



Understanding Radicalization Theories: US Drone Strikes Impacts And Its Association With The People Of Ex-FATA, Pakistan.

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Abstract

The felling of revenge is the prime source of radicalization and specially when someone asks or is told to take avenge of his beloved one. This thought leads us to certain degree of radicalization which leads to Humiliation-Revenge process. In this research we will try to explain the main causes of radicalization and how it impacts the people of ex-FATA, Pakistan. This research will explain that it is not only religion that promotes terrorism in this region, but the ultimate desire for revenge that is one of the most important codes of Pashtunwali (Pashtun code of life). It is the tradition that when some kills the beloved member of the family the rest of the family will avenge his beloved one. This code of Pashtunwali is the driving factor behind this extremism in this region. It is this feeling which made the people radicalized toward extremism. The purpose of this paper is to give an understanding of the damages occurred as a result of drone attack in ex-FATA and its relation with the radicalization of the people of ex-FATA. It also tries to explain that to what extent these affected and radicalized people in ex-FATA can be used as source of recruitment by the militant and terrorist groups. The paper is descriptive, analytical and explanatory. It is a library based research where mostly secondary data have been used and only a few telephonic interviews have been conducted with those who were deeply affected by the drone attacks. Certain global and Pakistani media reports have also been considered in detail. The terrorist experts and certain other political analysts' commentaries have also been taken as a source for drawing an impartial conclusion out of it. The findings show that the desire for revenge is the ultimate cause of radicalization and support for militant organizations in ex-FATA.

Introduction

The terrorist attack on US on 11th September 2001 was not an attack on World Trade Centre and Pentagon but was potentially an attack on western capitalism because US is considered as the most powerful capitalist country in the world. This terrorist attack is considered as a significant and momentous change in the US policies toward terrorism. It was this incident when the US decided to counter attack and defeat terrorism. In a swift and rapid response, the president of the US Mr. George W Bush, on behalf of the people of America, held Al-Qaeda, the central and the main militant organization based in Afghanistan, responsible for the chaos and havoc. It was the event when the US decided to send American ground forces to Afghanistan in October 2001, to destroy their enemies. The American president while addressing the US Congress after the

incident of 9/11, 2001 mentioned that the attack of 9/11, 2001 was direct attack on US sovereignty and that the US would not tolerate it at any cost and would counter attack the Taliban and Al-Qaida and that her war would start with Taliban and Al Qaida but would not end with them. It would go all over the world where the US would feel threat to her sovereignty and interests (Ali, Mohammad, & Saleem, 2019).

The US president made it clear and showed a very clear determination that at any cost the American would chase their enemies and would not compromise with them at any cost and would chase down each and every single enemy of US where ever they exist. This was a clear indication that this war on terror will not be limited to the Taliban and al-Qaida. When the US forces invaded Afghanistan they chased down their enemies, the Taliban, and US was of no match. The Taliban and Al-Qaida wanted to and decided to avoid the direct confrontation with the American forces and decided to move to some safe heavens. The only safe haven for them was the ex-FATA, Pakistan. Ex-FATA is a region that is basically composed of rough high mountains. It is also situated on broader with Afghanistan. The Taliban and Al Qaida decided to use this land and fight a war against the US troops in Afghanistan. They made their bases and camps in ex-FATA and started attacking NATO and American troops from their bases in ex-FATA (Minhas & Qadir, 2014). In post 9/11, 2001, the US adopted certain security policies which were based on pre-emptive strategies to counter attack their enemies. In order to get the desirable goals the CIA turned to the use of Drone technology against Al Qaida and the Taliban network in the ex-FATA. It was 2004 when they used the drone technology for the first time in the ex-FATA against the Al-Qaida and the Taliban (Minhas & Qadir, 2014).

This Drone technology was used to kill the Taliban and Al-Qaida. According to the Amnesty report in 2013, this use of Drone technology was not in the interest of common civilian as it was damaging a lot of innocent people in ex-FATA region. The use of this technology was declared controversial by the Amnesty International (Amnesty International, 2013).

Being controlled from a very remote and far distance, these drone attacks are not always precise in their target identification and location and often result in certain collateral damages. On the other hand, the officials of CIA strongly believe that this technology does not damage the common civilians with the result that there is no civilian casualties caused by this drone technology in FATA (Companik, Gravier, & Farris II, 2018). However, regarding the US Drone attacks in ex-FATA region there is a common consensus about collateral damages that occurred because of this technology.

