are the reported cases of crimes in Pakistan. One can see the increasing rate of Kidnapping/abduction for ransom of 8,450 individuals in 2003 to 20,194 in 2012.²⁸ The rate and frequency of this crime has specifically increased manifold. These are the reported cases of kidnapping and abduction in the country and it is established that the frequency of this crime is much more than what the figures portray because most of kidnapping for ransom cases are not even reported to the police for fear of life of the abducted.

The Crime Index of Pakistan was 61.52 and 58.71 in 2013 and 2012. The higher the Crime Index the higher the rate of crimes. Pakistan safety index was 38.48 in 2013 which is better than 41.29 in 2012.²⁹

The city of Karachi is hub of commercial activity in Pakistan and the most populous urban center with a population of almost 17 million. Political violence and ethnic tensions has exacerbated over the years and have been complicated with the growing criminal gangs operating in various areas of the city. Karachi comprises of 10 percent of Pakistan's population and 20% of the total GDP of the country.³⁰ With 1,790 kidnappings for ransom, 2,032 targeted killings, 4485 vehicle theft, 18774 motorcycle theft and 23962 cell phone thefts in 2012, Karachi has become the most unsafe city in Pakistan.³¹

Criminal gangs often with affiliation with political parties have been operating within Karachi and crime and safety has been a major issue in that city. These criminal gangs are being used by militant/extremist organizations to raise funding. Kidnapping and car theft has become an industry in Karachi and ransom is extorted for profit as well as to finance operations. In an interview with Muhammad Amir Rana, Director PIPS, "if kidnapping for ransom is curtailed in Karachi, frequency of terrorist activity will go down almost by 70%."³² Vehicle theft has also gone up from 3377 in 2003 to 4485 vehicles in 2012 only in the city of Karachi.³³

Some parts of the Karachi like northern and eastern zones have become "no-go- areas" where the crime rate is extremely high and these neighborhoods are controlled by criminal and political gangs. The sectarian violence has also seen sharp rise as target killing on religious and political basis has increased.

Kidnapping and abduction for ransom cases are increasing every year. Many cases of kidnapping are also undertaken for target killing and lot of bullet ridden and tortured bodies are found in the slums of the city. Interestingly, the figures vary from that of the Sindh police, Citizens Police Liaison Committee (CPLC), HRCP and NCMC. According to a report provided to the Senate Standing Committee as reported in daily, *The Tribune*, a total of 79,863 abduction cases were reported in 2008-2013. Punjab witnessed an increase in abduction cases accounting for 64,796 followed by Sindh with 11,357, KPK with 2,221, Balochistan with 1,065 followed by Islamabad with 338 cases.³⁴

Kidnappings and killings in Karachi are different from that of Balochistan where the security agencies are being held responsible for the missing persons

and dead bodies found. In Karachi, the political parties blame each other for such kidnappings and murders.

Political fallout of terrorism in Pakistan

The state of Pakistan and its machinery has been challenged time and over again as a result of the issue of terrorism in the last twelve years. The terrorists and militant groups have challenged the writ of the state as government establishments; specifically security establishments have been openly targeted and challenged. Attacks on military and security institution like the ones on Mehran Base, General Headquarters (GHQ) as well as attacks on military officials and convoys have been proclaimed by the militants and terrorists.

Another facet of terrorism in Pakistan has been the increasing frequency of political killings in the last decade. Thousands of political leaders and workers have been targeted and killed in the last decade of extremism. There is no single study that documents the political killings apart from attacks on former Former Prime Minister and leader of Pakistan People's Party, Benazir Bhutto and an attack on former president Musharraf. Karachi has been the breeding ground of political killings and mostly these attacks were blamed on the MQM and Sunni Tehreek. Political killings and abductions have also become common in Balochistan. To give an insight into the increasing level of political violence, one can see that during January-May 2013, about 298 political leaders/political activists and workers were killed

