

Child militancy in Pakistan: A Human Security Challenge

Shabana Fayyaz*

Abstract

In the wake of 9/11 Pakistan has witnessed a sharp escalation in the number of children being recruited by extremist organizations. Terrorist organizations, political factions and various other extremist groups recruit children for their own religious-political agenda within the country. According to the UNICEF, more than two million children have died in conflicts and approximately 300,000 child militants are fighting conflicts. The paper argues that national security paradigm must register human security as its key element. Children of the country are Pakistan's real national security assets and their wellbeing will ensure a stable, prosperous and peaceful future. To deliberate more deeply into the subject the paper is divided into three inter-related parts: Part one dwells upon the genesis and nature of the child militancy in Pakistan; Part two analyzes the factors contributing to this dangerous trend of children being used as weapons of war by the non-state actors, finally; Part three focuses upon the various state approaches to deal with the issue of child militancy in the country. In conclusion few recommendations will be advanced to how reverse and slow down the challenge of child militants in present and future.

Key words: Child militancy, Genesis, Lal Masjid, Madrasas, jihad

The Genesis and Nature of the Child Militancy in Pakistan

Militancy is not a new concept in Pakistan, in fact it has deep-rooted historical roots. Afghan-Soviet war has executed a major role in increasing militant activities in Pakistan. In the wake of Russian invasion of Afghanistan, the concept of 'Jihad' was exploited and manipulated by the Pakistani and American forces for their own political gains, without considering the long-term consequences. In light of these developments, Madrasas, jihadi training camps and religious extremist organizations came into the limelight and started receiving huge amounts of aid to fight the proxy war. This resulted in a sharp increase in extremist religious organizations, militant groups and arms smuggling. In the name of Jihad numerous militant fighters from all over the world crept into South Asia, in particular Pak-Afghan border. The American CIA and other western intelligence agencies trained the mujahedeen in the name of 'religious fighters'. The mujahedeen carried out insurgent activities inside Afghanistan against the USSR and continued to do so even after the war officially ended. The Afghan war resulted in large inflow of Afghan refugees in Pakistan coupled with the impact of Iranian revolution on Pakistani Shia community had grave consequences for Pakistan, disturbing the internal security dynamics in Pakistan (Abbas & Stern, 2004).

In the current strategic landscape of Pakistan militancy has become an extremely multifaceted phenomenon. The war on terror has severely intermeshed the internal

*Author is Assistant Professor, Defense & Studies Department, Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad- Pakistan.

and external security dynamics of Pakistan. The July 2007 Lal Masjid incident set in motion series of suicide bombings carried out by the young militant, brain washed by the extremist militant mentors in their private religious seminaries and at times hideouts. These activities resulted in multiple loss of human lives, civilians, as well as, state functionaries. The military operation called “Rah-i-Rast” against militants in Swat, Malakand and Buner was launched to free Swat from the grip of the terrorists. Given this framework the paper locates child militancy in Pakistan as an interactive and a social constructive phenomena.

Child militancy is a behavior which needs psychological explanation. Every behavior has some cause behind it and various theories help in exploring that cause. According to Julian Rotter clinical psychology teaches that the impact of behavior influences the motivation of individuals and group of people for some specific behavior is not only influenced by psychological factors but environmental factors also have influence upon the behavior (Dorn, 2010). In this manner, it can be concluded that social learning theory comprises two aspects,

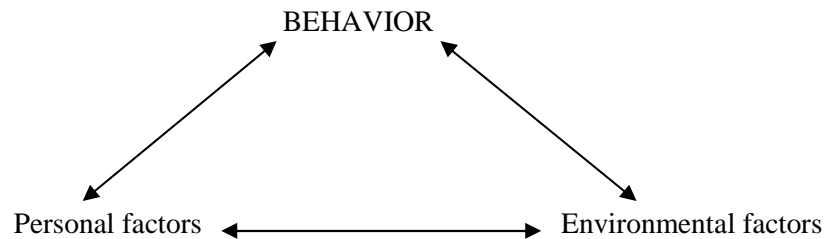
Behavioral learning aspect i.e., environment influences people’s behavior and motivates them for some specific behavior.