The US drone strikes have killed and injured common and innocent civilians in ex-FATA. Barack Obama, the American president and so many other US high officials have admitted and acknowledged publicly that civilians have been killed in drone attack in FATA region (Companik, Gravier, & Farris II, 2018). These innocent people consist of innocent children, aged people and women who lost their precious lives in these drone attack in ex-FATA which in turn have resulted in severe opposition in Pakistan (Kaltenthaler, Miller & Fair, 2012).

This study aims to answer the following two questions.

1. Up to what extent the drone attacks in ex-FATA radicalized the people of ex-FATA in Pakistan?
2. Up to what extent these affected and radicalized people in FATA can be used as source of recruitment by the militant and terrorist groups?

For the last twenty years the US and NATO forces have been fighting constantly against the Taliban and Al-Qaida but have faced a humongous amount of resistance. It is very important to find out why it happened. The most important purpose of this work is to understand the response of the people of ex-FATA to drone attacks and identify the reasons which promoted terrorism and helped terrorist organizations to exploit the sentiment of the aggrieved

communities (who have lost their beloved ones in these drone strikes) and recruited them in militant organizations. Most of the work that has been done on radicalization generally suggests that it is the radical version of Islam that has been the most important and active force of making the people radicalized and as a result promoting terrorism and extremism across the globe.

Certain evidence makes it true that the most important factor in radicalizing the people toward extremism is religion and strong love and bond for Jihad. This study explains the unique features of socio-cultural traditions and codes of life, commonly known as Pashtunwali. This study explains that it is not only the religion that promotes the concept of terrorism in this region, but the ultimate desire for revenge that is one of the most important codes of Pashtunwali. It is in the tradition that when someone kills the beloved member of the family, the rest of the family avenges his beloved one. This code of Pashtunwali is the driving factor behind this extremism in this region. It is this feeling which made the people radicalized toward extremism. It is this code of Pashtunwali which made the people recruited in the militant organizations because these organizations can easily exploit their sentiments and make them realize that they can help them to avenge their beloved killed in the drone strikes. Besides, this study will prove that it is this revenge-radicalization relationship which has given enormous advantages to the militant organizations in fulfilling their ultimate goals of maximizing their number in ex-FATA.

It provides a common base for the coalition among the people who suffered in the drone strikes. This coalition not only brings them closer but also identifies their common enemy which for them is the US forces, NATO and even in some cases Pakistani government. This rationale is commonly revenge-based. This fact has brought the people of ex-FATA closer to the militant groups like the Taliban's and al-Qaida as compared to US and NATO forces. They think that these organizations want what they want and have the same desire as they have. And this common feeling brought them closer and made the thing tough for the US and the NATO and also for Pakistani government.

This case study is about the US policies and approach towards drone strikes in ex-FATA. From the geopolitical point of view this region has a prime importance in world affairs. Over the year in international limelight ex-FATA, Pakistan is centre for terrorism and counter terrorism polices. Pakistan and Afghanistan have been divided by Durand Line between them. For the last decade terrorism is in the full swing the region. The US and NATO forces have been constantly attacking the militant organizations in Afghanistan and to avoid that these organizations have managed to have safe havens in this tribal belt. They have established camps in the region and have new recruitment. They do their planning to counter attack the US and also perform militant activities in Pakistan. Since 2001 they have planned so many terrorist activities from this region. So it becomes very important to deeply focus on understanding the process of radicalization in ex-FATA (see Wyatt, & Dunn, 2019).

The purpose of this paper is to give an understanding of the damages which occurred as a result of drone attack in ex-FATA and its relation with the radicalization of the people of ex-FATA. It also tries to explain that to what extent these affected and radicalized people in ex-FATA can be used as source of recruitment by the militant and terrorist groups. The paper is descriptive, analytical and explanatory. It is a library based research where mostly secondary data have been used and only a few telephonic interviews have been conducted with those who were deeply affected by the drone attacks. Certain global and Pakistani media reports have also been considered in detail. The terrorist experts and certain other political analysts' commentaries have also been taken as a source for drawing an impartial conclusion out of it. In what follows we throw light on the available literature in section 1 by pointing out the framework on radicalization. Section 2 explains and explores the practical and empirical proof of revenge radicalization assumption and hypothesis in ex-FATA, Pakistan.