Increase in sectarian violence

Sectarianism is not a new phenomenon in Pakistan. Pakistan has seen two bloody decades of sectarian violence since the 1980's. Post joining the war on terrorism, sectarianism to a certain extent remained a dormant factor in the overall terrorist activities. It was only in 2007 that we saw the incidents of sectarian violence and clashes going up. Because the Taliban needed the tribal belt sanctuary, sectarian tensions were exploited in Kurram agency against the Shias of Parachinar. Taliban's are basically Deobandis and anti-Shia but at the same time the route they wanted to access Afghanistan through Kurram was controlled by the Shias. Taliban's anti-Shia campaign in FATA only led to the consolidation of extremist Shia groupings and in turn remobilized the Sunni extremist organizations with *Taliban support all over Pakistan*.

Since 2007, there has been a sharp resurgence of sectarian violence in Pakistan specifically in Punjab and Balochistan. Because Pakistan has the second

largest population of Shias in the world after Iran, increasing sectarianism tends to destabilize not only the country but also the region. As per the historical trends, most of the sectarian violence has been targeted against Shias (at least 70%) but inter-sectarian violence (between Sunni sub-groups Barelvis and Deobandis) has been on the rise too³⁵.

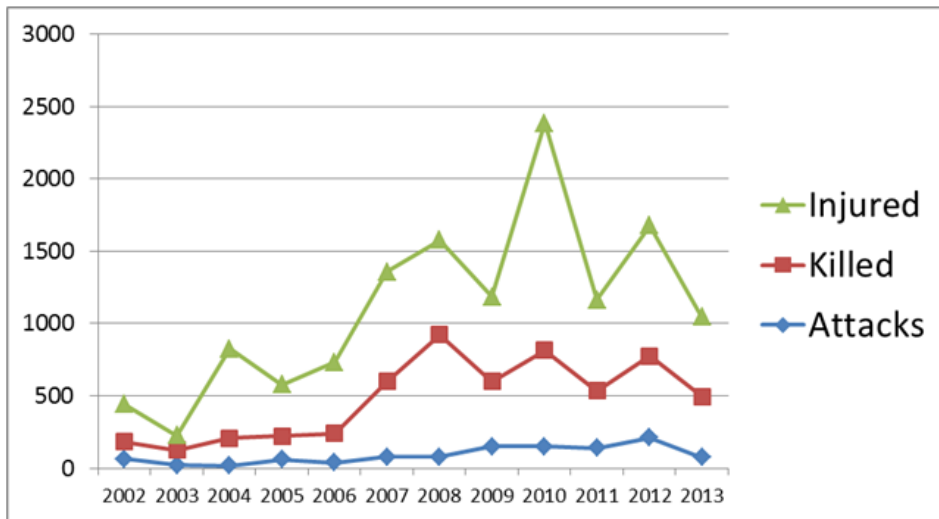
The Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan, the outlawed conglomerate of militant groups blamed for most violence in the country, has weakened due to infighting and fragmentation. As a result of military operation in FATA, insurgents and militants have increasingly abandoned rural areas like FATA in favor of urban areas that may provide greater protection from drones and other sophisticated countermeasures as well as create insecurity all over the country. Sectarian and religious violence in Pakistan is on the rise as a result. Between January 2012 and June 2013 Pakistan has witnessed a new wave of sectarian violence specifically targeting the Shia community. Some of TTP's splinter groups have morphed into sectarian extremist groups – which are mounting attacks on the Shia community in Quetta and Karachi. Pakistan would witness more of these sectarian attacks in various parts of the country in the future.

Sectarian violence is among the critical threats to Pakistan's internal security and stability. Besides sectarian-related attacks and targeted killings by violent sectarian groups, sectarian discrimination is also increasingly penetrating individuals' attitudes and behaviors in Pakistan. Despite the government's repeated bans on sectarian groups, they are becoming more active and defiant across country, particularly in Karachi, Quetta and South Punjab. Some of them including Lashkar-e-Jhangvi have strong ideological and operational nexus with the Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) and Al-Qaeda.