Cognitive learning aspect i.e., psychological factors essentially influence one’s behaviors (Griffin, 2008).

In 1941 an outfit of social learning theory was introduced by N.E. Miller and J. Dollard, it was social cognitive theory. This theory explains that human being make the choices in view of their senses because of their logical tendencies. The proposition of social learning was expended by other psychologists in later years, it expounds that interaction of people with their environment is based on their own perceptions and interpretation. This interlinked age can be termed alternatively in these words that people make an internal (cognitive) perceptions of their external (social) environment and intent for a specific behavior. This theory also explains the way as people maintain this certain kind of behavior. It also discusses two more factors: social and physical environment. Physical environment includes all materialistic things, place, money, weather, food. While, social environment consists of family members, friends, and co-workers, neighbors. This environment or situation helps to understand one’s behavior because the situation effects on behavior (Berko & Yuval, 2012).

Child militancy in Pakistan

CONCEPTUAL MOLEL



(Cognitive, affective and biological events) (Bryce, Walker, Ghorayeb & Kanj, 1989)

In view of this model the psychological experimental literature about violence and aggression suggest that there are internal and external factors that can affect one's perceptions that cause provocations or intent (behavior). Crenshaw proposes that theory of social cognition is relevant equally to terrorists and their organizations. She observes the dealings of terrorists are centered on a prejudiced analysis of the world rather than impartial understanding. They sort out the understanding and opinion of the social and political environment by means of the thinking and attitude with reference to their experiences and memories (Wazir, 2002) (Alderman, 2011).

Ideological dimension of militancy:

In case of Pakistan, child militants are often victims of misconceived ideological norms and mutated world view that is entirely driven by the extremely narrow interpretation of religion. Sectarian differences over the issue of Prophet Muhammad's descendants and principle focus of religious authority sects have exacerbated the domestic sectarian cleavages. The child militants have confessed that they have been taught that all non-Muslims and apostates are evils and all Muslims who does not believe in their peer's religious version is also a justified target of their so-called jihadi pursuit. Organization that recruit child militants follows a central and a hierarchical structure that are often led by Amirs. At the same time, some militant groups follow a decentralized structure and operate in more than one region. A decentralized or a nucleus structure offers enhanced mobility, enables prompt reaction, and lastly minimizes close geographic proximity needs. Given these facts, banned militant groups are operating under different names and locations, continuing their activities unabated. Plus, militant organizations often fractionalize or collaborate and merge according to perceived agenda.

Patterns in recruitments:

Madrassas and mosques serve as primary recruitment grounds for militant and extremist groups in Pakistan. Militant groups in Pakistan are operating their own mosques or are affiliated with mosques who follow the same extremist ideological narrative. The process of recruitment in a mosque occurs through extremist sermons, communication of imams and other mosque members. Extremist Imams exploit Islam and manipulate parents to send children to particular madrassas; Resulting in the radicalization of students who are later military trained.

In addition to that, militant groups' speakers or preachers also mobilize vulnerable children or youth by addressing congregations at mosques towards jihad. Moreover, militant organization attract parents to send their children by providing them with monetary incentive or doing charitable work in poverty stricken areas.

The factors contributing to child militancy: A human security challenge

It is widely acknowledged that the perception of human security emerged in early 1990 as a result of the shift in international politics and economy in the end of the cold war because of globalization and ethnic and racial conflicts. After cold war era interstate and transnational wars decreased even so the history and present witness the increase in the number of intra-national conflicts, that challenged the concept of traditional security; centers on border security concept. The series of intrastate conflicts, violence and lawlessness, genocide and refugee problems increased which attracted the world community and international organizations. As a result, the concentration about the security of human being became a hot debate on global level and the concept of human security emerged.

Under human security first priority is given to human life and emphasis for the searching effectual ways and legislatures for their protection whether they are civilians or prisoners, patients and innocent victims of war ("The Challenges of Countering Radicalization in Pakistan", 2012).