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Radicalization Theories: A Review

The felling of revenge is the prime source of radicalization and specially when someone is asked or told to avenge his beloved one. This thought leads us to Humiliation-Revenge Theory. The concept of humiliation is much broad and lacks specific definition. In order to understand it we will narrow it down to fit it to the situation under study. When someone sees that his/her beloved one has been lost in an inhuman way by others, he feels humiliation and resorts to revenge of various intensities depending on the situation. The basic theme of this theory is that when one feels humiliated, it promotes the felling of revenge in the humiliated and he wants to take revenge at any cost. This feeling and motivation provides a spur for revenge which leads the aggrieved community to get radicalized which in turn forces him to take revenge.

The term 'radicalization' has been very hard to define. Various scholars have defined it differently and there is no unanimity on one common definition (see for example Veldhuis & Staun, 2009). The concept of radicalization is relatively new and young in the world of academics. It is subjected to various controversies which has made it very confused and complex term to be defined properly, hence very poorly defined. There is only one aspect of the term on which the scholars are agreed; that radicalization is a process (Schmid, 2013). There is diversion of opinion regarding the meaning of radicalization and its impulsive factors and drivers that lead to the process of radicalization. It is very hard to figure out the basic drivers of this process. Similarly, there is no consensus on the differences between the concepts of radicalization and terrorism. The broader consensus is that these two words are similar. There is a hypothetical assumption that tries to establish and explain a relationship between radicalization and terrorism. It says that the radical beliefs are important driver to pave the way to terrorism. In fact, radicalization leads to terrorism (Borum, 2011). This assumption may be true. However, there are certain evidence that suggests that there are people found especially in Muslims countries who possess radical views and thoughts but do not possess any intention toward terrorism or involved in any sort of terrorist activities. A number of global surveys have been conducted indicating certain radicalized Muslims who possess sympathetic feelings for the terrorist organizations but are not actively involved any sort of terrorist activities or violence. They simply possess sympathy for the militant groups (Atran, 2010). However, radicalization is one of the most important means which contributes to terrorism in one way or other.

The Dutch Security Service (AIVD) defines radicalization as 'growing readiness to pursue and/or support—if necessary by undemocratic means—far-reaching changes in society that conflict with, or pose a threat to, the democratic order' (Mandel, 2017). This definition makes radicalization a threat to the western societies and their democratic norms and traditions- an approach based on faulty logic. There is no boarder for radicalization and it exists and existed everywhere in the world. It is a concept irrespective of any ideology, thought or religion. In fact, it existed in every ideology, religion, and thought. So it is irrelevant that it existsonly in non-democratic societies. It can be found in both democratic and non-democratic countries. However, the concept of radicalization may grow and cultivate and even can be transferred from one part of the world to other parts.

According to McCauley and Moskalenko (2008) radicalization can be define as "the increasing extremity of beliefs, feelings, and behaviours in directions that increasingly justify intergroup violence and demand sacrifice in defence of the in-group". According to this definition the most important thing that can be made responsible for the process of radicalization is group. This definition puts more stress on group level radicalization. From the group point of view the identity and affiliation are always in relation to each other. It is true that the possibility of radicalization increases in group but one cannot ignore the possibility of single individual's role in the radicalization process. The socio-political culture in which an individual lives in may also lead to the development of certain extremist behaviour.

This study strongly agrees that radicalization is a process during which an individual adopts certain behaviours and approaches from his surroundings and finds a justification for the use of indiscriminate violence. This process of radicalization is both mental as well as emotional that provides impetus to promote violent behaviours (Wilner & Dubouloz, 2009). This definition is more detailed, explanatory and comprehensive, explaining the entire process of radicalization. It covers each aspect of the radicalization process and how it happens. It also mentions mental and emotional aspects associated with radicalization. In this process the main focus is that radicalization does not last forever and will change over the period of time to de-radicalization. So it means that the process of radicalization is subjected to change.

According to Borum (2011), if the process of radicalization is responsible for both mental and psychological change, then certain organizations and even individuals' work can be channelized to facilitate the process of radicalization for recruitment purposes. This approach has been applied in the case of Pakistan and Afghanistan by certain militant groups very efficiently and carefully. They have been using specific propaganda tools in order to recruit youth in both countries into their militant groups.

