NON-STATE ACTORS AND NATION BUILDING

IN PAKISTAN: AN ISLAMIC PERSPECTIVE

OMMAR HAYAT ABBASI

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by

OMMAR HAYAT ABBASI

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I dedicate this thesis to,

My parents

Ami Jan and Aba Jan,

My lovely wife

Saba Kareem

My amazing kids

Muhammad Sarim Abbasi
Aydin Ahmad Abbasi
And
Ruwaid Mustafa Abbasi

And

My siblings

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As said, difficult roads often lead to beautiful destinations, although the destination is unknown yet, but my wife Saba has been with me throughout this, so far the toughest phase of my life. She has never demanded her rights from me, she sacrificed a lot. Saba, your sacrifices will always been remembered InShaALLAH. Thank you for being there with me all this while, thank you for raising three 'super active' replicas of mine. Trust me, I know it is not an easy task, but I equally trust your abilities to achieve anything which you dream for in your life. Long way to go honey, never give up and continue to achieve your dreams. Good days are going to begin very soon once again Alhamdolillah.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABN   Aktor Bukan Negara

(PR)(V) NSAs   Politicoreligious Violet Non-State Actors

BNP   Baluchistan National Party

CAQDAS   Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis

CIA   Central Investigation Agency

CIDS   Crime Investigation Department(s)

DG   Director General

DHQ   District Health Quarters

FATA   Federally Administered Tribal Areas

FGD   Focused Group Discussions

FR   Frontier Region

GHA   General Headquarters (Pakistan Army)

HEC   Higher Education Commission

IDPS   Internally Displaced Persons

IJI/ADA   Islami Jamhuri Ittehad/Islamic Democratic Alliance)

IPT   Islamic Perspective Theory

ISI   Inter-Services Intelligence

ISIS   Islamic State of Iraq and Syria

ISSI   Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad

JI   Jama'at-i-Islami

JUH   Jamiat Ulema-e-Hind

JUI   Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam

JUP   Jamiat Ulema-e-Pakistan

KPK/KP	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
LEAS	Law Enforcement Agencies
MI6	Secret Intelligence Service (SIS) United Kingdom
MMA	Muttahida Majlis–e–Amal
MOFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MOSSAD	National Intelligence Agency of Israel
NACTA	National Counter Terrorism Authority
NAP	National Action Plan
NATO	North Atlantic Treating Organization
NB (P)	Nation Building (Process)
NGOS	Non-Governmental Organization
NISP	National Internal Security Policy
NWFP	North-West Frontier Province
PAF	Pakistan Air Force
Ph.D.	Doctor of Philosophy
PNS	Pakistan Naval Station
PPA	Pakistan Protection Act
PTI	Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf
QAU	Quaid-e-Azam University
R&AW	Research and Analysis Wing
SAW	Peace be Upon Him (صلى الله عليہ وسلم)
TTP	Tahrik-e-Taliban Pakistan
UK	United Kingdom
UNO	United Nations Organization
US/USA	United States of America

USM	Universiti Sains Malaysia
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics/ Soviet Union
WOT	War on Terrorism
WWII	World War II/ Second World War

AKTOR BUKAN NEGARA DAN PEMBENAAN NEGARA BANGSA DI PAKISTAN: SUATU PRESPEKTIF ISLAM

ABSTRAK

Pada zaman dunia kontemporari kini, keganasan menjadi isu utama. Secara konvensional, dalam kajian sains politik atau hubungan antarabangsa, ada negara yang memahami 'penggunaan kekerasan' itu perlu manakala ada entiti bukan negara menganggap itu sebagai jenayah. Oleh itu, negara-negara kuasa besar telah menggunakan kekerasan terhadap mana-mana entiti bukan negara dan mengisytiharkan mereka sebagai pengganas tanpa mengira alasan dan permintaan mereka.Disebabkan oleh kepincangan ini, Pakistan telah menjalinkan perhubungan dengan Aktor Bukan Negara (ABN). Pengaruh dari perhubungan ini, Pakistan perlu mematuhi jenis paradigma yang telah ditetapkan. Sehinggakan ia telah menghadkan pembangunan dalam negeri dan negara. Orang-orang Pakistan masih banyak diabaikan dan akhirnya kehilangan hak asas mereka yang termaktub dalam kontrak social. Walaupun dalam struktur antarabangsa yang berpusatkan negara kontemporari telah menyatakan bahawa negeri-negeri kekal sebagai sumber kuasa dan tujuannya adalah pembebasan individu. Kekurangan minat terhadap pembebasan rakyat mewujudkan jurang antara kerajaan dengan rakyat ini, telah menyediakan dan memberi ruang kepada ABN untuk beroperai. Penyelidikan ini bertumpu kepada peranan negara dalam penciptaan, pengabaian, paksaan, akibat dan bagaimana pihak ABN mencabar politik Pakistan. Objektif utama penyelidikan ini adalah menukar wacana akademik dan ilmiah yang berlaku terhadap ABN dari perspektif counterterrorism / counterinsurgency untuk memberi tumpuan kepada pembebasan rakyat dan pemulihan

