

FUTURE OF PAKISTAN CONFERENCE

Evolving Paradigms

A Qualitative Study on a Rehabilitation Model

Held: 28th and 29th June 2012



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CONTENTS

Foreword	1-2
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	3-4
INTRODUCTION	5-6
LITERATURE REVIEW FOR RESEARCH STUDY	7-9
METHODOLOGY OF RESEARCH STUDY	10-11
SPEECHES	12-32
Setting the Scene	13-16
The Role of Overseas Pakistanis	17-19
Making Predictions in Uncertain Times	20-23
Perspective on National Security	24-28
Engaging with Pakistan	29-32
RESULTS AND DISCUSSION FROM RESEARCH STUDY	33-41
CONCLUSION OF RESEARCH STUDY	41
RECOMMENDATIONS	42-46
REFERENCES	47-48

Foreword

By Toaha Qureshi MBE, Chairman, FIRD

The Forum for International Relations Development (FIRD) held the Future of Pakistan Conference (FoPC) in London on the 28th-29th of June 2012 with the senior strategists, analysts and practitioners of Pakistan's security and foreign policy. In this well attended conference, the experts had a common voice about the precariousness of the present situation on nearly all of the important national fronts in Pakistan e.g. democracy, militancy, security, economy, foreign policy and regional issues etc.

The first day opened in the House of Parliament with a thought showering session on 28th of June, 2012. On the second day, 29th of June, the Conference delegates mulled over the crucial questions of national security and foreign policy in turbulent times, resetting Pakistan US relations and reforming economy and education in Pakistan. Concurrently, research was conducted including thematic analysis from interviews and workshop observations, and this report presents a new and innovative rehabilitation model for Pakistan.

Pakistan sits geographically at the heart of one of the most troubled regions in the world and is a major geo-political player irrespective of the needs for internal development. The conference comes at a significant time in the history of the country with democratic processes seemingly more embedded in the country's fabric.

The Conference was inspired from the recent debate on the future of Pakistan which heated up after Prof. Cohen's much discussed collection 'The Future of Pakistan'. FIRD believes it is essential for world peace to engage with Pakistan in an informed and more inclusive manner.

We organised this conference believing it would help the understanding of the issues and potential routes forward for Pakistan and enhance the opportunities for sustained peaceful development in that troubled region. FIRD aims to facilitate the construction of a road map, detailing what Pakistan needs to achieve in the future concerning areas of strategic importance such as: security, foreign policy, education, domestic and international security and governance by bringing together authentic experts and strategists all round the world and engaging them in dialogue, discussion and open exchange of information.

A ten members working group was constituted that included veteran civil servants, strategists, businessmen, analysts, diplomats and interfaith leaders to advise on

conference proceedings and the road map. The working Group particularly acknowledges the intensive support extended by Mr. Hasan Bokhari, Alan Weston, Dr. Z U Khan, Philip Lingard, Syed Q.R. Shah, Rehman Sheikh and Mushtaq Lashari.

Among the pre-conference activities a landmark interfaith dialogue between Lambeth Palace and FIRD was initiated. The Archbishop of Canterbury Dr Rowan Williams, hosted FIRD delegates on 23 June, 2012 at Lambeth Palace to explore the religious-political segment of Pakistan.

The President of Pakistan Mr. Asif Ali Zardari commended FIRD and expressed his hopes that the Conference would bring 'to the fore the resilience of our nation and the promise our country holds'.

I trust you will find this report insightful and informative.

Yours truly,

Toaha

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report provides an analysis and debriefing of FIRD's recent Future of Pakistan Conference (FoPC) held in London on the 28th-29th of June. The report will draw attention to the proceedings of both the inaugural session at the House of Commons, workshop recommendations and in particular the research study on rehabilitation mechanisms.

Highlights of the Conference

1. Pre-conference dinner sparks debate
2. Stephen Cohen rates FoPC an A+ conference
3. Dr. Farooq Sattar announces for the first time his proposed Bill for Overseas Pakistanis on FIRD's platform at the conference
4. Media coverage of the conference
5. Interviews at FIRD with key dignitaries
6. Qualitative research conducted during conference
7. Mementos provided to speakers, panellists, working group members and FIRD staff

Key Recommendations

1. Contact Group to be established with top British, American and Pakistani strategists to continue with Track II dialogue to avoid friction and impasse on sensitive issues. FIRD would lead on its formation and London will become the head office to initiate and execute this activity.
2. Future of Pakistan Conferences are to continue with two major conferences every year. The recommendation has been made to hold future conferences with globally respected experts on topics such as; ENERGY, ECONOMY, MILITANCY, GOVERNANCE and EDUCATION in the future.
3. An effort should be made to galvanize Overseas Pakistanis sans any political allegiance to establish them as a separate entity. A shadow government of Overseas Pakistanis may be established to represent experts and technocrat Pakistanis around the world and to guide, advise and support the democratic government of Pakistan.

4. FIRD leads on a project to form an economic consortium to bring the most resourceful Pakistanis around the world on a platform where they could generate funds from their resources and invest in Pakistan. A mechanism is to also be developed to secure any such investment in Pakistan.
5. FIRD continues to follow on the research conducted during the conference and implement its findings and its rehabilitation model in a capacity to support Pakistan
6. FIRD continues with such conferences in the future and recommendations of such conferences are to be ensured of implementation by involving funding regimes including DfID and USAID. Next conference may be on education, rehabilitation and de-radicalisation
7. Establishment of “Change Maker” scholarship programme for deprived areas of Pakistan, particularly Baluchistan and Sindh in the field of education.

INTRODUCTION

FIRD has a rich history of organising conferences on topical issues. This conference was an opportunity to bring together academics, politicians, practitioners and policy makers.

The Shadow Lord Chancellor and Secretary of State for Justice, Rt. Hon Sadiq Khan MP opened the conference at Portcullis House, Westminster which was addressed by intelligentsia, academics, leading politicians and defence analysts from Pakistan and commentators and observers on the country including Prof. Stephen P. Cohen (author 'Future of Pakistan') from Brookings Institute, USA.