Table 10: Sectarian Violence in Pakistan:2002-2013

| Year | No. of incidents | Killed | Injured |
|--------------|-------------------------|---------------|----------------|
| 2002 | 63 | 121 | 257 |
| 2003 | 22 | 102 | 103 |
| 2004 | 19 | 187 | 619 |
| 2005 | 62 | 160 | 354 |
| 2006 | 38 | 201 | 495 |
| 2007 | 80 | 521 | 757 |
| 2008 | 79 | 842 | 654 |
| 2009 | 152 | 446 | 587 |
| 2010 | 152 | 663 | 1,569 |
| 2011 | 139 | 397 | 626 |
| 2012 | 213 | 563 | 900 |
| 2013 | 74 | 421 | 551 |
| Total | 1,093 | 4,624 | 7,472 |

Impact of terrorism on Pakistan



Source: Policy brief on Sectarian violence, PIPS.³⁶ The records of sectarian casualties vary from organisation to organisation.³⁷

The largest numbers of sectarian attacks are taking place in Karachi, Sindh, followed by Balochistan and Punjab. In most of the sectarian incidents, Shias have been targeted in Pakistan and mostly the responsibility for these attacks have been taken up by Lashkar e Jhangvi (LeJ) and Tehree k-I-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), which are the local affiliates of Al-Qaeda. A number of TTP operations were conducted by the LeJ operatives. In 2012 the two groups largely converged operationally in the sense that they declared a war against Shias. This convergence has resulted in the worst attacks to date against Shias, especially the Hazaras in Baluchistan. In 2012, 213 attacks targeted Shias in which 563 people lost their lives, indicating the increasingly sectarian features of Pakistan's terrorism problem.

It is important to note here that the attacks on Shias have targeted ordinary Shias but on the other hand, where Sunnis have been targeted they were mostly activists belonging to a certain Sunni party. Earlier most of these sectarian incidents were conducted outside or in the vicinity of Shia places of worship but in the last couple of years; sectarian violence has involved targeting of Shias in their homes and public places. This has also led to displacement of Shia families who are forced to leave their native towns.

LeJ is the offshoot of the banned political party Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan (SSP), which now operates under the name of Ahl-e-Sunnat Wal Jamaat (ASWJ). The Salafi/Deobandi groups that have claimed responsibility for this violence are quite unequivocal regarding their agenda, which is the establishment of a Sunni theocracy. Militant organizations are using the sectarian narrative for their violent actions from the public, which may not always share their views.

Apart from increased Sectarian attacks, sectarian related tribal attacks also erupted in a number of agencies in FATA. Almost 60% of sectarian violence has taken place in Karachi and Quetta and other flashpoints of sectarian attacks in the past ten years have been Dera Ghazi Khan, Kurram, Hangu, Khyber Agency, Nowshera, Mastung and Lahore and Gilgit-Baltistan.

A lot of inter-sectarian violence is also taking place leading to attacks on Sufi shrines. Overall in 2012, a total of 17 attacks were undertaken on shrines, mosques and imambargahs.³⁸ There have been approximately 70 attacks on shrines by Deobandis killing hundreds of Barelvis from 2005-2010.³⁹ Some Barelvi clerics who have spoken against the Taliban have also been targeted in the recent past.

Pakistan's national image crisis

Today Pakistan's identity is torn between the status of a frontline state in the international war against terrorism and of a safe haven for breeding and shielding a new generation of militants. This image coupled with revelations of Pakistan's role in nuclear proliferation and worsening internal situation has pushed Pakistan towards the league of so called 'failed states'. Irrespective of the ground realities of Pakistan the projected image of an unstable nation and not so positive image of Pakistan has gained currency. Commonly held views in the western world that Pakistan is a stronghold of Al Qaeda has been caught and killed in Pakistan has damaged the credibility and formulates image-building of Pakistan.