kontrak sosial. Sebagai sumbangan teoritis, penyelidikan ini mengkaji lebih mendalam terhadap Teori Perspektif Islam (IPT) sebahagian daripada teori kajian keselamatan kritikal dan teori pembinaan negara. Sebagai kajian kualitatif, penyelidikan ini memilih 'fenomena dasar' dan 'kawasan geografi' yang dilaksanakan oleh dasar tersebut. Data itu dikumpulkan melalui temuramah bersama dengan pembuat dasar serta Perbincangan Kumpulan Terfokus dengan penduduk dari wilayah yang terlibat berdasarkan teknik pensampelan secara bertujuan. Penyelidikan ini mendapati bahawa cabaran ABN adalah hasil ketidakmampuan elite untuk memahami ajaran Islam sebenar untuk pilihan dan amalan dasar, salah guna / menyalahgunakan agama untuk keuntungan sementara, dan penambahbaikan dasar / usaha pembangunan negara yang tidak diutamakan. Manipulasi agama tanpa mempertimbangkan kejatuhan mereka yang diberi kuasa oleh kumpulan-kumpulan politikus dan memupuk budaya 'pemikiran militan / tindakan militan' terhadap alasan politik, agama dan mazhab. Selain memberikan pilihan dasar alternatif, kajian ini secara kritis menganalisis dasar negara dan mencadangkan bahawa cabaran keganasan tidak dapat dibasmi melalui senjata dan paksaan semata-mata tetapi dengan membebaskan nyawa manusia dari semua bentuk ancaman. Kajian ini menunjukkan bahawa usaha 'membina negara' adalah berasaskan 'prinsip Islam' dapat menghindari ancaman keganasan.

NON-STATE ACTORS AND NATION BUILDING IN PAKISTAN: AN ISLAMIC PERSPECTIVE

ABSTRACT

Terrorism remains at the forefront of contemporary world stage. Conventionally, in the study of political science or international relations, the 'use of force' has legally been understood as to be associated with the state and illegal and criminal for non-state entity(s). Therefore, the omnipotent states use force against any non-state entities involved in violence and declare them terrorists regardless of the nature of their demands. Because of its peculiarity, Pakistan has gone through sweet-and-sour kind of relationship with the violent non-state actors (NSAs). Pakistan's choice to adhere to which type of paradigm domestically was greatly influenced by its foreign relations. In this quagmire, it could neither build the state nor the nation as was needed. Although in the contemporary state-centric international structure, states remain the fountainhead of power. However, its purpose remains the emancipation of individuals. The people in Pakistan remained largely ignored in policy formation, and were ultimately deprived of their basic rights which are expected from any state under social contract. Lack of interest on peoples' emancipation created a gulf between the state and society thus provided room for NSAs to operate. This research focuses on role of state in the creation, abandonment and coercion of NSAs and consequently, how NSAs counter challenged Pakistani polity. The sublime objective of this research is to deviate prevailing academic and scholarly discourse vis-à-vis NSAs from counterterrorism/counterinsurgency perspectives to focus on the emancipation of people and restoration of social contract. As a theoretical contribution this research embeds Islamic Perspective Theory (IPT) apart from critical security studies theory

and nation building theory. As a qualitative study this research selected 'policy phenomenon' and 'geographical area' effected by such policy as dual case studies. The data was collected through in-depth interviews with policy makers as well as Focused Group Discussion with the population from affected region based on nonrandom and non-representative sequential purposive sampling technique. This research finds out that NSAs' challenge is the result of governing elite's inability to understand true Islamic teachings for policy choices and practices, misuse/abuse of religion for temporary trivial gains, and continuous non-prioritization of nation building policies/efforts. Thoughtless religious manipulation without considering its fallout empowered politicoreligious groups hence cultivated a culture of 'militancy/militant thinking' on political, religious and sectarian grounds. Apart from giving an alternative policy option, this research critically analyzes state policies and proposes that terrorism challenges cannot be eradicated through guns and coercion but by emancipating peoples' lives from all pervasive threats. This research suggests that deliberate 'nation building' efforts based on 'Islamic principles' can avert the menace of terrorism.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Prevalent nation state system has evolved over the last two hundred years as an outcome of collective political conscious of international community (Pick, 2011). However, this system continues to face various multipronged challenges throughout the globe. To build the case for this research, following section of this chapter explains the contemporary challenges to nation states in general and Pakistan in particular. It also explains the most damaging issue of violent non-state actors which Pakistan faced over the last one and half decade. First part highlights the importance of non-state actors for international society of states and connects it with Pakistan. The second part discusses Pakistan's scenario which resulted in the emergence of non-state actors. Third and final part of this section briefly builds upon the reasons as to why and how non-state actors emerged as a national challenge of Pakistan.

1.1.1 International Scenario

The Westphalian model of sovereign Nation-State has been challenged by variety of interlinked and intermingling factors during the last few decades (Newman, 2009). However, 21st century has brought these challenges forward for the Nation-States in globalized world vigorously (Fukuyama, 2004). In the very beginning of the century the events of 9/11 have challenged the nation-states to engage in an exercise for the protection of their sovereignty by fighting against the national and transnational non-state actors (henceforth NSAs) (Acharya, 2007). Being the primary players on the globe the nation-states are in the struggle to understand and handle these challenges to

continue the legitimacy of their sovereignty (Hughes, 2002). The degree to which various states are facing new challenges varies from case to case on the basis of their roles in international affairs, geostrategic location and capabilities to handle the challenges (Meyer, Boli, Thomas, & Ramirez, 1997; and Agnew, 2005). Regionally and internationally, powerful states have a larger role to play in the sovereignty crisis of other states (Preuss, 2008). Likewise, states directly linked with the interests of regional and international powers are more prone to face these challenges for being on the crossroad of their own interests and those of the powerful states (Jahangir, 2013). In the case of absence of alignment between interests at both ends the chances of strengthened sovereignty of smaller states are lesser and vice versa (Larson, 1971). Genuinely, a multi-disciplinary study from economic, political and security perspectives can comprehend these challenges faced by various states. The purpose of this study, as a matter of fact, is to examine the case of Pakistan, as argued above, being a key player in regional and international politics to handle the challenges posed by NSAs during its nation building process.