Homeland Security Institute published a report in 2009 where it declared that all war zones that exist in Pakistan and Afghanistan are used as a recruit pool by the various militant groups. In order to recruit the young ones these organizations use certain tools wherein they find a fertile land in these war zones for radicalization. They exploit the feelings of the victims and once they do that the people easily become willing to join extremist organizations.

Individual Level Inter-disciplinary Model of Radicalization

William (2001) gives an inter-disciplinary model of radicalization that conceptualizes the process of radicalization more comprehensively at the individual level. According to him at individual level this process will be more comprehensive and lengthy one. He applies very broad and discursive tactics that try to assess individual being as an inseparable part of a society and his/her own socio-cultural environment. He opines that all the trajectories and curves that happen in his lives may lead him to extremism (Costanza, 2015). The personal trajectories of an individual in his life will have effect on him which may establish certain extremist behaviours leading him to extremism. William (2001) enumerates four cultural components essential for understanding radicalization process. According to William (2001) family is the very first social group where a child learns initial social interaction which develops and influences the sense of self in the child from the very beginning. This sense helps in developing an identity for the child. According to William (2001) the second component is the social norms that have been entrenched in the mind of child during his school or some other institutions in which he has lived. This leaves a very long and deep impact on youths' mind and plays a vital role in the development of his/her cognitive behaviours and abilities and individual's personality. Peer groups have also a very deep impact on the individual and are taken into account when an individual grows from childhood to adulthood, the time during this phase he spends with his family members and friends of his age will have an impact on his life and thought. All these relations matter a lot for an individual and are extremely vital for him as he grows these factors come into play and have impacts on his life and personality. The last component according to William (2001) is the cultural one i.e. cultural community which is mainly composed of religion, ethnic groups, ethnicity and the class of the individual besides the traditional and historical factors (Costanza, 2015: 14). When an individual enters into a cultural community, this gives him huge understanding of rights, duties, and his other obligations. It also makes him aware of his choices and priorities in the community.

However, the above proposed framework is wanting and has certain limitations. It has presented a narrow view of the process of radicalization. It has only focused on the social and

cultural aspects of the process of radicalization. There is no doubt that social norms and social environment in which an individual lives will have an impact on his life and will help in shaping and forming his personality but it is not the only thing which shapes the individual's choices. There are certain other factors along with these which shape the personality and liking of an individual and can bring a radical change in his life for example, certain incidents may happen in one's life which may lead to a radical change in him and may change his personality and choices. Only one incident sometimes can be enough for bringing change in one's life. Most importantly, it completely ignores the importance of ideology which is one of the most important factors in the process of radicalization in the modern world. This narrow approach is unable to explain fully the process of radicalization.

An Integrative Model of Conversion:

In 2015 Neil and Eve conducted a study regarding radicalization process. In their research they explained that religion has a very important role in the process of radicalization. Religion enhances the process of radicalization. They have given a model known as Integrative Model of Conversion. The main theme of this model is to understand how religion can help in understanding the process of radicalization. (Lofland and Skonovd 2011)) Have also conducted study on this issue. Their work has also made it clear that there is religious view behind radicalization. There are certain motives which are spiritual, empirical, intellectual, coercive and also revivalist. These motives are the combination of personal, religious, ideological and social elements that are helpful in framing, charting and conversion experience. These elements are vital for bringing behavioural change in individual. This model is inspired from religious motif and based on religion.

Neil and Eve model explains seven basic stages of conversion and explains factors of radicalization in detail. The very first stage is that of context where the focus is on the cultural, social, historical, and personal factors which play vital role in helping an individual to hold radical opinions. The second stage is closely associated and resembled with the crises stage. Normally it is based on critical incidents having high potential of encounter leading an individual to a very high profile engagement or a huge quest. The capability of making contacts with any other new movement is increased. Similarly, the identity and individuality creation and integration into the movement (commitment) leads us to the union of the identity and an intention to act (consequences) (Ferguson & Binks, 2015: 25). Neil and Even model is very systematic and proper that underpins a very complex and multipart set of connected factors and issues which may result in radicalization.