Prof. Anatol Lieven (author 'Pakistan – A Hard Country'), Kings College UK, and Dr. Robin Brooke Smith (Author 'Storm Warning') from the UK. Shadow Lord Chancellor and Secretary of State for Justice, Rt. Hon Sadiq Khan MP shed light why Pakistan needed a public relations campaign.

Speakers from Pakistan included High Commissioner of Pakistan Mr. Wajid Shamsul Hassan, Dr. Farooq Sattar, Federal Minister for Overseas Pakistanis, General @ Syed Athar Ali, former Secretary of Defence Pakistan, Prof. Dr. Z U Khan OBE, FRS, former Vice Chancellor AJK University, and the Rt. Reverend. Dr. Alexander John Malik, Bishop of Lahore, Pakistan.

The conference objectives were:

- To develop an understanding of the current narrative on Pakistan from divergent viewpoints
- To suggest pragmatic and realistic solutions to the problems posed to Pakistan including acting on any research findings from the qualitative study being conducted on rehabilitation
- To explore opportunities and possibilities for Pakistan in the global spectrum
- To initiate dialogue and promote discourse on the conflicting perspectives to promote peace and build bridges
- To produce a report giving suggestions on the way forward from all of the data gathered at the conference.

In line with the objectives to suggest solutions to the problems of Pakistan, and to initiate dialogue on the conflicting perspectives to promote peace, an opportunity was seen to conduct research with a specific question to assess what models exist in Pakistan to rehabilitate radicals, violent extremists and terrorists.

Pakistan's sensitive location by sharing borders with Afghanistan, the strong hold of Taliban, where their ideology has spilled over into Pakistan, has led to increased extremism and splinter movements (Abbas, 2008).

Current research on rehabilitation models in Pakistan is lacking. The government's model is an army led initiative under a very strict regime. There is very little community involvement and/or ownership.

Whereas in Europe, UK has been playing a leading role in introducing community led deradicalisation and rehabilitation work.

This research adds significant value to the current literature by focusing on developing rehabilitative model/s for addressing extremism in Pakistan in part by utilising the UK model/s (of community organisations and government) for

rehabilitating the Terrorism Act (TACT) related offenders which requires a sophisticated partnership of all the stakeholders (Marsden, 2008).

A brief literature review is provided followed by the methodology adopted in the research. The findings will be presented followed by a discussion of the results leading to the conclusion.

LITERATURE REVIEW FOR RESEARCH STUDY

The research is concerned with identifying a rehabilitation model to assist Pakistan in rehabilitating those on the path of radicalisation, extremism or terrorism. Ultimately a good model can reduce recidivism – that is the likelihood of an individual reoffending.

A process that extricates an ideology embedded in someone's mind can be defined as rehabilitation. The main objective of rehabilitating for violent extremists is to prepare inmates for their transition back into mainstream society (Veldhuis, 2012). It should include aspects of both de-radicalisation and disengagement for their successful reintegration. (Veldhuis, 2012). In some cases, rehabilitation of suspected and convicted terrorists has enabled them to express remorse from their violent ideologies and to re-engage with mainstream society (Gunaratna, Jerard, Rubin, 2011).

Day, Bryan, Davey and Casey (2007) refer to the process of change that offenders need to pass through in a rehabilitation programme. They argue that rehabilitation programmes must contain several components and the sequence of these components are to be carefully thought through if they are to be effective. Some programmes are designed with a particular offence in mind and address behaviours and cognitive skills. Indeed there are a number of theoretical models that are focused on 'problem' resolution – the problem being the offence such as committing a terrorist act.

The Assimilation Model (Honos-Webb, L., & Stiles, W. B., 2002) for example posits that an individual should pass through at least eight stages from problem where in the early stages the individual is not even aware that they possess a problematic behaviour but gradually they become aware of the problem and thus experience emotional trauma of sorts until the individual confronts the problem and deals with it.

This creates the hypothesis that:

H1: rehabilitation of extremists is a multistage process

According to Crossman (1997), the incorporation of psychological principles can make a difference in the rehabilitation process, by evolving the participants “from passive onlookers, who feel helpless to influence recovery, to active participants with positive attitudes toward recovery”.

Education as a change agent has long been discussed. This is often delivered inside of prisons as part of a correctional measure and change individuals behaviour before they are even released such that they stand better changes and recidivism is reduced (Batiuk, Moke and Rountree, 2006).

Education assists an individual back into mainstream society as it focusses on the psychological element. A significant stream of research is devoted to ‘vocational rehabilitation’, which assists offender re-enter reemployment (Curl et al, 1996), and it is posited is important since unemployment can lead to disenfranchisement and thus increased susceptibility to extremist ideology.

This leads to the hypothesis that:

H2: education is an important process of rehabilitation

According to Ranstorpan and Hyllengren (2013), extremism can be best be illustrated as a kaleidoscope of factors, one which includes a political element described as grievances framed around victimhood against Western foreign policy and its military intervention. This narrative feeds on the ‘West is at war with Islam’ tale, which in turn creates a narrative of ‘them vs us’. The likes of Bosnia, Chechnya, Iraq, Syria, Kashmir, Somalia and Palestine are just some of the examples of the conflicts which feed into this narrative of West is at war with Islam.

Phillips and Savun (2009) suggest that countries “that exhibit a certain type of foreign policy behavior, regardless of their regime type, are likely to attract transnational terrorism”.

This provides the hypothesis that:

H3: Western policy is a major factor in radicalisation

Foreign policy of Western countries towards some countries such as Islamic states, has been often quoted by radical groups as the cause of their terrorist acts. This would include the war in Iraq where the deaths of thousands of Muslims has caused anger among rebel groups. Foreign policy agendas inherently include some form of view towards radicalisation Kuhle and Lindekilde (2010).