Expressing threats to human security John Galtung defines direct and indirect violence. Direct violence involves direct loss of human being for instance killing, verbal assaults, and any kind of physical punishment or injuries. The indirect or structural violence contains all social and structural evils that cause direct violence, for example, class system, gender discrimination, and violation of minorities' rights, poor political and economic system and unequal access for the public to the national resources.

According to Galtung both types are mutually dependent but direct violence accounts for more suffering because it can be assessed by immediate human losses and costs

Child militancy in Pakistan

such as the psychological effects on people, number of victims, infrastructural damage, and political, economic and social costs, impact on regional peace and stability through conflict spillover or refugee movements. And its best example is 9/11 attacks on US aimed to shift the existing structure of society but the consequences of the attack were sense of fear and terror on individual, state and international levels. Besides the counter attack by western society in order to deter future terrorist attacks caused serious human security threats in Afghanistan Iraq and Pakistan.

Asserting the slogan of human security “freedom from want” the above mentioned discussion denies the legitimacy of war on terror. It is clear that it was not terrorism that was a setback to human security, but the response Bush administration adopted to counter it was a real set back. They proved huge set back in Afghanistan, Iraq and now in Pakistan.

West applied the policy of intervention to provide human rights to the people of these areas in the name of promotion of democracies and fight against evil but they fought against this evil by evil and they attempted to bring about human rights by violating human rights. Therefore war against terrorism escalated this disaster to human security (Moghadam, 2003).

“Ignorance, isolation, illness, violence, and social upheaval have produced a “lost generation” failure to provide long term support for Afghanistan risks losing another” (Bhutta, 2002).

“When a woman goes to jail it is an affront to her honor, but a man is in jail because he is supposed to suffer. For a child, jail is a school” (MacWillson, 1992). An Arab intellectual said of security prisoners.

Thus young militants’ magnate towards militancy through the process of psychological and religiously charged mantra of their violence prone peers. At times economic vulnerabilities and social exclusivity land young minds into a web of complex militant networks. Twenty-one years after the world summit for children and five years after Pakistan’s incorporation of a national action plan for children, it is still acknowledged, from senior government level down to community level, that: “children in Pakistan remain among the most vulnerable part of the population.” This document concedes that “most indicators confirm that (children) face serious disadvantages in the realm of economic and social development”.

Wide discrimination in Pakistan against women and children has resulted in deprivation and lack of exposure to maltreatment. Women and children in Pakistan are deprived of their basic ‘human rights’ this has raised serious human security concerns as their right to survival is threatened. ‘Human Security’ formulates the basis of development and security for the United Nations, thus making the protection of

children fundamental (United Nations, 2005). Despite international agencies focus on human security Pakistan's progress on implementing laws on child protection is rather slow. The 2009 convention on the rights of children (CRC) report on Pakistan calls for bringing together the laws of child protection with the CRC. According to CRC monitoring of child rights and actions on violence against children, abuse, child labor, child marriage and sub-standard norms of juvenile justice should all be dealt with effectively (Bureau Report, 2012). Hence it can be postulated that weak child security has resulted in children being used as weapons of war by the non-state actor especially militant organizations.

Misinterpretation of religion:

Unfortunately, most of the clergymen of any religion think that religion is their heritage. They use and manipulate religion for their own protection; and propagate, teach and preach religion for their own ambitions and objectives; and also try to color the religion by their own desires and ambitions and not for the welfare and well-being of humanity which humanity really deserves.

Mostly analyst consider misinterpretation as the biggest reason of convincing young to become militant. They join their group and perform radical acts on the name of religion. Some experts argue, children are first brainwashed with drugs which hinders their rational thinking. They are then shown videos of their predecessors who carried out successful attacks earlier and portrayed as "heroes". The extremists and militants groups create a misleading projection of Islam by justifying slaughtering through selective saying;

“... they have Quranic verses to support each and every act of theirs”.