The religion conversion motives are much helpful in understanding the process of radicalization. There are certain empirical evidences that propose that its application is limited to those who are newly religious converts and those who have experienced and undergone both ideological and religious conversion. This model suitably explains those people who have faced social annihilation, extermination and discrimination in the society they exist. This is more common in societies where individuals face the problems of identity and suffer from identity crises. However, this model explains that radicalization process is lengthy and long one. It basically involves the process of ideological indoctrination and brainwashing. But this might not be true all the time. The members of the terrorist organizations sometimes even do not know about the fundamental motives and basic ideology that exist behind the militant groups. Sometimes the members of the organizations join them for some selfish and worldly doles and benefits, social recognition, fun and even adventures.

The Edge of Violence

The Edge of Violence by Bartlett, Birdwell, and King (2010) explains the radical approach toward extremism. This study has made a comparison among different terrorists who were

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inspired by the Al-Qaida and some other non-violent Muslim radicals living in different countries and especially in Western liberal democracies. The study declares that the radicals' lives in western democracies have a very strong opposition towards the policies of the west. They support the restoration of the pious caliphate and want to implement the law of Shariah and to adopt it as a way of life for the west. The study explains that the radicals of the western democracies have a soft corner for all those groups who are fighting with Allied Forces in Afghanistan and Iraq. They support the terrorist organizations with open hearts. The study explains that these radicals are mostly well educated even from the universities and some of them even have very good jobs yet they have certain involvements in some sort of terrorist activities. They also stage political protests for their voice to be heard (Bartlett, Birdwell, & King, 2010: 11).

The study also indicates that terrorists have very little knowledge of Islam yet they are more expressive and have showed their hatred towards the western culture and society. They have no soft corner for the west in their heart. The radicals and the terrorists have many resemblances and so both of them face the same exclusion. They are not satisfied with their state's policies and have lack of trust on their own governments. Both the terrorist and the radical are suffering identity crises (Bartlett, Birdwell, & King, 2010: 12). The authors have drawn a clear line between the process of radicalization and the concept of terrorism. However, it is not important that radicalization may not necessarily draw pathway to terrorism. The distinction between radicalization and terrorism becomes very much unclear and blurred. However, the study has not addressed the various aspects and other characteristics of radicalization-terrorism connection clearly.

The Radicalization Puzzle

Hafez and Mullins (2015) have also studied radicalization process, and the main theme of their work is the home cultivated Islamist radicalization in the western countries. The authors strongly criticize the assumption that the process of radicalization unfolds in the order manner. They argue that no case study supports linear and staged progression that can explain radicalization as a process (McCauley & Moskaleiko, 2017: 210). The authors draw a line of demarcation between radicalized ideas and actions of radicalization. The former justifies violence only. This radicalization only deals with ideas of terrorism. The latter is directly linked with active involvement in the process of terrorism. The action of radicalization justifies terrorism. The authors propose a theoretical concept about the violent radicalization. According to them there are four main factors that lead to violent radicalization. They are a) personal collective grievances; b) network and interpersonal ties; c) political ideology; and d) religious ideology (Hafez & Mullins, 2015:961).

The Two-Pyramid Model

McCauley & Moskaleiko (2017) are of the view that it becomes very important to make a distinction between extremist opinion and extremist action of radicalization. The process of extremist radicalization action forces people to involve in violent terrorist activities. They propose the Two Pyramids Model. The first pyramid model, known as opinion pyramid, is related to opinion. At the base of this pyramid are the people who do not like to participate in political issues. They remain neutral and are not actively involved in political activities. However, they have a very strong belief in the cause of radicalization but do not like to support and justify violence. These individuals are sympathizers. Above this level are individuals, known as justifiers, who allow and justify violence in their defence. They justify the act of violence. The top of the pyramid possesses those who have an ethical and moral obligation to conduct violence (McCauley & Moskaleiko, 2017).

The other model is known as Action Pyramid Model. At the base of this pyramid are those who have nothing to do for the cause. They are also known as inert. These people do not like to participate in the process of radicalization. Higher in this action pyramid are the people who play a very active role in all the legal and political processes and activities for the cause and are known as activists. At the top of this pyramid are those who are involved in illegal actions for the cause. This is commonly known as the radical level in this pyramid. These people are involved directly in the terrorist activities and they do not even hesitate by killing common civilians. The members of this level of pyramids are called terrorists (Mccauley & Moskalenko, 2017). However, the authors are of the view that the individuals in these two pyramids can skip any level to move either up or down.