According to research carried out by MI5's behavioural science unit, terrorists are not religious. In a Guardian news report by Alan Travis in 2008, the report stated said:

Far from being religious zealots, a large number of those involved in terrorism do not practise their faith regularly. Many lack religious literacy and could actually be regarded as religious novices. Very few have been brought up in strongly religious households, and there is a higher than average proportion of converts. Some are involved in drug-taking, drinking alcohol and visiting prostitutes. MI5 says there is evidence that a well-established religious identity actually protects against violent radicalisation.

What this report highlights is that religion is perhaps one of the most important elements of rehabilitating the mind of a terrorist.

This generates the following hypothesis:

H4: refocusing religious ideology is a key component in rehabilitation

METHODOLOGY FOR RESEARCH STUDY

Yin (1994) indicates that questions like 'how' and 'why' have a more explanatory nature and should be treated by qualitative methods, while questions of 'who', 'what' and 'where', have better treatment as quantitative research. Therefore this conference employed the qualitative method of focus groups and semi-structured interviews to tease out the themes for rehabilitation. The technique of semi structured interview is flexible and allows the interviewer to tailor the questions to the individual participant (Payne, 1999). According to Hendwood and Parker (1994), it also facilitates a deeper layer of meaning that can be uncovered in comparison to a purely quantitative study – in a conference setting, this is the most appropriate.

A brief information sheet, containing the purpose and background, was provided to all participants at the sign in stage of the conference workshops (also the consent stage) for their perusal and understanding. They were invited to ask questions, if any, on reading. Interviews and focus groups took place at FIRD's Secretariat. A familiar environment has been advocated as a positive contribution to the interview process (Elwood and Martin, 2000) and it was expected that the participants would be regular attendees of FIRD seminars and conferences.

Participants were aged between 18 and 75 and consent was given by all. As the youth have been mainly affected by this phenomenon i.e. radicalisation, lack of education etc., the majority of the participants were youth. They were either directly Pakistani, of Pakistani heritage or had an interest in Pakistan. The initial participants were chosen using 'convenience sampling' through people known to FIRD. This was followed by the 'snowball method' where referrals were made for other participants to take part. Those who were selected for interview were done so on the guiding principles of representativeness and experience (Morse, 1994). They were interviewed on the conference day before the main conference proceedings. To preserve anonymity in the report, individual participants have not been named.

The interviews were carried out over two-day period, with interviews lasting between 30 and 40 minutes. Researchers included staff at FIRD that were known to participants. In order to remain efficient, given the time constraints and available technology, the interviews were electronically recorded/typed.

The focus groups consisted of 15-25 members per group, which was dependent on the turnout of the conference on both days. Given the size of the groups, the sessions lasted between 60-90 minutes. Participants were encouraged to have equal contribution throughout the session, showing respect, understanding and appreciation for divergent viewpoints. Participants had been informed that they were

able to leave the focus group at any time, especially if they felt uncomfortable. There was a facilitator for each conference workshop and a minute taker taking notes from the workshop.

These observations were ultimately included in the report to contribute to a fuller picture of the project. The researcher, Toaha Qureshi, used thematic analysis to identify patterns in data (Braun and Clarke, 2006) and participant views.

To ensure credibility in the output of the qualitative data, the researcher carried out member checks (Lincoln and Guba, 1985) where participants were asked to consider whether their words match what they actually said and intended. Additionally, themes that were borne out of the research were shared to verify the understanding formed during the dialogues. All participants had the opportunity to further clarify or counter anything they felt had been misconstrued.

SPEECHES

Setting the Scene

Toaha Qureshi MBE, Chairman, Forum for International Relations Development

Pakistan is the 6th most populated country of the world, the 27th largest economy and the 7th largest standing army armed with nuclear weapons. It boasts the world's highest metalled road, world's second tallest mountain, world's largest earth filled dam, 4th largest milk producer, the most connected country in South Asia, with the highest teledensity, the world's largest biometric database (NADRA); the world's largest WiMAX network, the highest rates of cellular connectivity growth in the world.

Furthermore it is the second largest economy in South Asia, the world's 2nd largest exporter of made-up textile articles, world's 3rd largest exporter of cotton fabrics, world's 4th largest area of irrigated land, world's 5th largest number of newspapers published. I wonder whether many people are fully aware of these facts.

Pakistan prides itself with the world's youngest and vibrant population, Nobel and Oscar prize winners, and the world's youngest Microsoft Certified Professional . This is a country which is dubbed as the Next 11, and in Paul Kennedy's words is 'world most strategic nation of the nations' due to abundance of its unexploited natural resources.

Judiciary

The judicial activism is a considerable development for PAKISTAN. It ought to be, but is it considered as part of the solution or part of the problem? The Judiciary should exert restraint and perform its role under the constitution without being marginalised by any other organ of the state.

Who is supreme? Law makers or law interpreters? And it must be asked as to what would happen when law makers lose their moral authority to the dictates of law. The dismissal of a Pakistani Prime Minister for not following the court's orders is being debated as to whether we are talking about a judicial coup or the inaptness of parliamentarians.

The Economy

Pakistan is world's 27th largest economy and plagued by crises after crises. We are lowest in tax collection. Our begging bowl is notoriously famous all round the world. What ails Pakistan's economy and can it be reformed?

Foreign policy of Pakistan

Pakistan is an independent and free nation. If it is true then who dictates the foreign policy of Pakistan? Does it reflect the voice of people who elect their representatives for the Parliament or 'his masters voice? Another question is the muffled voice of career diplomats and whether or not they are heard.

Control and management of Democracy

Democracy in Pakistan needs to be developed to the fullest extent. Does the Parliament really reflect the conscience of its people, or is it sham democracy with a price tag on it? Most importantly, the Western democracies need to support Pakistan in developing true democracy with effective governance.