1.1.2 Pakistan Scenario

Pakistan since its inception in 1947, willingly or unwillingly, has continuously been playing an active role in world politics because of its geostrategic location on the world map (Abbasi & Bakar, 2015). Aided with its engagements with the world, being at the cross road, forced by its location aimed at securing its sovereignty, Pakistan has gone through a continuous internal turmoil and extraordinary external challenges since its very independence from British rule for many reasons (Wolfgang Taucher, Mathias Vogl, 2014). Faced by the complexity of external and internal, regional and international requirements, Pakistan has reasonably been able to place itself as an

important player in the world because of its role in events that shaped the world model over the last three decades, including mainly the Cold War and the ongoing War on Terrorism (henceforth WOT) (P. J. Smith, 2011; and T. Hussain, 2005). Unlike many other countries of world, the internal situation of Pakistan is not solely shaped by the Pakistani state alone; it is rather shaped by the influence of regional and international obligations as well (Curtis, 2012; Fair & Gregory, 2012; and Rafique & Anwar, 2014). Although, in the globalized world every state's internal situation is linked with its relations with world, however, to the extent Pakistan's internal situation is shaped by external factors is an example per se (Mazhar & Goraya, 2013).

External interests in Pakistan added with the lack of capabilities in the Pakistani leadership led to an immense segregation among economic, social, religious and political fabrics of the society (M. I. Malik, 2003). As a country with huge population required a visionary and dynamic leadership to run the affairs of the state, on the contrary, the leadership of Pakistan soon after its inception till now, has not been able to sufficiently deliver (Khalil-ur-Rehman, 2011). As a result, a deficit of trust among the people of Pakistan towards its leadership has further worsened the internal affairs of the country (Haleem, 2003). The huge gulf of deficit of trust, which continuous to exist even now, led to the fragility of the society followed by the emergence of the elements or actors to challenge the writ of the state (Chandran, 2012). It must be noted that these actors are not merely those disgruntled with the leadership of Pakistan, these include those working for the foreign interests in Pakistan as argued above (Firdous (2009). These actors vary in nature including economic, political, social and religious actors and typology of these actors in Pakistan will be analyzed and discussed in detail during the course of research.

1.2 Problem Statement

As a consequence of its decision to join War on Terrorism after 9/11 events, Pakistan is confronting with religious-political NSAs from Federally Administered Tribal Areas (henceforth FATA) region as only major challenge to its state apparatus in an already fragile situation to build itself as a nation-state (L. Saeed, Syed, & Martin, 2014; Lanche, 2009; and S. A. Malik, Sandholzer, Khan, & Akbar, 2015). Apart from number of failed attempts, high profile personalities, including but not limited to, the former Prime Minister (Firdous, 2009), former sitting governor of Punjab (Pakistan's most densely populated province) (Mukhtar, 2015; and The Editors, 2015), army generals (Rahimullah Yusufzai, 2013), many members of the parliament (Shamil Shams, 2012), foreign dignitaries including ambassador of Czech Republic (Wilkinson, 2008) have been assassinated by the NSAs. In Addition to this, Sri Lankan official cricket team was also attacked by different NSAs on their official tour for a series of cricket matches in Pakistan (Devan, 2012). Majority of Pakistan's most important installations, locations and regions have not remained safe, to date, from the activities of NSAs like bomb blasts and suicide attacks in the length and breadth of the country, indiscriminately killing thousands of civilian and military personnel (Younus, 2014; S. A. Malik et al., 2015; Wilkens, 2011; and A. N. Khan, 2010).

Pakistan's leadership have taken various initiatives like launching of military operations (Afridi & Yousufi, 2014; Chughtai, 2013; Chakrabarti, 2015; Sareen, 2014; and Siddique, 2008) against NSAs as well as dialogues and negotiations (Sattar, 2014) between the state of Pakistan and NSAs from North Western region to address this challenge. In addition to these initiatives or responses, government of Pakistan formed National Counter Terrorism Authority (NACTA) in 2009 under executive orders, and in 2013 the parliament passed the NACTA act. Whereas, to date, NACTA remains

inactive with allocation of zero funds in annual budget of 2015. In 2013, National Internal Security Policy (NISP) was announced by the ministry of interior government of Pakistan. As a result of 2014 Peshawar school massacre, in which more than one hundred students were killed, parliament passed Pakistan Protection Act (PPA) and announced National Action Plan (NAP) as a byproduct of NISP for quick remedies of this grave challenge (Group, 2015) which does not give sustainable long-term solutions (Smits & Wright, 2012).

Whatever policies Pakistan has been adopting to address the challenges posed by NSAs in its nation building process remained counterproductive (Younus, 2014; and S. G. Jones & Fair, 2010) because these lacked thoroughly structured intuitional effort. The challenge continues to exist even today with fluctuating tendencies of rise and fall in the attacks by NSAs throughout Pakistan which is evident from the killing of Punjab's sitting home minister on August 16, 2015 (BBC, 2015) as well as the attack on Badaber Air Base as recently as September 18, 2015 (Sophia Saifi, 2015).

In Pakistan, throughout its history, issues pertaining to its national interest always remained controversial amongst different stakeholders including leaders, policy makers and the people (Shankar, 1982). The absence of consolidated agenda for nation building resulted in the emergence of various challenges for the country (Ramzan & Rabab, 2010).

In general the existing scholarship on NSAs and nation building very loosely links the two phenomenon, mostly discussed with a greater emphasis on either of two concepts and thus joining these two concepts remained under-theorized (Mylonas, 2010; S. Saeed, 2007; Siroky, 2012; Smits & Wright 2012; Ulimwengu, 2007; and Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, 2008). This research, thus, attempts to merge two concepts

in the case of Pakistan with reference to the role of NSAs from FATA in Pakistan's nation building process.

The concept of nation building remains mostly within the framework of external developmental efforts in war trodden countries (James Dobbins, 2003). On the other hand, studies on NSAs remains within the framework of extremism and terrorism without strongly connecting it with internal efforts of nation building.