The Social Movement Theory and Islamic Radicalization

Social Movement Model is a theoretical basis to address and discourse the debate about Islamism and radicalization. It has received wide range acceptability in academic literature and work on radicalization (Christine, 2013). Every social movement is primarily based on certain sets of ideas and identical beliefs which are represented by certain national as well as transnational organizations whose main aim is to reach out to maximum aspirants across the globe through various ways and techniques by both legal and illegal ways in order to bring the desired and anticipated change. The main aim of these movements is to highlight various social and communal problems. These movements plan and develop certain strategies in order to address these issues. They also take certain responsibilities for the solution of problems on the behalf of the community. In order to make these movements stronger they focus on new recruits into their organizations, which have common and identical social and ideological bonds(Beck, 2008). Social Movement Theory can be applied to certain Jihadists and Islamists inspired radicalization ever since the appearance of movements in the shape of Hamas in Palestine, or Ikhwan ul Muslimeen and Muslim Brotherhood of Egypt, Al Qaida as in Saudi Arabia and Afghanistan. Different religious scholars define the concepts of Islamism, political Islam, Islampobia, or any jihadist movement as backed up by religious totalitarian ideologies deeply inspired by the sentimental feeling toward anti westernization (see for example, Borum, 2011). It is because of these reasons that the concept of militant Islamism is treated as a universal social movement which provides convincing lens for understanding the process of religious radicalization, which may cause extremist and terrorist activities. The advocates of this approach claim that militant organizations have made a strong appeal to individuals sharing a common set of religious ideas, belief and understanding to join these organizations. This is one of the most important reasons that the Al Qaida, the Taliban and also ISIS are heavily composed of those who believe in the Wahhabism version of Islam (Christmann, 2012).

Humiliation-Revenge Theory of Radicalization

Radicalization literature is deeply rooted in socio-psychological pattern, accounts for the importance of individual grumbles and sadness by making explicit and clear reference to the mechanism of humiliation-revenge (Christmann, 2012). The theory of Humiliation-Revenge argues that the humiliation of an individual or any group may become a source of an increased anger and annoyance. This humiliation of an individual or group will promote the desire of revenge against those who caused the humiliation. They may even revenge those who are associated with the oppressor in one way or other. The desire for revenge against the oppressor will always be there in the mind of humiliated party (Moghadam, 2006). The primary reason behind this revenge concept is humiliation. This humiliation provokes and provide spur to the internal pressure which can be either social or psychological forcing the individual to take his revenge by switching to the path of violation and extremism against the one who oppressed them and became cause of their humiliation. The victims are forced to take the revenge by its

norms and traditions. The humiliation may bring injustices, unfairness, harms, loss of dignity and honour (see for example, Shah, Ehsan, & Malik, 2019).

The individuals or groups who have suffered the grievances at the hand of some powerful group can be a very powerful reason to promote radicalization (Kruglanski et al., 2014). The individual may face humiliation due to violation of fundamental rights for example prestige, loss of property, loss of honour and/or death of their beloved one. Apart from that the humiliation of group is prompted by various factors. These factors might be the victimization of any ethnic group or any other religious faction, foreign occupation or any discrimination (Kruglanski et al., 2014).

Both of the above situations may provide a moral and ethical justification and provide a very solid reason to retaliate and restore the lost dignity (Lindner, 2007). Usually humiliation brings dishonour in many cases, for example, it intensifies and escalates certain amount of violence and wars between some individuals and nations. At the end of First World War in 1919 Treaty of Versailles was imposed upon the people of Germany. Germany was treated with humiliation and disrespect. This strategy of Allied Power proved counterproductive. This humiliation of the entire German nation provided foundation for Hitler to lay down the foundation of Nazism and to retaliate and restore the nation pride and honour. Adolf Hitler started with Holocaust and claimed it as a remedy for humiliation in Versailles (Lindner, 2007). So it is concluded that the expression of revenge and retaliation in the wake of humiliation is very dangerous and can lead to dangerous mass violence. This feeling of revenge becomes much dangerous when the honour, dignity and prestige of the entire race or nation are hurt. The subjugation, oppression and disrespect can lead to violence and invoke vengeance (Torres & Bergner, 2010).