Another pillar state - Press and Media in Pakistan

Media in Pakistan is free. If it is free, is it free of any professional etiquette and bindings as well? Urdu media has a responsibility to report on issues that are important to the Pakistani people, but there is an inherent risk of being seen as playing with emotions of masses. On the other hand, English media equally has the responsibility to represent the true mood of the nation.

Another monstrous issue is the War against terrorism

The 'War Against Terrorism' has been called Pakistan's war, but is it, or is it someone else's war? If it is fighting its own war, then the whole nation should must be united and not be divided on it. United we stand divided we fall.

Here let us think for a few moments about the monstrous cost and waste of human resources suffered by Pakistan due to the War on Terror. By 2010, 35,000 civilian lives and 3,500 military lives had been lost in Pakistan. The estimated cost to Pakistan was \$68 billion (almost 4 times its GDP) by the end of 2011 is lost production and economic bebenefit. Putting this into context, the entire civilian budget for education for 2012/13 is half a billion US dollars.

Deradicalisation

The question is always posed as to what fuels radicalisation in the region and how the extremists would be stopped. Plans must be drawn for the deradicalisation and rehabilitation of thousands of extremists. A mechanism needs to be devised to bring

radicals back to life who may otherwise have more reasons to die than to live. We can learn from models of deradicalisation elsewhere particularly in the UK. Pakistan can be supported to set up its own probation service.

A burning issue is Baluchistan

Baluchistan is an 'eye-candy' of the world's super powers due to its immense natural resources and mineral deposits. . Have Baluchis been pushed against the wall and are they fighting for their freedom or they are being funded to destabilise Pakistan?

India Pakistan relations is a very sensitive issue

There has been views on whether India is the arch enemy of Pakistan and whether it is hell bent on destroying Pakistan. What suits India? A stable Pakistan, or a crippled one? Is it a good strategy to feed enmity in the neighbourhood and make friends across the continents? We must move forward from the 'centricism syndrome'. Can both nations shed baggage of history? We strongly believe that the hostility between India and Pakistan is fuelling radicalisation in South Asia. Can Pakistan and India, both pursue peace in Afghanistan together. How about signing a 50 years No War Pact and getting used to the dividends of peace and may move forward? Here I must draw your attention to the No War Pact campaign led by FIRD in the last two years and the massive effort put in both the rival nations to accept each other as the Most Favoured Nations in terms of trade.

Pakistanis perception of the US

Pakistan appears to be so dependent on Uncle Sam.If he is a friend, why is he being perceived by a majority as an 'enemy'? We know this through the PEW survey results announced yesterday. A staggering 74% Pakistanis label USA as the enemy, which is 6% higher than the rating given to India. Secretary Penetta said two weeks back that "US reaching the limits of our patience with *Pakistan*"? *What makes General Kayani snub US accusation as 'baseless, negative propaganda'?*

NATO supplies and Salala attack

NATO managed to violate the Pakistan's boundaries by killing Pakistani soldiers at Sallala check post. Why not apologise if a moral error is committed? Why not give Doves a chance instead of Hawks and apologise to Pakistan. Is an 'apology' dependent on the size of your gun and number of nukes? Why was Pakistan cornered at Chicago conference? Why Allies can't have dialogue with Pakistan to open ground lines of communication?

Aid

Pakistan is the largest recipient of aid from the UK. We are talking about 650 million pounds of taxpayers money which needs to be spent on the right programmes , and in the right manner. Tangible outcomes from aid need to be measured. Why not trade instead of aid? We should help Pakistan set its multi-tier education system right.

A scare - Pakistan a failing or Falling State

Is Pakistan a failing state or a falling state and it has to be asked as to whether the whole hype is a farce or real. If it is a falling state, who might it fall on.

We at FIRD clearly see that the peace of the world is tied to peace in Pakistan. A stable Pakistan who has no fear of the intrusion or violation of its boundries. Is it not the time that we support Pakistan in building strong institutions which deliver, have governance and accountability?

Should Pakistan be beaten up while not doing what the big brothers want? Is it being punished for its sins or its weaknesses as General Musharraf recently said, when you are weak, anyone would come and kick you. Who calls shots in Pakistan? Who should the world speak to? Are these generals? Are these politicians? Under what authority? Are these security agencies? Is it the judiciary now? Where the buck finally stops? Are technocrats the answer of the current crises? Would the Turkish model work for us?

The Role of Overseas Pakistanis

Farooq Sattar, Federal Minister for Overseas Pakistanis

The role of Overseas Pakistanis is in enabling Pakistan to become a real functional state as against the last 65 years of adhocism, which has turned Pakistan into a security state. Pakistan needs a paradigm shift that is to say from a security to a functional state. Pakistan needs to be reengineered into a country that is a moderate modern, egalitarian, enlightened, welfare, decentralised and democratic state of Pakistan and not a fanatic, terrorist state symbolic speaking terrorist state.

There are several challenges that have to be addressed today. There has to be a strategy whereby in tandem through a comprehensive approach at which we address all these challenges.

Pakistan has to be seen as a geo-economy of strategic importance, and it has to acquire that role. It is not all about Pakistan, but also the regions of Afghanistan, Turkmenistan, and Tajikistan. Pakistan has to become a corridor of energy, and a supply route and a corridor and a pipeline of trade of raw minerals, of finished goods and products from above and below. Peace and stability in Pakistan is important for peace and stability in Afghanistan and vice versa. Baluchistan is a region that has to be won over. Pakistan has to have a framework for the separatists and the nationalists to address the ongoing issues, and bring Baluchistan in the fold of Pakistan.

Karachi's vulnerability as to its peace and stability needs to be monitored. The model for when Karachi was peaceful and stable and earning a foreign investment of 1 billion dollars yearly, enabled Karachi to become a hub of economy an engine of our growth and allowing Pakistan to earn an average of 5 billion dollars annually for 5 years from 2002 -2007. Karachi became one of the top fastest growing cities in the world. The model between 2002-2007 has to be kept in mind.