The existing literature in Pakistan is focused on the inquiry of typological, ideological, and tactical aspects of NSAs. It also discusses the impact of both, NSAs and military operations, on the local population of FATA. In general, the studies have investigated the phenomenon of NSAs from four different perspectives. Firstly, from civil society perspective which highlights the socio-economic dimensions of non-coercive NSAs in the form of non-governmental organization (henceforth NGOs) throughout the country. Secondly, from ethno-nationalist perspective with reference to liberation movements in Baluchistan. Thirdly, within the framework of the role of NSAs in the post 9/11 foreign policy. Fourthly, from security perspective which focuses mainly on religious-political NSAs.

In general, the scholarship on the concept of nation-building remains ambiguous with either state-building or national or state development (Walker Connor, 1972). Whereas this study differentiates and prioritizes these two concepts where nation-building is considered as the first and foremost priority which has to be pursued continuously not just to address the challenges posed by NSAs to the state, and the followed by national development.

Nation Building in Pakistan has been very rarely and broadly discussed from socio-economic, political and developmental perspectives as a separate phenomenon without strongly connecting it with the challenge of NSAs and this gap exists even at

the policy level (Ramzan & Rabab, 2010; and M. Nazrul Islam, 2009).[1] The absence of coherence and connectivity between both nation building and NSAs in Pakistan's academic sphere is reflected even within the policy framework and mindset of the country which is unable to sufficiently address this serious challenge.[2] This research is therefore very novel in terms of creating a correlation between nation building process and the challenges posed by NSAs in Pakistan as well as analyzing the willingness and preparedness of governing elite to address this challenge.

The country was founded as secular state but after the demise of its founder, the ruling establishment hijacked the intellectual basis of the country and declared it to be an Islamic state (Alavi, 1988). The Muslim league leadership was secular in outlook but was forced by the religious forces to add Objective Resolution. Religion or politicizing religion by the leadership was an important and critical factor during the partition of subcontinent. After the independence the governing elite tried to create a new identity with a famous slogan of '*Pakistan ka matlab kiya La Ilaha Illallah'* (*What Pakistan mean? There is no God but Allah*) (Mirza, 2009). However, (Iqbal, 2014) argues that "whether Pakistan was created for Islam or not is a dispute that has not been settled yet and there is no indication that it can be settled in the near future."

First military ruler, Ayub Khan, abolished the 1956 constitution and declared the country as a Republic of Pakistan instead of Islamic republic of Pakistan. Then came Bhutto, although secular and liberal in the outlook, with his Islamic Socialism agenda which was another form of Islamic conformity the significance of religion in

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[1] Official manifestos of three national level political parties including Pakistan Justice Movement (PTI), Pakistan Muslim League (PMLN) and Pakistan People's Party (PPP) don't show clear agenda or understanding for a sustainable nation building of the Pakistan. However, PPP has somehow better understanding as compared to PTI and PMLN

[2] The research and practice on NSAs remains within the framework of terrorism and extremism. Whereas the concept of Nation Building is used as cliché in Pakistan. For example, the concept of nation building is not so clear even among the army which has been directly ruling the country for more almost 50% of time since its inception. The official website of Pakistan Army mentions infrastructure projects and roads' construction as nation-building.

the political settings of Pakistan. Religious forces joined hands due to political instability and paved the way for Gen Zia who took control in 1977.

In the 80's extremism was promoted to suit the political needs of Zia's dictatorial regime. Jihad was glorified to achieve political ends and this demanded a new identity. So through legislation, the country was given an Islamic outlook. He capitalized on the religious sentiment and tried to Islamize the society with some legislation. Jihad was glorified. It pushed the society towards hypocrisy. After his demise in 1988, the country returned to the democratic rule but the legacy of Zia continued. Ten years of democratic rule could not undo the doings of Zia. Gen Musharraf took over the power in 1999 and introduced the concept of 'Enlightened Moderation' to do away with the damage caused by the extremist approach of Gen. Zia (Musharraf, 2004).

Historically, use of religion by the state (read religious manipulation) remained as one of many manipulative policies which the governing elite pursued in Pakistan. By establishing a correlation between Islamic teachings/principles and policies pursued by the governing elite, this research endeavors to explore whether the exploitative and manipulative policies pursued by governing elite make Pakistan a regressive state. Whether such policies are aligned with the true teachings of Islam or there is contradiction, if there is any, this research explains those contradictions or transgressions by religious political parties, mainstream political parties and civil and military establishment and how the governing elite misused religion, if they did, with the help of direct verses from Quran and Hadith.

1.3   Significance of the Study

While carrying out policy research, is it important to draw boundaries and to frame policy problem. Somekh and Lewin (2005) suggested four methods for the researcher to locate his/herself in policy research by firstly making distinction between doing 'research for policy' or 'research about policy'. Secondly by locating oneself as an 'insider' or an 'outsider'. Thirdly whether the investigation is about all or any of processes or effects of the policy. And lastly by determining whether the focus of the research is at macro, meso or micro level or an interplay between levels. Whether the research is a 'policy critique' or 'policy service' Somekh and Lewin (2005) emphasized that through such work "researchers can warn policy-makers about problems, inform them of possible policy options, assist them in reframing policy problems or provide policy-makers *post hoc* with rationalizations of politically desired policy options". Bacchi (1999) advises "not to take official definitions of a problem at face value but to ask how that definition was generated and how it fits into the state's agenda for social programs". Because as Somekh and Lewin (2005) argue " policy is often less about 'problem solving' and as much about 'problem-setting' in terms of setting up an agenda for social action".