For every single individual the revenge is the main desire on the bases of which he can compensate the injustices that had happened to him or his group (Kruglanski et al., 2014). Crenshaw (2008) is of the opinion that if there is only one reason which can make a person radicalized; it will be the desire for vengeance and revenge. Even a regime may encourage radicalization process when it creates certain martyrs to be avenged. There is no doubt that the anger at injustices, oppression and persecution demands for the revenge (Crenshaw, 2008). When an individual or a group faces any sort of injustices and humiliation at the hands of his enemies and becomes victim of their subjugation, the only thing that can restore his dignity and honour can be the revenge. Once he gets revenge from his enemy only then his lost pride and honour is restored. There is a strong hypothetical assumption that humiliation and disrespect generates certain motives and causes a strong desire for taking revenge, which provides spur and impetus for violent radicalization.

The history of mankind is full of certain personal grievances which have resulted in radicalization, for example, in 1800s Andrei Zhelyabov was a prominent Russian terrorist and was mastermind behind the killing of several political personnel in Russia. The main factor which drove him towards terrorist activities was the revenge and injustices done to him by the monarch in Russia (McCauley & Moskalenko, 2008). Similarly, the Chechen Black widows who believed to take revenge from the Russian troops for the death of their beloved friend and men folk. In Sri Lanka there is also a rebellion group known as Tamil Tigers which has a suicide brigade with the name of Black Tigers. This group thinks of certain amount of humiliation at the hands of Sinhalese oppression. The Black Tigers now wants to take revenge from them (McCauley & Moskalenko, 2008). Handi Jaradat was a 29 year old Palestine young girl who blew herself up as a suicide bomber on 4th October 2003 in a restaurant in Haifa. This suicide attack killed almost 21 people. The reason that forced Handi Jaradat to commit suicide attack was that the Israel forces had killed her fiancé in 1997 when she was just 21 year old. Later on in 2003 the Israel army killed her cousins and brother. This was the leading factor that forced Handi Jarabat to blow herself up as a suicide bomber. The injustices done to her at the hand of Israel

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forces made her radicalized. She was forced to take revenge of her beloved ones killed at the hands of Israel Armed Forces. Handi Jaradat was moved by the feeling of revenge. She wanted to take revenge of their beloved ones at any cost. Just before blowing herself up she uttered these famous words "Your blood will not have been shed in vain. The murderer will yet pay the price and we will not be the only ones who are crying" (Kruglanski et al., 2014).

The available literature reveals that the act of violence and terrorism in the light of revenge are carried out by the individuals with their own abilities, and most of the individuals prefer to join militant organizations in order to fulfil their personal vengeance by committing suicide attack (Moghadam, 2006). This marvel has been deeply observed in the case of Hamas in Palestine, LTTE in Sri Lanka, and the Taliban and Al Qaida in Pakistan and Afghanistan. The only and most important aim of their joining militant organizations is to take revenge of their beloved ones, because without the help of these organizations it will be very difficult for them to take their revenge. These organizations can facilitate them in their revenge (Mccauley & Moskalenko, 2008).

The question arises that why it is so? Why these people prefer to join militant organizations for their own revenge? The answer to this question is that most of the time the individual who becomes victims of the powerful, do not possess any sort of technical knowledge or any financial resources through which he can carry out his revenge, he can get help only from these organizations in the shape of expertise, resources, intelligence and thus can have his revenge (see for example Moghadam, 2017). Over the years certain militant groups do propaganda campaign in order to recruit many individuals into their organizations especially from the conflict zones. These conflict zones remain very fertile for the new recruits into the militant organizations. A large number of people who have faced humiliation in any form can be easily recruited by the militant organizations. There is large number of soft targets found in these conflict zones. They are always ready to join the militant organizations in order to take their own revenge. They complement and help each other.

A question arises that whether revenge-generated-radicalization is deeply rooted in the culture of society or it is the outcome of some kind of mental and psychological circumstances and conditions? A considerable majority of both the natural and social scientists is of the opinion that emotion and feeling of revenge are actually a mental disease/disorder which is mainly associated with the post-traumatic stress indicators and symptoms. Since the twentieth century, some scholars have floated the idea that the desire for revenge emerged from certain psychological and mental illness (see for example, McCullough, Kurzban, & Tabak, 2012).