Foreign policy must not be one that Pakistan cannot afford to have. i.e. a bad or a traditional relation with its neighbours. It has to have exemplary good friendly and good trade and commercial relationship with all its neighbours. Some progress is being made. But there is still scepticism and shadows of Sinicism being casted upon it by critics. US- Pakistan relationship is also important.

Sixth, there is the completely forgotten potential of overseas Pakistanis into stabilisation of Pakistan, into the growth and development of Pakistan, socially

economically, politically and democratically. Their role can also reinforce security in Pakistan, removing the weaknesses of the security apparatus.

Overseas Pakistanis must not be looked at as aliens. How is Pakistan to empower the overseas Pakistanis? That is through having a national policy for the overseas Pakistanis number; and assigning them a definite role in the political and democratic process of Pakistan. There are 7 million to 10 million Pakistani living abroad as overseas Pakistanis so the role of overseas Pakistanis is crucial.

Their role can be activated through the transfer of technology, including through public private partnerships. A fresh look has to be given to their expertise, their exposure, their experience, their education and their energy. These benefits have to be brought back into the main stream of Pakistan.

The Ministry of Overseas Pakistanis is evolving the first ever policies for the Pakistani Diaspora abroad for overseas Pakistanis, to be announced in July of 2012. Real democracy has still to come in Pakistan, which means the empowerment of 98% people of Pakistan and the empowerment of the overseas Pakistanis.

The Ministry successfully brought back the right to vote for overseas Pakistanis. However, another issue emerged that was that dual nationality issue where overseas Pakistanis cannot contest the election in Pakistan.

A bill has been moved to the cabinet to be presented before the parliament, as it is going to be a constitutional amendment bill to improve article 63.1c that overseas Pakistanis should have the right to give the vote as well as take and ask for the vote and contest the elections in Pakistan.

Then another law, a constitutional amendment for a few seats for Overseas Pakistanis allowing their direct or indirect election in the national assembly and senate of Pakistan.

This political empowerment of the overseas Pakistanis through which they can play a direct role into the policy formulation so that the empowerment of the people in Pakistan takes place

Overseas Pakistanis can improve relations with India that they can interact with the non-resident Indians, NRI, who have done wonder in their own country. There could be joint ventures in Pakistan by the non-resident Indians and the overseas Pakistanis in Pakistan by creating steaks of Pakistani investors in India and creating steaks for the Tatas and Birlas to be invited to make investment in Pakistan and the Banshas

and Tabas and Gul Ahmeds of Pakistan to be invited to make investment in India is going to create, even without bringing into writing, even with not having a 50 year no war pact.

There is the absence of democracy at grass roots. There are no local governments, and alongside that human resource development investment and savings in Pakistan are at the lowest. Overseas Pakistanis have a role in human resource development, in education projects, in health projects and the skill development projects in Pakistan. On one hand Pakistan can export its skilled labour and skilled professionals.

On the other hand, Pakistan should also prepare a ground in Pakistan through a social and economic development that this Pakistan Diaspora one day a blue collar or a white collar has to return back to Pakistan. So creating and enabling an environment back in Pakistan and in environment whereby we also compete in the international market for exporting our skilled labour out of Pakistan and overseas Pakistanis have a role in human resource development in Pakistan also.

Either the present ruling elite or the breed of politicians – they do it and evolve in national consensus on minimum national agenda on all these challenges on national agenda and consensus on that. And read the writing on the wall.

Making Predictions in Uncertain Times

Professor Stephen Cohen – Fellow, Brookings Institute

There are many positions in the US regarding Pakistan and they range from total support to what the Brookings Institute calls “containment of Pakistan”

Containment of Pakistan

Some look at the term containment and containment, as invented by George Kennan, always had 2 dimensions. One was the military containment of the Soviet Union, Stalin’s Soviet Union, to keep the soviets from expanding eastward and westward and southern and southward through military power by either resisting the soviets directly, or indirectly, and that’s where Pakistan became a crucial ally to the US and the overall containment strategy. But the containment had another aspect and I think this has always been ignored by people who use the word containment; and that is Kennan ardently preferred or ardently supported the transformation of the Soviet Union. He thought that Stalin’s Soviet Union, which was a horrible nightmare state; it was as bad in many ways as Hitler’s Germany, would evolve, could eventually evolve and took 40 years or so for Stalin’s Soviet Union to become Putin’s Russia.

Putin’s Russia is not an ideal state but it’s part of Pakistan, it abides by most of your international laws, it’s got normal relations with most of its neighbours most of the time. You can argue about its problems with Chechens and others but clearly it’s quite different to Stalin’s Soviet Union. Stalin would have simply wiped people out – in fact he did. He was responsible for 8-10 million deaths in the Soviet Union. So I think the other aspect for containment – the transformation of the state is probably more important than the military aspect of containment. An overall strategic view is Pakistan needs to be contained in the sense it needs to be evolved in the direction it would like to go and as most Pakistanis would like to see it go. That is Jinnah’s Pakistan, a normal moderate state at peace with its neighbours especially India, and at peace with itself.

George Schultz once said; “hope is not a policy” and he did that in the context, the Pakistan nuclear programme, and I said well I hope Pakistan won’t do this and won’t do that and he said we want a policy, get me a policy. There was no good policy in fact except to look the other way regarding Pakistan nuclear programme. So I think that we are groping for a policy and on my wall at Brookings, I’ve had up for a couple of years now, the following motto, it’s a parody of Ayub Khan’s book, “US India relations

friends not allies, US Pakistan relations friends not common allies”.It appears to have become that the US is not friends with Pakistan, but it is allies with Pakistan. US in not allies with India but is friends with India. This is a contradiction reality that’s hard to get over.

Afghanistan

From Washington’s perspective, US presence in Afghanistan is disrupted by actions that Pakistan is taking. Pakistan is consciously allowing Taliban to move from Pakistan to Afghanistan to attack American forces, so whenever they do that and a few Americans are killed many Americans get angry. Now it could be argued that this is a legitimate use of Pakistani power to support the Taliban. On the other hand I would argue that supporting the Taliban in Afghanistan has led to blow back in Pakistan and that Pakistan Taliban are now one of Pakistan’s biggest security threats; so it’s a complex relationship where a former ally is still an ally nominally but is no longer a friend. The friendship can evolve through personal and economic ties through a normal Pakistan and changes in American policy also.