Secondly, militants “are convinced through the convoluted concept of jihad and martyrdom which, according to an analyst, have been taught to them for the past 30-40 years by America, Pakistan's establishments and religious parties. They are taught to fight against any non-muslim who attacked Muslims or occupies their land. Muslims who stand by America or its allies are considered *murtadd (non-believers)*” (Arooj & Tariq, 2015). The leaders further emphasize that no governmental permission is required for the dominance of Islam or to fight non-Muslims, rather, call it jihad and befool the militants that they should fight to be *amar* (eternal). Some go so beyond by convincing them that Pakistan's security forces are working for the United States and they hinder jihadist activities, therefore, their policies and efforts are justified.

Militancy also justified by Islamist fundamentalist terrorists as the most privileged form of jihad raising the status of fighters to holy warriors with no emphasis laid upon moral considerations due to the faith in their cause and leaders.

Child militancy in Pakistan

The young militants are kept in isolation, there is no alternative opinion that they hear and do not have access to any other source of information; thus they develop a strong belief that by sacrificing their lives in the way of Allah, they will serve their religion and group. They fed on the fairy tales that once they join the group they and fight against they will enter into paradise along with up to 70 of their relatives.

Adolescents:

Promise of worldly and heavenly rewards contribute greatly in radicalizing young militants for the suicide bombing pursuit. An individual feels honorable on the eve of his departure and the reverence and financial support that the family receives. Militant recruits are convinced that such act is a blessing of God ensuring heaven in the life after ones demise. The net result of such thinking pattern is a highly skewed worldview based on rejection of other political and religious forces present within national boundaries and beyond (Mccarthy, 2011).

Religious preachers do not brainwash small children lest they carryout suicide bombing attacks too early, which for them would be a “waste” of potential candidates. They prefer to postpone the process and indoctrinate older children, those who will cause more damage. They target adolescents who are looking for excitement and a way to prove their masculinity. “you feel more likely a man, and you also do it to release tension,” (Lakhani, 2010) said Fawaz, a young boy sent to carry out suicide bombing on an Israeli bus, wearing an explosive belt. Apprehended by Israeli security forces on the way, he pressed the detonator, but nothing happened. At his trial, a legal precedent was set regarding minors who try to carry out suicide bombing attacks. “when a minor acts as an adult, his status as a minor is not considered, and he is sentenced as an adult” (Lakhani, 2010)

Collective identity:

The analysts point out that the presence of social, political and economic shortfalls instil feeling of deprivation among young population leading to identity crisis at the most. Being a member of militant organization these young people and children get a chance to acquire individual and collective identity by being associated with the desired famous organizations. The cost of being a regular member of such die hard militant organizations boils down to the relentless obedience and conformity to the rules of the respective network.

As a part of a militant network child militants are bestowed with some light weaponry and economic incentives and safe shelter. They are given a gun and an opportunity to order and punish people around. They have their own influence and clout in the region. Finally, child militants are portrayed as martyr and are exemplified as

protectors of Islam – also used as means to recruit more children into violent militants fold.

Revenge:

According to analysts militants use ‘revenge’ as an important recruiting factor for the children to join militant groups. Reasons for seeking revenge varies from religion to the cultural interpretation in the case of Pakistan. The code of ‘Pashtuns’ called *Pashtunwali* (the code of Pashtuns) is also been observed at the local scale; young children join the militant groups to avenge their loss on relatives and property. Youth from FATA and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, have been reported to avenge the family loss suffered by them in the military operations against the insurgents. The voluntarily join groups and mostly offer themselves to become a suicide bomber.

At a larger scale another key factor associated with the theme of pashtunwali is ‘*qaumi ghairat*’ (national honor), that is the trainers stir cultural specific values in the potential suicide bombers to motivate them. Pashtun try to stir Pashtun pride to incite to participate in this revenge from enemies of Islam. Militant groups also exploit and manipulate the sentiment of the locals by giving examples of non-Muslim military actions in Iraq or Palestine.