There is no consensus regarding the scope of these religious-political NSAs, some of researchers like (Dalacoura, 2001) have limited the role of NSAs to the domestic political, social and economic issues whereas the others (Farah, 2004, Moghaddam, 2009; and Williams, 2008) have argued that these NSAs have become a global challenge for the modern nation-state. Considerable contributions have been made on the challenge of NSAs faced by the nation-state in different parts of the world. NSAs are a challenge mostly for the weak states but at the same time they are a challenge for the most developed countries of the world like USA (Manwaring, 2002).

However, many researches and reports like (Bellal, Giacca, & Casey Maslen, 2011; Neubert, 2009; Kidane, 2011; Saner & Michalun, 2009; Ekwekwuo, 2008; Merz, 2010; Kuntzsch, 2008; Gebara & Kibranian, 2008; Ranstrop, 2000; and Bwalya, Phiri, & Mpembamoto, 2009) through thorough studies and empirical evidences have made it clear that NSAs pose a bigger challenge mostly for the African and Asian countries or nation-states. In the case of Pakistan, NSAs have posed a huge challenge for the state and consequently as argued by Cloughley (2009) have spread the extremist violence throughout the country.

The significance of this study lies in the fact that the phenomenon of NSAs is growing as a bigger challenge for many countries and regions of the world. Which the emergence of NSAs like Boko Haram in Nigeria (Walker, 2012), ISIS and Houthi Tribes in the Arab World (Friedland, 2015; and Salmoni, Loidolt, & Wells, 2010), the contemporary situation of the world politics suggests that the challenge of NSAs for the modern nation states is not going to end anytime soon.

Therefore, this study which is primarily focused on Pakistan's case, will be a contribution in the existing body of knowledge for the nations who have either already faced this challenge or might face such challenge in future. At the same time this research explores new dimensions by connecting nation building and NSAs together which will explore the avenues for further research and policy paradigms. While in the case of Pakistan this research is unique as it brings out the research on NSAs from what remains restricted within the phenomenon of extremism and terrorism and connects it with the social contract as understood in both realist and liberalist schools of political science.

1.4 Research Objectives

1. To explore the role of NSAs from north-eastern region in the national deformation of Pakistan.

2. To critically evaluate the ongoing strategies of Pakistan to address the challenge of NSAs and incorporate Islamic perspective regarding those policies.

3. To propose sustainable and people-centric policy alternative of nation building to counter the challenge of NSAs from Islamic perspective.

1.5 Research Questions

1. How non-state actors from north western region (particularly FATA) are causing national deformation in Pakistan?

2. How effective are ongoing strategies/policies of Pakistan to address the challenge posed by NSAs for its nation building process?

   a. What are the principles of nation building from Islamic perspective and those pursued by the governing elite in Pakistan?

3. What alternative policy options Pakistan can adopt to sustain its nation building efforts in post-conflict scenario?

   a. What is nation building and how the ongoing policies are either complimenting or contradicting Islamic principles on state-subject relationship?

1.6   Operational Definitions

Both of the terminologies have problematic definitions which are not very clear because both of the terms NSAs and nation-building have various aspects and therefore their definitions vary from case to case in the available literature. In the section below, both terms are defined as these are used on the basis of their operational definitions in this research.

1.6.1   Defining Non-State Actors

There is no unanimous definition for all genres of NSAs because of the variance in the types of NSAs (DCAF & Call, 2015). Therefore, to establish the better understanding of NSAs, following table elaborates the categories of these groups:

Table 1.1: General Catagories of NSAs

Category A:	Category B:
Coercive/Violent NSAs	Non-Coercive/Non-Violent NSAs
Religious & Political NSAs	Economic & Developmental NSAs

Source: The Author 2015

There are different definitions for each of the aforementioned categories of NSAs and there are further classifications of the NSAs in both categories (Arts, Noortmann, & Reinalda, 2001). However this research is focused on the religious and political NSAs in Pakistan which are coercive and violent in nature and therefore can be termed as VNSAs (Bartolomei, Casebeer, & Thomas, 2004). These VNSAs can be defined as any organized group with a basic structure of command operating outside state control that uses force to achieve its political or allegedly political objectives. These actors include 'rebel groups' and governments of entities which are not (or not widely) recognized as states (DCAF & Call, 2015) and by the international system of states (Jackson & Sørensen, 2013). In this study defines NSAs, as organized and structured groups from North-Western particularly FATA region of Pakistan operating

outside state's control which are motivated by religious ideology and who use violence as mean to achieve their political agenda. In the literature various terminologies have been used for such groups which are explained in detail in second chapter, however, to keep it simple this research uses the term 'non-state actors' as it is widely acknowledged and used in both academic and non-academic discourse.

1.6.2 Defining Nation Building

Definitional understanding of the concept of national building is linked with the situation when a particular nation or state is in a state of crisis or conflict (Talentino, 2009). The foundations and success of nation building, not to be confused with state building, lie in a national approach of all the stakeholders responsible to handle the affairs of any nation which is collective, consolidated and coherent in nature (Mylonas, 2010; and Comfort, 2003). There are three major definitions of Nation Building or Nation Building Process (NB or NBP). Firstly, and the most irrelevant definition of Nation Building with reference to this research's context deals with the rights and methods of nation building for native or indigenous people of countries like Canada, US and Australia who have undergone long period of victimization by external settlers in their countries (Cornell & Kalt, 1998). Second and partially related definition of NB or NBP undertaken is understood as post-war nation building process undertaken either directly by the US or through an alliance with different countries or organizations in countries which have been engaged with a conflict with the US (James Dobbins, 2003). This definition deals with the external efforts of nation building as the aftermath of a conflict. Classical examples of such countries are Germany, Japan, Somalia, Haiti, Bosnia, Kosovo, and Afghanistan where US power is used to underpin democratization. Third and the most relevant definition for this research is the

deliberate and continuous formation and execution of indigenous nation building strategies and/or policies pursued by the governing elite aimed at the emancipation of people as well as their continuous evaluation to ensure the security of individuals from pervasive threats like the one posed by NSAs.