American Policy for Pakistan

Unfortunately, US has 5 or 6 different policies towards Pakistan and towards south Asia, at any given moment. At times it is part of the State Department, sometimes the CIA, and other times the Department of Defence.

For example, with US policy towards India and Afghanistan, which is a matter of great sensitivity for the Pakistan army, SENCON for years has been urging India to stay out of Afghanistan. Meanwhile PACON, US pacific command, has been urging India to get involved in Afghanistan. There seems to be an policy for India now but US needs to think clearly about its relationship with Pakistan and what comes first, second and so on.

Political balance vs Military balance

As long as the military is successively important in Pakistan, it sort of distorted Pakistan relations, Pakistani politics and also Pakistani relations with the United States because the Americans then and earlier and afterwards felt it easier to deal with the military and clearly over the years the US has helped you distort Pakistan’s own politics.

America tilted towards the military partly because they could deliver, partly because it was comfortable and easy to deal with military leaders. America needs to

recalibrate its relations with Pakistan and not simply deal with the military but also deal with civil authorities and try to help Pakistan rebalance this. This rebalancing process is underway now. The emersion of the court as a balancer is critical and it would be much preferred to have the court balance politicians rather than the military balance, although there may be areas where the military can actually play useful role in balancing Pakistan and moving in this direction.

Pakistani politicians have to run for office, have to be voted to office, have to fail and then be voted out. That's a normal state. There are some 15 different factors which would shape Pakistan's future. Clearly the economy is critical, because that drives population and education. A thriving economy would keep the population down and enable the money to be available for education as well as making Pakistanis more prosperous.

Relation with India

Relations with India is absolutely central to Pakistan's future, without normal relations with India, Pakistan would be spending a lot of money.

Field Marshall Sir Claude Auchinleck, the last commander Chief of the Indian army, A said the greatest professional tragedy of his life, other than being fired by Churchill during WW2, was to see the Indian and Pakistani armies divided. He said he knew then that what would happen would be perpetual war between those armies and he was exactly right.

One of the fundamental policy developments that have come around is Pakistan's decision to start a normal trade relationship with India, which would do a lot to transform the relationship between the two countries. In a sense there may be a willing to accept a strenuous US- Pakistan relationship if it was improvement on Pakistan -India relationship.

Educating the new youth generation is critical, if not educated properly, it will be a giant middle class catastrophe for Pakistan, which also applies to India as well.

Others say no civil military relation is the crucial factor. Once you solve that problem everything else will fall into place. Jonathan Paris in his book says Pakistan will 'muddle' through, which is not a casual term, it actually means that when you are confronted with a lot of different factors, a lot of different choices you try to make the best choices in each case and hope for the best. Jonathan thought Pakistan would muddle through it, that the nuclear factor, India factor, economic factor, these would all be ok one way or the other.

Pakistan needs to be thinking about reforming basic education in Pakistan as well as higher education.

Indian normalisation process

Some think that normalisation with India will resolve the American problem. Some Pakistanis were furious over the loss of the East Pakistan, especially in the army. There was a generation of Pakistani army officers that were furious with India and wanted revenge with India for 1970 and 1971 when the Indians to be essentially split Pakistan in half. There is also the incident of Mumbai.

So that normalisation with India would be wonderful but the Indians are going to ask for a lot from Pakistan as the process goes on and what will be asked is unknown. But hopefully there will be bargaining game which will lead to economic normalisation and then political normalisation.

An Independent Pakistan

Pakistan should break the begging bowl. Imran Khan may have the right idea that Pakistan should try to be as independent as possible, should not be dependent on foreign aid. Dependence on a single country like the US or China or the Saudi's or India or any country, looks bad for Pakistan. Pakistan should have many friends and many relations and the relation should be as equal as possible. There is an element of guilt trip used by Pakistan for Americans, of 'you left us high and dry', to which American officials, generation after generation, have succumbed to. , It's nonsense. Pakistan got a lot out of the relationship, as did the United States. It should be on a business like basis. In a sense US and Pakistan should trade obligations. It should be above board not a moral obligation at all.

Pakistan is not an innocent victim. Pakistan is a powerful country that defied the world with its nuclear weapons programme. It's a very powerful country. It's an important country. The Indians recognise this. The Chinese recognise this. The Americans should recognise this. In the sense it should behave like an adult in these situations.

Perspective on National Security

General Syed Atthar Ali, Former Secretary for Defence, Pakistan

General Ali provided incredibly useful perspectives on the characteristics of Pakistan and its Army and also of Afghanistan.

Location

In regards to some of the challenges, first aspect is the location, in other words Pakistan being at crossroads of Central, Southern and Western Asia thus Pakistan is strategically important. As a nation of 180 million, Pakistan cannot wish away that it has large neighbours, by population, land mass but also strategically amongst the international community. These include India and China. So when Pakistan is considered in comparison with its neighbours, Pakistan receives secondary treatment and, for example, is considered not that significant as a consumer market or having the capacity to spend and buy.

The location is a challenge as evidenced by the fact that previously there was the Soviet Union, and then in the Afghanistan invasion of Soviet Union, now the global war on terror, Pakistan emerged as an important strategic ally to the US and to the world.

Young People – Education, Needs

Location is also an opportunity, I and as per some estimates almost 70% is youth, which is 29 years and below. It is semi-literate, partially educated, but mostly unemployed. Even more dangerous, is this educated unemployed youth which can clearly feel the difference between the have and have-nots, which can greatly agitate them.

Now this population, especially the young population, what do they need in Pakistan? Shelter, Security, Respect, Protection, and Food. Does the government have the capacity and capability to do all this? Does Pakistan and its institutions and its economic conditions allow the country to accommodate such a large chunk of population, in a respectable manner, fulfilling all of their aspirations?