Ideology:

Manipulation of religious factors is predominantly involved in these so-called ideologies. Militants are made to believe that they are fighting for Islam and *shariah* (Islamic Law) and sacrificing their lives in the way of Allah to earn the status of *Shaheed* (one who lays down life for a religious cause) who is eternal. Moreover, this religious misconception is fused with the idea of mortality as laid down in Islam. Therefore, child militants are not only trained for dying and killing, but they are ideologically brainwashed justifying their actions as martyr. Thus, the extremist groups manipulate the concept of Jihad to lure more children into their cause

Relative deprivation:

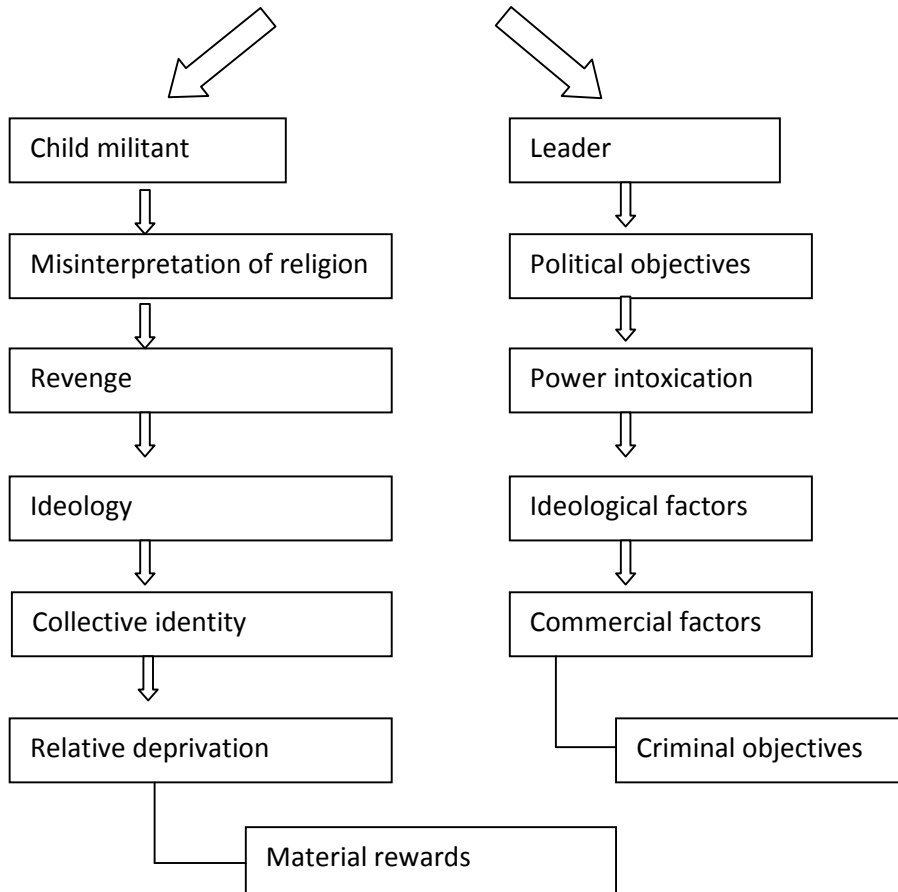
Although the poor socio-economic conditions and the lopsided political system does contribute to the feeling of injustice, among people, but it not a key deciding factors. As injustice by country’s soldiers or even courts convert young and kids to take arms and avenge. The vacuum created due to poor governance structure in the tribal areas and the lack of alternative narratives makes them feel more marginalized. Thus, providing room for violent non-state actors to engage youngsters in their ranks.

Child militancy in Pakistan

Comparison between the motives of child militants and leaders:

Organization leaders obviously have larger goals and these child militants are being used to achieve part of this goal. The leaders also have commercial and criminal objectives they might be doing such things for business purpose only. The motives are criminal when a member of an organization plays as a foreign agent for destabilization in a particular region. Moreover, the leaders and trainers are specializing in brainwashing and do not carry suicide attacks and militant activities themselves because they are less in number. The blind commitment and fellowship found in suicide attackers is injected by these chief mentors of jihad.

Motives of child militant and leader



Although, it is difficult to analyze the cause and process leading up to child militancy in Pakistan however, theoretically there are two major aspects that play important role in the child militancy are individual and organizational. Both variables are essential parts of the process of militant activities. Individual who is motivated to become a militant normally does not have enough resources, information and planning to practically implement it. It is the organization, which fulfils all requirements. Individual motives include the desire to get benefits and material rewards with prestigious status. The organizational aims normally include political and tactical aims.