There are a number of factors that have shaped Pakistan's image in the world over a period of time. These factors have been Pakistan's public opposition to the war on terrorism, nuclear credibility, Islamic identity, the fear of threat of militants taking over politically as well as its nuclear assets, Credibility crisis in general, political dysfunctionality that might lead to military coup, weak law enforcement and the sometimes questionable role of radicalized Pakistani Diaspora.

Impact of terrorism on Pakistan

Despite public disapproval for the war on terrorism, Pakistan became a Western ally which was criticized for years by Western political leaders and media for not doing more in the war in terror. Chaotic political situation in the last decade did not help improve Pakistan's image abroad.

Despite its status as an ally, Pakistan continues to receive criticism from political leaders, media and policy experts in the West. There are a number of factors that tend to shape the negative image of Pakistan internationally.

Public opposition to the war on terror and the means to achieve the ends is an important one in shaping the international image of Pakistan. The initially divided public opinion of Pakistanis on the war on terror has arguably turned into unanimous verdict against it.

In a survey poll conducted by Pew Research Global Attitudes Project, whereas in 2006, 46% percent Pakistanis agreed with their government's decision to support the US war on terror, in 2008, 80% disapproved of it. Surveys also project that a vast majority of Pakistanis at 64% disapprove of Pakistan Army's operations against extremists in KP and FATA. In 2013, only 35% Pakistanis support using the Army to fight extremists compared to 53 % in 2009 while 29% support it.⁴⁰

But if anything, the lack of public support to the war on terror does not automatically turns Pakistanis into terrorist-loving people as wrongly perceived in the western media. Pakistanis do link the increased violence and terror in the Pakistani society as a result of the US war on terror and Pakistan's relentless support in this regard. On the other side, credibility of the Pakistani Army in its commitment to combating terrorism is also questioned by the outside world. In this context, increased violence in Afghanistan is also attributed to Pakistan's weakness in controlling militants in the border areas.

In the survey, terrorism and crime topped the list of problems facing Pakistan today with more than nine-in-ten Pakistanis rating them as very big problems.

Drone attacks and targeted killings

Unmanned Airborne Vessels (UAV) or drone is a weapon of choice for the US in the 21st century. They are under much discussion due to their use in target killing of suspect terrorists in case of Pakistan, a state which is not at war with the US. No legal justification has been provided by the US for drone attacks.

A large number of people have been killed, injured, and disabled as a result of US drone attacks undertaken by the CIA in FATA. The first drone strike in Pakistan was conducted in November 2004 that killed three people including Taliban Commander, Nek Mohammad in the village of Dhok in South Waziristan.⁴¹ Although the whole aim of drone strikes is surgical and precision targeting of terrorists and their base camps nevertheless a huge number of civilians are killed and injured as collateral damage. Civilian casualties are rarely acknowledged by the US government and the Pakistani government has not released any figures on the casualties of drone strikes. Exactly how many are dead including civilians is controversial. In public statements, the US states that there have been “no” or “single digit” civilian casualties.”

It is difficult to obtain data on strike casualties because of US efforts to shield the drone program from democratic accountability, compounded by the obstacles to independent investigation of strikes in North Waziristan. Other reasons for the lack of official figures have been under reporting and obstacles to effective investigation on ground in FATA. The FATA Secretariat is supposed to provide the figures for the casualties and injuries in drone attacks. Though not exact but there have been effort by the Pakistani government in the recent past for internationalizing the issue and making a case for halting all drone attacks in Pakistani territory by the US. For that purpose figures have been quoted at various meetings and sessions of the parliament though the reliability of these figures are questioned.