Otherwise their current alternative is the Madressahs, and what do they get there? So far, they get their identity, they belong to something and somewhere, and they get protection. This deters even the policeman to question him. They get food, then they are paid more than the regular labourers in Pakistan. And last of all, they have a nuisance value, even in their village, their family may not question them, and so the young person becomes all important over nothing, not even a rag tie, a few days back.

Does Pakistan have an alternative to present to the youth other than madrassahs? This further becomes a security challenge for Pakistan. Pakistan is lagging far behind and must address the aspirations of its youth.

Resource scarcity, skills scarcity, weak communication structure, inaccessibility to certain areas

The resource skills scarcity, that is water, energy, weak communication structure, inaccessibility of a lot of areas especially Baluchistan and FATA and far flung areas, pose challenges for Pakistan and they impact Pakistan's industry, agriculture, its trade, jobs, import, export, and money circulation. It is a chain, a cycle which continues and affects all segments of the economic activity and social activity.

Then national calamities such as earthquakes, the devastating earthquake of 2005, is still being grappled with, and the floods like in 2010.

India

The top most priority in international relations is Pakistan's relationship with India, not even US, not even China, and not any other country. The fact is that India has a ready military strength of 1.2 million, with mechanized forces that are all geared and oriented to the deserts of Pakistan. It just cannot operate anywhere else be it China, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Nepal or anywhere. The presence of over 24 air bases makes it a very credible military force. They are able to move in on just a few hours' notice, which makes it very dreadful for Pakistan which is a very linear sort of a configuration in which Pakistan's not only borders but entire wasteland can be crossed in terms of days if not hours. Therefore compulsion on Pakistan is to keep a ready military strength, and that too near the borders of the two governments because intentions notwithstanding, capability, remains there.

Unless the security issues and concerns of all stakeholders, especially India and Pakistan, are taken care of, this security cannot be long-lasting. There must be a conventional balance, that is the nuclear equation between the two, so the less Pakistan will be tempted towards putting our finger on the nuclear button.

Regional issues

The security situation in Afghanistan is dominated by terrorism, the narcotics trade, non-state actors such as warlord. The country continues to lack not only internal but the regional and international security environment. The turbulence has spilled over to neighbouring countries and Pakistan in particular has been a big sufferer since 9/11. The current predicament in the FATA area is a direct consequence of the Afghan situation which in the 60's and even 70's, used to be one of the most peaceful areas. Very hospitable people have now turned violent and out of control.

Pakistan and Afghanistan Armies

The army has to be transformed into a federal army, into a national army and not a tribal army. This will take longer than what the ambitious timelines have been set by the US and the ISAF to start their draw down from Afghanistan.

The Afghan National Army are told there are 300,000 troops but they are manning about only 114 posts on the border and some of the hindered lands are without any troops where warlords and drug barons have a nexus with Taliban and roam freely. In addition, instead of allegiance to individuals and tribal armies and warlords they have to remain loyal to the state even against the Western interest of their own tribes and their own areas. A good example is of the Pakistan army, where in the region of FATA Pathaans and Pashtuns are amongst the regular army fighting in FATA since over 10 years. The entire FC comprises 100% Pashtuns who are being attacked by the local Taliban and terrorists but their loyalty has not changed – there have been very few defections even amongst the FC.

Iran and Energy Crisis

Iran's nuclear programme is a cause of concern for the international community. resolution of the issue through dialogue and no use of force is greatly needed otherwise it will add yet further instability in the region which is already destabilized and it will be very difficult to control the effects.

For Pakistan the energy crisis is very grave and obtaining the energy from Iran should be facilitated by the international community. A prosperous Pakistan, a stable Pakistan, a strong Pakistan is not possible unless the energy crisis and all such like issues are addressed.

US policy and Pakistan Policy on fighting Terrorism/Al-Qaeeda

The war against Al-Qaeda and its affiliates has definitely had an overall impact at the national level. US and international demands have to be in line with the ground realities and the constraints of the Pakistani nation. There is a coherence and a convergence between Pakistan's policy and the US policy, but the strategy and the way both are going about it are divergent and there are different strategies being implemented, there is a need to bridge this gap.

Casualties of war on terror

The total toll of both civilian and military casualty is now to the tune of 43,000. Out of it both murdered and injured military has been 15,000 and the remaining civilian casualties. Pakistan suffered to the tune of about \$70 billion in terms of economic losses, infrastructure losses and psychological trauma the entire nation is going through. Regards to ISI over 280 operatives have been killed or wounded, out of it 68 are killed, including 7 officers and remaining wounded.

The Pakistan army is currently 147,000 and some few hundred deployed in the zone of operations. We have conducted to core size operations which were very large especially by Malakand and Swat. There have been 242 brigade size and above operations, the divisional operations, the brigade operations. There have been 648 minor operations with the battalion company and platoon level. And over 6,420 cordinant search operations which have been conducted so far. In 2000 alone, these operations were less than 200 and in 2009 350 operations were conducted.

The deployment in the FATA area are 7 agencies and Kajor we still have 6,500 troops, in Mohmand over 8,000 and in Kyber 6000, in Aurungzai 6000 plus, Kuram 10,000, North Waziristan 23,200. Besides deployments in Swat these deployments are being kept to provide that sort of a confidence to the civilians and the population to come and you know one call by the government and military, about 3 million population evicted for the military operations to be conducted and to rid the areas of Swat and Malakand of the terrorists and they acted on the call and within three months they came back. I think such a mass exodus and their return within a short time has been unmatched in the history. But this is how people are cooperating. They have been leading the military to the hideouts of the terrorists and that is the kind of response we are getting, by earning good will and confidence of the people.