Part three

State approaches to deal with child militancy

Counter terrorist operations by Pakistani government and army and the drone strikes by US against the militants had serious blow back effects on the insurgency and have led to the critical escalation of their activities. Militants escalated their actions in terms of number of suicide attacks, target killings and civilian casualties. Besides, they created a close coordination and cooperation among different militant groups, which were once pursuing their agendas on their own patterns like; Al-Qaeda, Pakistani Taliban, other local Islamic groups' militants and foreign militants have had collaboration in their activities.

In addition, the insurgency has escalated in terms of sophistication as well. They started using more sophisticated weapons and have extended their movement and violent actions beyond the mountains territories of FATA. Following their escalation plan they have turned to major cities of Punjab, Baluchistan and Sindh as part of their new battle field. In this case suicide bombing, target killing, attacks on urban centers and headquarters of army have taken place in Rawalpindi, Multan, Faisalabad, Lahore, Quetta and Karachi. In order to carry on their new strategy, militants have divided into tiny cells so it has been difficult to track down (Hussain, 2010).

Due to drone strikes and military operations militant recruitment increased because the militants instigate family members and drone and operation victims for taking revenge from government and thereby they facilitate them to join the militants group and later on wash their brains for becoming the target killer or suicide bomber.







This recruitment is not confined to the illiterate class of victimized area but the well-educated youth of the victimized families or those who closely observed the volatile condition of the areas and the consequences the barbarian strikes and operation also join those militant groups. According to the words of Baitullah Mehsud,

“Each drone attack brought him three or four more suicide bombers”.

Child militancy in Pakistan

The State of Pakistan's Children-2011 Report claims around 600,000 children in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa have missed one or more years of education due to militancy (Bureau Report, 2012). According to the report; "A total of 640 schools were destroyed in Malakand, while 70 educational institutions were destroyed or damaged in various other districts across the province. In Swat, 121 schools were completely destroyed, while another 280 were partially damaged by militants over a span of two years. According to the report, almost 25 million children are currently out of school in the country and of them; seven million had yet to receive any form of primary schooling" (Bureau Report, 2012).

Hundreds of young former militants are undergoing de-radicalisation and rehabilitation with the aim of reintegration into Pakistani society, military and counter-insurgency. Civil society organizations with co-operation from the Pakistani army run "six main de-radicalization programmes namely,

-  Sabaoon (Morning Light),
-  Mashaal (Lamp),
-  Rastoon (Returning Back),
-  Sparlay (Spring),
-  Nawa-e-Sahar (New Morning) and
-  Heila (Hope) (Shaffer, 2014)

According to the report of Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad (ISSI) titled "Pakistan's Counterinsurgency: Military and Civilian Approach", "Pakistan's first de-radicalisation programme was launched in September 2009, after completion of Operation Raah-e-Raast (Righteous Path) against the Pakistani Taliban in Swat"(Rafi, 2015).

"Most of the militants caught during the operation were teenagers who were trained as suicide bombers," it said. "A need was felt to introduce an insurgent rehabilitation programme." (Rafi, 2015)

De-radicalisation in Swat, Punjab:

The Swat de-radicalisation programme comprises Sabaoon for militants aged 12-18 years, Rastoon for those aged 19-25 years and Mashaal for the families of militants, designed to create awareness about the care and monitoring of the rehabilitated individuals, the report said.

Sabaoon specializes in the rehabilitation of would-be suicide bombers, while Rastoon and most other centers treat a more diverse group of ex-militants.

Shabana Fayyaz

The military, which operates the centers, generally guards statistics on their operations, but Sabaoon rehabilitated about 200 ex-militants between 2009 and 2013. Rastoon has rehabilitated almost 1,200, according to recent data. Officials of the political administration said the militants who surrendered to the government were given training in the centre in electronics, tailoring, auto mechanics and other skills. A similar de-radicalisation programme designed on the model of Swat's Sabaoon centre has been operating in Punjab since 2012 but is poorly resourced. It focuses on ex-militants associated with groups like Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT), Jaish-e-Muhammad (JeM) and anti-Shia militant groups such as Lashkar-e-Jhangvi (LeJ) and Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan (SSP). During its years of operation, the programme has trained hundreds of ex-militants to function again as normal citizens.