1.6.3 Defining Embedded Islamic Perspective Theory:

The study of religion is a complex and challenging task and this research fully acknowledges those who studied politics of religion in general and political Islam in particular, it also accepts the depth and details of their contributions encompassing various facets of Islamic religion. However, this research aims to focus primarily on two parameters used to introduce Islamic perspective theory on nation building and NSAs in the case of Pakistan. These two parameters include firstly the establishment of social contract based on Islamic principles for the emancipation of the people through the indiscriminate provision of justice and equality. Secondly with help of versus from holly Quran termed 'ayahs' and sayings of Prophet of Islam, Muhammad (SAW) termed 'Hadith' this research critically analyzes all forms of manipulation including social, economic, political and religious in the case of Pakistan.

1.7 Research Methodology

This section focuses on different and critical aspects of the research conducted to undertake this project. Followed by the debate about research paradigm and justification for the selection of transformative paradigm. Then the philosophical and theoretical underpinnings of the research are elaborated. Particularly this section will provide a rationale for the techniques based on ontological and epistemological underpinnings. This section also explains qualitative research approach as well

methods of data collection including precisely the interview and focused group discussions. This section explains the constructional/preoperational considerations with reference to the reliability of the guide used for semi-structured interviews and focused group discussions and validity of the research analysis. Second last section addresses the sample size of respondents as well as the rationale and justification for purposive sampling technique used in this research. Last section explains ethical considerations adhered during data collection process followed by the last section which explains data processing techniques for the purpose of analysis and discussion. However, samples of each aspect pertinent to the project will be attached towards the end of thesis as appendices.

The section initially builds the case and justifies relevant research paradigm, philosophical and theoretical underpinnings, and research approach undertaken. The section also highlights various aspects related to data collection including the choice of method, its development and reliability and validity, process of data collection and ethical consideration for research. Finally, this section will explain the techniques and tools used to analyze the data.

1.7.1 Research Design

Creswell (2013) explains that "research designs are types of inquiry within qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches that provide specific direction for procedures in a research study". Since this research focused on policy matters, therefore, as (Somekh & Lewin, 2005) while quoting (Lauder, Brown, & Halsey, 2004) argued that increase in the complexity of social problem has led to recognize the fact the quantitative methods alone provide insufficient input for many policy questions. Big sized data views the subject of research as 'averages' to demonstrate

the ideal behavioral trends in their pursuit. Therefore in terms of geographic and communal particularities, it becomes difficult of contextualize such representation of data. Somekh & Lewin (2005) again stressed that although quantitative studies "can identify a problem and make associations between particular factors, but often cannot explain the phenomena. The complexity of the 'problem' is often best addressed by in-depth qualitative analysis".

Neuman (2014) claimed that "most qualitative studies involve a language of cases and contexts, employ *bricolage*, examine social processes and cases in their social context, and study interpretations or meanings in specific socio-cultural settings". He further argues that qualitative research "rarely uses variables, test hypotheses, or creates precise measures in the form of numbers. Most qualitative studies build on the assumption that certain areas of social life are intrinsically qualitative". He further claims that in qualitative research instead of variables, we examine motifs, themes, distinctions, and perspectives ... For this reason, qualitative data are not imprecise or deficient but are very meaningful. Neuman (2014) also advocated that in qualitative research, we collect and carefully scrutinize the data about specific, concrete aspects of the social world by documenting real events, recording what actual people say (with words, gestures, and tone), observing specific behaviors or social events etc. He emphasized that the purpose of qualitative analysis is "to look at "hard" physical evidence which is just as "hard" and physical as the numeric measures of attitudes, social pressure, intelligence, and the like as found in a quantitative study" (Neuman, 2014).

Beyond aforementioned general design, there are specific strategies which are at work during research which focus on collecting, analyzing and disseminating the data. These strategies are devised differently across academic disciplines and are

adhered throughout the research process. (Creswell, 2007) highlighted many existing strategies such as 28 approaches of Tesch, Wolcott's tree of 19 types, and 5 "traditions" of inquiry given by Creswell himself. However, Creswell (2007) recommended that qualitative researchers should choose from among five possibilities to study individuals (narrative, phenomenology); explore processes, activities, and events (case study, grounded theory). And these five approaches, (Creswell, 2007) views represent an encompassing focus from narrow to broad. Although qualitative researcher largely uses complex, multifaceted, and iterative reasoning which is inductive, but both inductive and deductive processes are simultaneously at work. Tri-phasic research design of this project is elaborated in the figure given below.
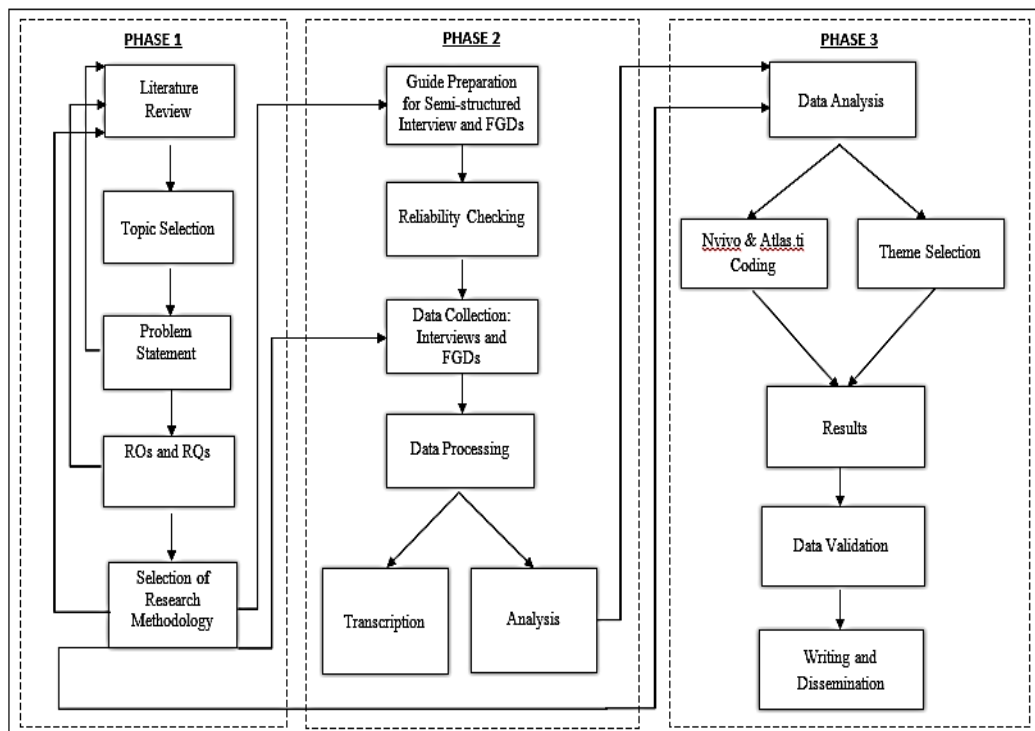