In this regard, the UN Special Rapporteur on human rights and counter-terrorism, Ben Emmerson on his after a three day visit to Pakistan and meeting the Defence and Foreign Ministry, in a statement on March 14, 2013 as well as in his interim report to the UN confirmed that at least 400 civilians had been killed as a result of drone strikes, and that a further 200 individuals were regarded as probable non-combatants. According to statistics provided to Ben Emerson by the Pakistan Ministry of Foreign Affairs, there have been at least 330 drone strikes on the territory of Pakistan since 2004 causing at least 2,200 deaths and injuring 600 people.⁴²

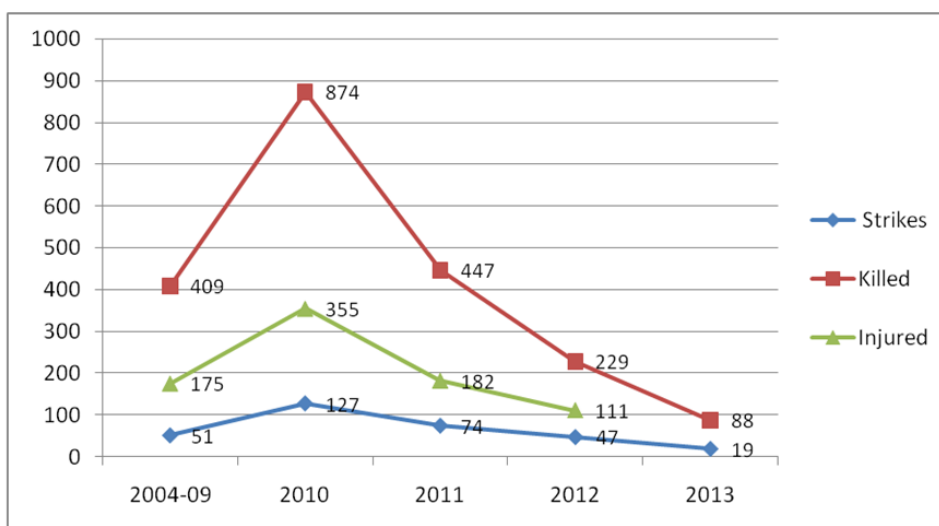
A very interesting study was conducted by the Stanford Law School and New York University School of Law called “Living Under Drones: Death, Injury and Trauma to Civilians from US Drone Practices in Pakistan” which gives detailed accounts of drone strikes in Pakistan and in their latest effort are trying to make the list of names of the dead in drone strikes in order to find out how many militants and civilians were killed in these strikes.

Impact of terrorism on Pakistan

Another very authentic public aggregate data on drone strikes are provided by The Bureau of Investigative Journalism (TBIJ), an independent journalist organization. TBIJ reports that from June 2004 through mid-September 2012, available data indicate that drone strikes killed 2,562-3,325 people in Pakistan, of whom 474-881 were civilians, including 176 children. TBIJ reports that these strikes also injured an additional 1,228-1,362 individuals. Following are some of the available statistics on the frequency of drone strikes and their impact in Pakistan.

Table 11: Drone Strikes in Pakistan (2004-2009)

| Year | No. of Strikes | Killed | Injured | Civilians killed | Children killed |
|--------------|-----------------------|---------------|----------------|-------------------------|------------------------|
| 2004-2009 | 51 | 409 | 175 | 167 | 102 |
| 2010 | 127 | 874 | 355 | 84 | 19 |
| 2011 | 74 | 447 | 182 | 52 | 6 |
| 2012 | 47 | 229 | 111 | 4 | 1 |
| 2013 | 19 | 88 | 24 | 0 | 0 |
| Total | 318 | 2,365 | 847 | 307 | 128 |



Source: The Bureau of Investigative Journalism (TBIJ)⁴³, Living under drones⁴⁴

Target killings

Targeting a specific group either institutional (political and military) or religious (Shias) is another implication of war on terrorism in Pakistan. Such activities can mainly be seen in Karachi and Balochistan but both for different reasons and by different groups.