Countering militant ideology:

Civil society members and security analysts emphasize the need to rehabilitate former militants and to reintegrate them into society. As discussed overleaf a number of de-radicalization campaigns have been launched from time to time at the national and the provincial level, but most of them have not been able to come up with a plausible counter narrative. The de-radicalized youth has internalized the extremist ideology. Hence, these young minds need to urgently rehabilitate on the long-term basis. Mere pronouncements by the political and state functionaries have not been able to remove the confusion that exists in the minds of youth regarding the concept of 'Just Wars' within and beyond the country (Temple-Raston, 2013)

Normalizing former militants, families:

The army's collaboration with civil society and NGOs is helping to rehabilitate militants, including teenagers who can easily fall prey to militants' misguided theories. Creating a conducive societal environment to rehabilitate the former child militants is a bold step in the right direction for the children who want to be a part of the society again. Parents of children undergoing de-radicalization are also set to receive training on how to care for those children afterward so that they do not fall again into the militants' clutches. Moreover, widows of militants who died in terrorist acts also undergo rehabilitation.

Implementing seminary reforms:

Militancy cannot be eliminated by military might alone, said Karachi-based security analyst Col. (ret.) Mukhtar Ahmed Butt.

Seminaries with pro-militant ideologies should be included in this program on a priority basis, he said. "Thousands of young students are studying in religious institutions that have a tilt towards the Taliban and other militant groups... The

Child militancy in Pakistan

government and civil society's participation is vital to nip in the bud the monster of terrorism once and for all" (Mahmood, 2016).

Conclusion and Recommendations

Child militancy in Pakistan is a tragic reality also prevalent in innumerable wars around the world. Children are easy targets for the violent non-state actors given their immaturity and lack of exposure to the world at large. Violence and conflict within Pakistan have consumed young generation minds specifically when they are either the agents of violence or the victims of it.

Internationally there are about forty Adult based de-radicalization programs focusing on their rehabilitation into the society at large. However, children specific de-radicalization programs need to be instituted more aggressively on the long term basis. A preventative measures must be in place particularly in Pakistan which is a youth based country. Given the structure of childhood they fell easy prey to the terror outfit's manipulation and indoctrination. Plus security agencies somehow turn a blind eye to child maneuverability leading to grave incidents.

In nutshell, to wean away children being lured into the violent non-state actors web both state and society have to be on the same page. The state must ensure that proper mechanism of rehabilitation of the former child militants is well in place. As technical skills are imparted in the present ongoing child rehabilitation program within the country, the economic absorption of such skilled or semi-skilled labor force is required.

Understanding the factors that leads a child to follow a militant career require more research, understanding both at the state and society level. The stories of the unsuccessful young suicide bombers needs to be told for the purpose of not punishing the child but for understanding what factors led him in that direction in the first place. That is, social construction of the child militancy in Pakistan is a subject of policy enquiry and implementation for sure.

Finally, while analyzing the child militancy in Pakistan one should refrain from blaming everything on the religious seminaries. The fact of the matter is failure of the state to provide standardized public education to all has also contributed to the sense of deprivation to the large strata of our society. The state's policy should be of inductive nature that is, regulating, registering and upgrading the religious seminaries education standards. Instituting and labelling child militants as their (that is, religious seminaries) product will further deepen the divide between us versus them. In sum, a proactive and human security centered perspective is called for while focusing on the phenomenon of the child militancy in Pakistan.