Figure 1.1: Research Design

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1.7.2   Case Selection

The objectivity of the problem statement required selection of the cases for an in-depth research. Research objectives, research question and problem statement together established the foundation for selection of case studies. As Somekh and Lewin (2005) argued that "case studies can be produced of new institutions, new social programs or new policies, as well as hold policy to account in terms of the complex realities of implementation and the unintended consequences of policy in action". Case study is supposed to be particular, descriptive, inductive and ultimately heuristic and it aims to 'illuminate' the readers' understanding of an issue (Parlett & Hamilton, 1972).

This study holds two policies specific phenomenon to account with reference to the complex realities of their implementation and unintended consequences of those in action. It explores, examines and operationalizes the policies that the governing elite pursued vis-à-vis NSAs and, if any, towards nation building process of Pakistan. As explained in literature review, there is a variety of NSAs across the country, for example, nationalist NSAs in Baluchistan, criminal NSAs in interior Punjab such as chutu gang, ethnic NSAs in southern part and politicoreligious violent NSAs from the north western region of Pakistan. In terms of politicoreligious VNSAs, there are similar cases outside Pakistan for example, ISIS in Middle East or Boko Haram in Nigeria etc. However, this research is a case study of politicoreligious VNSAs from the north western region of Pakistan because of, as explained before, their impact and role in an overall national deformation of Pakistan. Similarly, as explained in the literature review, many scholars, practitioners and researchers have addressed various aspects of multifaceted phenomenon of nation building in different parts of the world. However, this research focuses on the nation building as defined earlier, in the case of

Pakistan. It is the type of cases which are considered politically important that represent sectors or dimensions which tend to correlate (Richard E. Boyatzis, 1998). Therefore, NSAs and NBP are two major selected case categories which then established the inclusion criteria for sampling. Somekh and Lewin (2005) emphasized the strength of case study which can take an "example of an activity – 'an instance in action' and use multiple methods and data sources to explore it and interrogate it. Thus it can achieve a 'rich description' of a phenomenon in order to represent it from the participants' perspective".

1.7.2(a) Focused Area for the Case:

FATA has been termed as the most dangerous place in the world because of its security dynamics (Nawaz, 2009). It actually serves as an engine as well as catalyst for terrorism activities in Pakistan. Although it will be challenging for the researcher to gather data from FATA being a high risk location. However, the issues that stim from FATA engulf the entire country into the wave of terrorism and insecurity. Therefore, this study gives a special focus to FATA and generally on the north-western region of Pakistan to find out the answers of research questions

Table 1.2: Areas and Population of FATA

No.	Agency	Area [Sq.KM]	Population
1	Bajaur	1290	590,000
2	Khyber	2576	740,000
3	Kurram	3380	450,000
4	Mohmand	2300	330,000
5	North Waziristan	4707	360,000
6	Orakzai	1538	220,000
7	South Waziristan	6619	420,000

Source: Pakistan's Embassy in the USA.

FATA region comprises of seven different agencies with 27,220 square kilometers area which is 3.42% of the total area of Pakistan. FATA is traditional and tribal area with its total population of approximately 3.5 million. It has extremely poor

socio-economic indicators as compared to the rest of Pakistan where already serious

problems can be found with its socio-economic indicators per se. FATA is governed

by political agents who are representatives of the federal government of Pakistan. The

political agents are a intermediaries between the federal and provincial governments

and the local tribal people. Inhabitants of FATA have very strong social, cultural,

religious and historic relations across the border in Afghanistan (Norell, 2010). A

report by Pakistan's embassy in the USA states that

> *Economic dependence, ethnic affinity and tribal culture stimulate*
> *frequent back and forth movement as this area is mostly inhabited by*
> *same tribes on both sides with strong tribal structure, traditions and*
> *customs (Riwaj). The Afghan Refugee Camps, established post-Soviet*
> *invasion [31 camps with 1.66 million population in NWFP and 17 with*
> *0.230 million population] make the situation more complex* (Economic
> Division, 2008).

Although there is a greater disparity as per the development indicators in terms

of rural and urban areas. However, all the areas regardless of the level of development,

enjoy complete provision of whatever system of justice is available in Pakistan. In

FATAs case, it is twofold challenge, apart from being by far less developed area as

compared to the adjoining KP province, the state has also failed to provide the people

of FATA with the provision of justice like other parts of the country. This unique

situation should thus be considered as a justification for the case of NSAs and Nation

Building in this research.