According to a UN Special Report on Target Killing, they are pre-meditated acts of lethal force employed deliberately used against an individual or individuals specifically identified in advance by the perpetrator. In a targeted killing, the specific goal of the operation is to use lethal force. This distinguishes targeted killings from unintentional, accidental, or reckless killings, or killings made without conscious choice.⁴⁵

“Targeted killing” is not a term distinctly defined under international law, but gained currency in 2000 after Israel made public a policy of targeting alleged terrorists in the Palestinian territories. The particular act of lethal force, usually undertaken by a nation's intelligence or armed services, can vary widely--from cruise missiles to drone strikes to special operations raids.⁴⁶ This concept of target killing can explain the drone strategy of the US vis-à-vis the militants in Pakistan's FATA region but does not explain the target killing employed by militants and extremists as well as criminal gangs and groups discreetly supported by some political parties.

Target killings is used as effective methodology not only by sectarian groups to kill Shias and Sunnis but also by political parties in case of Karachi to even scores in turf wars. The following figures will give an insight in to the kind of target killing that Karachi has witnessed in the last five years.

Table 12: Killings in Karachi (2008-2013)

| Year | Sectarian killings | Abducted and killed | Targeted killing(non-political persons) | Political activists killed |
|------|--------------------|---------------------|---|----------------------------|
| 2008 | 18 | 173 | 123 | 144 |
| 2009 | 10 | 121 | 82 | 209 |
| 2010 | | | | |
| 2011 | 23 | 346 | 418 | 329 |
| 2012 | 104 | 391 | 843 | 356 |
| 2013 | 73 | 203 | 545 | 174 |

Source: Human Rights Commission of Pakistan. Figures for 2013 are from the month of January-June 2013.

The target killings in case of Balochistan are, however, *somewhat* different due to the allegations that most of the time these target killings are done by the security agencies. The cases of tortured bodies found in different parts of the province as well as the missing persons is mostly blamed on the security agencies. But this could be questioned as many policemen, security personnel as well as government servants have also been targeted in Balochistan in addition to political leaders and workers.

One of the issues while mapping target killing in Balochistan has been the lack of available data and resources. Due to dependency on whatever media reports are available—authentic or otherwise. The Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, Balochistan Chapter has been unable to provide minimal details in this regard so far.

In some cases in Balochistan, the target killing has been claimed by such diverse groups such as Balochistan Liberation Army (BLA), Balochistan Liberation Front (BLF), Lashkar-e-Jhangvi (LeJ), Lashkar e Balochistan, Balochistan Liberation Tigers, and Tehreek-e-Nifaz e Aman Balochistan.⁴⁷ In 2011, 104 people were killed in 71 attacks, in 2012 258 were killed in 121 incidents (including 19 political leaders), while in 2013 (January-September), 92 people have been killed in 40 incidents.⁴⁸ This does not include the 83 Hazara Shias killed in Quetta in January 2013 for which the Lashkar-e-Jhangvi (LeJ) was blamed. But generally, target killing in Balochistan has an ethnic dimension which is also being exploited by external forces, who want Pakistan to remain unstable and weak.

The psychological impact of terrorism

By spreading terror, terrorists have paralyzed the social life of Pakistanis. Due to this insecure environment --- laden with fear and unpredictability, people

avoid visiting public places like markets, parks and even mosques. The 1973 Constitution of Pakistan enshrines the protection of lives, property and honour of the people as a basic duty of the state. Unfortunately the state is unable to provide security to all its citizens. Escalating terrorism has become an existential internal security threat for Pakistan.

The overall psychological impact of terrorism in the Pakistani society is underestimated. This is mainly because it is a taboo to talk about psychological ailments and problems in the South Asian culture; moreover, the main problem is the lack of funds needed to provide psychological rehabilitation to the society as a whole and individuals affected by the terror attacks. There are many (a lot of) survivors of suicide bombings and military operations as well as relatives of family members who were killed in terrorist and drone attacks in the past twelve years. Children have been exposed to extreme and raging violence and will bear long-term scars on their psyche.