References

- Abbas, H., & Stern, J. (2004). *Pakistan's Drift Into Extremism: Allah, the Army, and America's War on Terror*. New York: M.E Sharp.
- Alderman, H. (2011). *No Small Matter The Impact of Poverty, Shocks, and Human Capital Investments in Early Childhood Development*. Washington D.C: World Bank Report. Retrieved from <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EDUCATION/Resources/278200-1298568319076/nosmallmatter.pdf>
- Arooj, A., & Tariq, S. (2015). Causes of Suicide Terrorism in Pakistan as Perceived by Media Personnel. *Journal Of Behavioural Sciences*, 25(1).
- Berko, A., & Yuval, E. (2012). *The Smarter Bomb: Women and Children as Suicide Bombers*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, INC.
- Bhutta, Z. (2002). Children of war: the real casualties of the Afghan conflict. Retrieved 4 January 2018, from <http://www.bmj.com/content/bmj/324/7333/349.full.pdf>
- Bryce, J., Walker, N., Ghorayeb, F., & Kanj, M. (1989). Life experiences, response styles and mental health among mothers and children in Beirut, Lebanon. *Social Science & Medicine*, 28(7), 685-695. [http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/0277-9536\(89\)90216-5](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/0277-9536(89)90216-5)
- Bureau Report. (2012). Militancy keeps 600,000 KP children out of school. DAWN.COM. Retrieved 4 January 2018, from <https://www.dawn.com/news/748685>
- Dorn, W. (2010). *Human Security: An Overview*. Walterdorn.net. Retrieved 4 January 2018, from <http://walterdorn.net/pub/23>
- Griffin, E. (2008). *A first look at communication theory*. New York, N.Y: McGraw-Hill.
- Hussain, Z. (2010). *The Scorpion's Tail: The Relentless Rise of Islamic Militants in Pakistan-And How It Threatens America* (pp. 5-6). New York: Free Press.
- Lakhani, K. (2010). Pakistan's child soldiers. *Foreign Policy*. Retrieved 4 January 2018, from <http://foreignpolicy.com/2010/03/29/pakistans-child-soldiers/>
- MacWillson, A. (1992). *Hostage taking terrorism*. Basingstoke [u.a.]: Macmillan.
- Mahmood, J. (2016). Pakistan de-radicalises hundreds of young former militants. *Pakistan Forward*. Retrieved 4 January 2018, from http://pakistan.asia/news.com/en_GB/articles/cnmi_pf/features/2016/12/21/feature-01

Child militancy in Pakistan

- Mccarthy, J. (2011). Pakistan Bids To Change Minds Of Swat Radicals. NPR.org. Retrieved 4 January 2018, from <https://www.npr.org/2011/07/25/138560612/pakistan-bids-to-change-the-minds-of-swat-radicals>
- Moghadam, A. (2003). Palestinian Suicide Terrorism in the Second Intifada: Motivations and Organizational Aspects. *Studies In Conflict & Terrorism*, 26(2), 65-92. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10576100390145215>
- Rafi, Y. (2015). Bringing them home: Pakistan's child deradicalisation centre offers second chance. DAWN.COM. Retrieved 4 January 2018, from <https://www.dawn.com/news/1208602>
- Shaffer, R. (2014). Tore Bjørgo and John Horgan (Eds.). *Leaving Terrorism Behind: Individual and Collective Disengagement*. Taylor & Francis. Retrieved 4 January 2018, from <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09546553.2014.968029>
- TEMPLE-RASTON, D. (2013). Pakistan's Ambitious Program To Re-Educate Militants. NPR.org. Retrieved 4 January 2018, from <https://www.npr.org/2013/04/01/175706661/pakistans-ambitious-program-to-re-educate-militants>
- The Challenges of Countering Radicalization in Pakistan. (2012). United States Institute of Peace. Retrieved 4 January 2018, from <https://www.usip.org/publications/2012/05/challenges-countering-radicalization-pakistan>
- United Nations. (2005). SECRETARY-GENERAL PRESENTS REPORT 'IN LARGER FREEDOM' TO GENERAL ASSEMBLY, OUTLINING AMBITIOUS PLAN FOR UNITED NATIONS REFORM | Meetings Coverage and Press Releases. Un.org. Retrieved 4 January 2018, from <https://www.un.org/press/en/2005/ga10334.doc.htm>
- Wazir, A. (2002). *Terrorism*. South Waziristan Agency, NWFP: A.K. Wazir.