Table 1.3: Selected Development Indicators for Pakistan, the NWFP, and FATA
(2003)

Indicator	Pakistan	NWFP	FATA
Literacy ratio (both sexes, in percent)	43.92	35.41	17.42
Male literacy ratio	54.81	51.39	29.51
Female literacy ratio	32.02	18.82	3.00
Population per doctor	1,226	4,916	7,670
Population per bed in health institutions	1,341	1,594	2,179
Roads (per sq km)	0.26	0.13	0.17

Source: Strengthening and Rationalization of Administration, Draft Report 2006, Islamabad, April 2006, pp. 63–65. Note: Literacy rates according to 1998 census; all other figures for 2003 (Nawaz, 2009)

Source: Google Maps
Figure 1.2: Map of Pakistan Highlighting Internal Administrative Divisions and Bordering Countries

1.7.3   Data Collection Methods

Creswell (2007) identified data collection steps for qualitative research as setting the boundaries of research, collecting the data through unstructured or semi-structured interviews and establishing protocols for recording the data. The data is collected from purposefully selected such respondents who can understand and relate to the research questions and research problem. Unlike quantitative research, where random sampling and large number of participants are studied, in qualitative research limited participants are interviewed (Creswell, 2007). He further identified the forms and steps of data collection in qualitative research where the researcher conducts face-to-face unstructured, open-ended interviews or engages in focus group interviews with six to eight interviewees in each group, records and then transcribes those interviews and/or focused group discussions (Creswell, 2007).

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1.7.3(a) Interviews

Neuman (2014) simplified qualitative data into two major categories: field research including open-ended in-depth interviews and historical-comparative research. This research collected data through interviews and focused group discussions because as Neuman (2014) claimed "face-to-face interviews have the highest response rates and permit the longest and most complex questionnaires". Through purposive sampling technique which will be explained below, the researcher selected the participants who had direct role in policy making in Pakistan throughout the last more than three decades. Although historical evolution of the problem is examined in third chapter, however, the selected respondents based on their profile and the role with reference to the case study phenomenon under investigation. Such selection approach and criteria helped conduct historical comparison of the development and varying aspects of this case study.

1.7.3(b) Focused Group Discussions

Focused group which has rapidly grown in the past 20 years is a technique used to collect data in qualitative research where people are informally interviewed in a group discussion (Neuman, 2014). The procedure a typical focused group is that a researcher gathers together a group of six to twelve homogeneous members but not close friends or relatives in a room with a moderator. The moderator facilitates free, open discussion by all group members to discuss issues, generally for about 90 minutes (Neuman, 2014).

Based on the questions to be asked from respondents a key list of people is identified where each person acts in relation to some other individual and/or group (Schostak, 2006). This relationship between members of the group "creates the

conditions for the triangulation (or cross-checking of views, facts and so on) and also for establishing the degree of generalization across groups, contexts, discourse communities, and over time" (Somekh & Lewin, 2005). Somekh & Lewin (2005) further believed that "focus groups have attained unprecedented popularity with researchers … their increasing use by researchers is well justified as they can access group norms and provide insights into the formation of views which cannot be so readily achieved via individual interviews". Neuman (2014) advised that "since the interpretative frames and the previous experience of the participants may differ, it is crucial to ensure that the preconditions for focus group participation are clear to all participants before the discussion starts."

1.7.3(c) Sampling Method and Size

Sampling methods and size is determined based on the suggestive literature in this regard. Therefore, this research uses nonrandom and non-representative sequential purposive sampling. Neuman (2014) explained nonrandom nature of purposive sampling as a method in which "the researcher uses a wide range of methods to locate all possible cases of a highly specific and difficult-to-reach population. He further defined purposive sampling as valuable but non-representative sampling used in exploratory research by selecting especially informative respondents for special situations with a specific purpose in mind. Creswell (2007) argued that "in qualitative data collection, purposeful sampling is used so that individuals are selected because they have experienced the central phenomenon".

Neuman (2014) paradoxically argued that "sequential sampling is also similar to purposive sampling" but again he points to the difference between the two by stating that in purposive sampling the objective is to locate maximum relevant cases, but

"sequential sampling differs because we continue to gather cases until the amount of new information ends or a certain diversity of cases is reached. The principle is to gather cases until we reach a saturation point" (Neuman, 2014). Somekh & Lewin (2005) defined saturation as a "point in the research process when no new concepts or further properties or dimensions of existing concepts emerge from data. … [This happens] when the researcher reaches a point when the data seem repetitive … [the] saturation has occurred". Therefore, to decide what cases should be selected for the study and how to draw the boundaries (Somekh & Lewin, 2005) argued that the "key issue concerns depth versus coverage, and within the logic of a case study approach, the recommended choice is always depth".

Similarly, for focused group discussion this research used purposive sampling technique because "focus group studies generally employ either convenience or purposive sampling, neither of which produces a representative sample" (Somekh & Lewin, 2005).

Both primary and secondary data are used during this research. Secondary data were collected using document and library analysis methods as well as from online resources. Primary data were collected through two methods, the in-depth interviews and focused group discussions (FGD). Whereas for the secondary data, meta-analysis of the existing literature was conducted. The researcher conducted ten in-depth interviews from maximum possible and most relevant stakeholders of the two case study phenomenon, the nation building as well as NSAs. The respondents included military generals, renowned current affairs analysts, leading journalists, academicians, bureaucrats, members of the parliament and common people from the affected areas. The researcher also conducted an interview with a terrorism suspect who remained imprisoned for a couple of years under the custody of Pakistan's premier secret agency,