Presently terrorism has spread from FATA, K-P, Balochistan to other major areas of the country and no place is virtually safe or secure anymore whether in Islamabad, Lahore or Karachi. On the whole, a morbid sense of insecurity prevails in Pakistan.

The number of alive, but injured, orphaned, disabled or otherwise disenfranchised -- let alone those tortured in public and private prisons across Pakistan -- is also not accounted for. For people whose families have died as a result of military operations and drone strikes in FATA and KPK, led to new life as a militant, bent upon revenge by killing military personnel, attacking military installations and foreigners as the means to retaliate and avenge. The psychological trauma the nation faces, in general, and those directly affected, in particular, needs to be addressed and healed. This continuous state of war against an invisible enemy has made the society psychologically sick. People still have not come to grasp the fact how religion is being misused by the militants to incite anti-West and anti-state emotions while at the same time killing innocent people and even having any compunction to bomb places of religious worship like mosques and churches. Conspiracy theories abound amongst the masses and the media is either complicit or not helpful in warding them off.

It all depends on how the state addresses these issues in the long term to isolate the extremists from the society. If the state is unable to provide protection to its citizens and clearly define these extremists as “enemies of the state” the problem will continue to persist.

Conclusion

Generally, one of the worst impacts of the war on terror on the Pakistani society has been that religious intolerance has become rampant; people have taken the law in their hands, weaponization is common, people have turned against anti-state and law enforcement agencies, including the military for wreaking this tyranny on the people. Military operations and drone strikes are highly unpopular. Also, the fact that most of the security forces, including police and rangers are diverted to provide security and are on protocol duty with politicians and government institutions and are unavailable to the public makes the situation worse. The list of public grievances runs long. The issue of missing persons --- those who were suspected detainees, and many of them still missing have not returned to their homes, still lingers on. This is the unpleasant baggage that the present government is saddled with and needs to resolve.

Pakistan has faced and will face the effects of terrorism in the future internally and in its foreign policy. With the probable withdrawal of the international forces from Afghanistan by the end of 2014, Pakistan needs to weigh the impacts of terrorism in the last decade and devise a policy to tackle terrorism and factors exacerbating it.

Though most of the impacts of terrorism on Pakistan are negative but there are positive effects that could accrue from the war against terrorism. These include the basic realization for greater self sufficiency, Reform in and integration of FATA, strengthening democratic institutions, deweaponisation of the society, revamping of foreign policy, regional cooperation by trading and energy pipelines, normalization with India and greater cooperation with Iran and managing relations with US. After all, politics and war against terrorism are correlated and nations earn some lessons from economic and political stressful times.

In short, terrorism is surely the biggest menace and curse that Pakistan faces today. The sooner we realise the gravity of this problem and develop a national and public consensus on defeating terrorism and identifying the enemies in this regard, the better. Otherwise the snowball of terrorism will destroy us.

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- ⁹ NCMC data.
- ¹⁰ This figure includes the expenditure overrun by Pakistan Rangers(Punjab &Sindh), FC Peshawar, FATA, SAFRON, KPK PPO (police Budget), Sindh Police department, Finance and Welfare Punjab, Pak Coast Guards, Provincial Financial wing, P&D Division. Data was provided by the NCMC.
- ¹¹ Resettlement costs for the Internally Displaced People (IDPs), who were forced to leave their homes as a result of military operations in FATA as well as those affected by the floods of 2010 and 2011. Pakistan has also been inflicted with natural disasters in the last decade with major floods in 2003, 2007, 2010 and 2011. Apart from the floods, a major earthquake in 2005 with an official death toll of 75,000 people while the UN estimates that around 3.5 million people were displaced as a result.
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