In the similar stream, (Malini, 2017) are of the opinion that vengeance is the main indicative of some cognitive dissonance that occurs as a result of certain mental imbalance. This phenomenon has led some scholars to believe that vengeance motivated radicalization can be curable through certain psychiatric treatment in a specific therapeutic setting (see for example, Sparago, 2007). However, the present study argues that this hypothetical stance is more theoretical than experimental. There are a number of studies conducted on radicalization and terrorism which conclude that radicalized terrorists and militants are healthy mentally and hardly meet the criteria of psychiatry for insanity and absurdity (Sparago, 2007).

Moreover it has also been observed that those militants who are mentally unstable/ill are very hard to be controlled and cannot be reliable to conduct certain terrorist attacks successfully. Due to this reason terrorist organizations are very less willing to recruit these mentally unstable people into their organizations (Sparago, 2007). In many societies around the world this feeling of taking revenge for humiliation and disrespect at the hands of the oppressors is deeply rooted in their culture/tradition since immemorial (Malini, 2017).

This phenomenon has been deeply observed in the tribal societies where the concept of revenge is deeply entrenched as compared to the settled areas. The people lived in tribal zone and are much conscious about taking their revenge. The main reason behind this is that state institutions function weakly and do not deliver up to the satisfaction of the tribal people. Here is a strong urge and need for the mechanism of vengeance to regulate and legalize the behaviours of the people of tribal areas so that nobody may transgress and disobey the limits as defined by the tribal codes. However the vengeance becomes due when someone is found guilty of violating and exceeding the normative boundaries described by the Pakhtun code. Mistakes should be corrected and honour must be restored (Ahmed, 2013). In the tribal code of life vengeance is considered to be an integral part of Pushtun culture and tradition, and in no aspect it is recognized as least binding and obligatory than any other sort of statute book.

Conclusion and Recommendations

This paper argued that people mainly join militant organizations to take revenge of humiliation and disrespect caused to them. Most of the time individuals who become victims of the powerful, do not possess technical knowledge or financial resources through which they can carry out their revenge, they can get help only from the militant organizations in the shape of expertise, resources, intelligence and thus can have their revenge. They get radicalized. This radicalization has remained the main theme and tool for the different militant organizations in order to recruit people. They exploit the emotions of the people and then create certain environment in which the innocent people by themselves show interest to be part of those activities.

Recommendations

In order to curb the menace of terrorism and de-radicalize the region of ex-FATA (merged districts), the government of Pakistan and the civil society need to take practical steps. The comeback of the Taliban in Afghanistan with the withdrawal of the US and NATO forces presents us with best case scenario and worst case scenario. The best case scenario is that the Taliban, because of the experience gained for the last two decades, will not support terrorist activities across its border. They will not allow their territory to be used against any other state and will cooperate in curbing terrorism. The worst case scenario is that they will support extremism/terrorism and will not cooperate in curbing extremism and terrorism. Pakistan should prepare for the both. Therefore, the following steps should be taken on priority basis.

1. The government of Pakistan should concentrate on developing state institutions. The political institutions should be encouraged and developed so as to deliver the desired results.
2. As we argued that the most important stimulant in resorting to extremist and terrorist activities is to take revenge for the wrong done. Individuals involved in extremist/terrorist activities are usually pessimistic and have lost hope that the state will redress the wrong done to them. They have lost confidence on the state institutions (specifically judiciary) to deliver justice. This state of affair has made extremist and terrorist organizations attractive to them to compensate the wrong done to them. So the state needs to deliver, compensate and build the confidence of the people specifically living in war zones. The government needs to protect the fundamental rights and liberties of the people and to uphold rule of law.
3. The media and the civil society are also having huge responsibilities in this behalf. They have to present the soft image of Islam and highlight the dangers accrued of extremism and terrorism.
4. We should disengage the militants and the general populace without violating sacred beliefs. Moderate religious scholars should be involved in the process.

5. The state should also start major developmental projects in the merged districts. Specifically major attention should be given to the establishment and development of educational and health institutions.
6. The state should encourage a favourable environment for dialogue, debate and discussion so that the aggrieved may have a full chance of expressing his grievances.

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