I think there have been a lot of development projects, just for your interest, I will say but again the problem is that these development projects being undertaken mostly and mainly by the military with support of course by civilian government, supported by their staff and of course funds being provided by the international community and the civil government, but its not enough. Basically, the development projects have to

be, the concept is that they are mutually beneficial and then it has to be population centric and during impact, even if the projects are time wise quick impact projects, but they have to be enduring and community driven. And basically they are aiming at central corridors which are connecting the Afghan border with Pakistan's FATA area, reducing the traditional distance between Karachi and Kabul to almost 400 to 450 kilometres. Those roads have been constructed. Then the rail network is being improved. The mining activity in North Waziristan is being started, communications infrastructure is being as I said is being improved. Energy power plants are being installed. Water provisions through tube wells are being done. Education institutions are being rebuilt and reconstructed thanks to the international communities, especially to the USAID's assistance and the other I would say agencies and organisations. And even the health projects.

Pakistan is supporting all the peace efforts and initiatives, all the different conferences in Chicago and Bourne and Turkish initiative and Saudi initiative and so on. And even within Afghanistan whatever initiatives were there with the Peace Council and so on, so Pakistan is supportive of that. We are definitely supporting that it should be Afghan people centric, it should be Afghan rule and Afghan led and this form of government which is being formed now in Afghanistan is a strong federation, federal government, it is a new concept and experiment for the Afghan people because the central always drew strength from the tribes and not the other way around. Let's hope it succeeds and the federation and federal government is made more stronger, it will definitely improve.

Pakistan is proposing the reactivation of the biometrics system because cross border movement is too high, the creation of mobile communication free zone because the terrorists are operating within 15km of either side, but these have not been agreed to so far by the Afghan government. Then cessation of support to Baluchistan Liberation Army elements in Kandahar and cessation of their training camps and training facilities, presence of increased troops with increased checkpoints of the Afghan side, and Taliban's presence in Kunar Province needs to be addressed, upgradation of logistic infrastructure and so on.

Engaging with Pakistan

Zulfiqar Gardezi, Deputy High Commissioner of Pakistan to the UK

Many questions have been asked about Pakistan, particularly by the international community about its re-engagement with Pakistan

It is required to explore the factors which warrant need for both Pakistan and the international community to renegotiate terms of engagement, before Pakistan actually discuss those terms.

Before that the Salala Check Post incident of last November, there was the OBL [Osama Bin Laden] episode, and the Raymon David case and many other factors that contributed to that stage where Pakistan reached. In Pakistan's view it requires a holistic approach and in depth analysis of the situation. In the interest of Pakistan, but not just Pakistan, but also the international community.

Such incidents created a sense of anguish in Pakistan and it felt abandoned and victimized in some ways. The Salala incident was a violation of Pakistan's sovereignty, territorial sovereignty, and the subsequent international response did not serve to allay Pakistan's apprehensions.

At the same time, it must be said that as a developing country, Pakistan has other challenges to face and is dealing with them at the same time while it addresses other issues. Domestically, democracy is taking its roots in its society:

- Pakistan has an elected government, which is about to complete its five years in office for the first time in our history,
- a fully functional parliament,
- an independent and proactive judiciary,
- free and fiercely critical media
- a fast growing vibrant civil society.

Developments do not get highlighted unfortunately in the media but deserve equal mention. On the economic front, the macro indicators have registered many positive trends:

- Pakistan achieved an export target of over \$125 billion dollars
- a record inflow of remittances
- and the exchange reserves are perhaps the highest in Pakistan's history

Another noteworthy feature is the bullish trend on the stock exchange, over the last one year. As regards to the actions to be taken by Pakistan, it is a well known fact that post 9/11 scenario, Pakistan is at the forefront of the international communities campaign against extremism and terrorism.

Pakistan has paid a heavy price and rendered unprecedented sacrifices both in terms of blood and money. Over thirty thousand of our military personnel and civilian personnel, and over 5000 thousand civilian personnel, have laid down their lives and many more have received injuries. In respect of an estimate of losses, the economic losses is in billions of dollars or pounds. With the backing of our public, and the legitimacy provided by the political leadership, our security forces carried out highly successful operation in the tribal areas. For the first time in Pakistan's history, thousands remain deployed and engaged in operations even now. These, the losses we suffered, have not shaken Pakistan's resilience and our commitment to eliminate the menace of terrorism.

It is sometimes the stereotyping of departments or various agencies or elements in the Pakistan government that are completely misplaced. It's a false premise in contrast with what tasks or efforts they have made. A very large number of Al Qaeda operatives have been picked up by our agencies, number of arrests have been made, even in the case of OBL the US government is on record as admitting that some of the leads that led to his identification of his hideout resulted from the information sharing between our two governments and their agencies. Regarding Afghanistan, it's an important neighbour of Pakistan, unfortunately those not familiar with Pakistan's regions ignore our historic bondage with that country and the suggestion that Pakistan seeks anything but peace and stability in our region is also misplaced.

Achieving prosperity at home can only be achieved if we have peace security and stability in our region, particularly in the international scene generally. Pakistan's policy remains to support all initiatives in Afghan led, Afghan owned and afghan driven process. Any such efforts will be supported by Pakistan which help to achieve this objective.

As regards to the terms of engagement with Pakistan, its parliament, after serious deliberations issued guidelines for revised terms of engagement. These guidelines were endorsed by the parliament and provide policy directions to the government in its international engagement.

Among some of the key aspects, those guidelines state:

- a) that Pakistan's sovereignty shall not be compromised;
- b) the relationship with the US would be based on mutual respect for sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity.
- c) it calls for cessation of drone attacks and cessation of infiltration into our territory

One of the key demands that will contribute to re-engagement with Pakistan in a positive way is an apology from the US for the unprovoked incident of the Salala last November in which 24 Pakistani soldiers unfortunately died.

Afghanistan, India and China

There is no military solution to the Afghan conflict and efforts must be undertaken to promote a genuine national reconciliation. There some of the elements related to Afghanistan which are important in terms of engagement with Pakistan. Pakistan's policy does and must continue to focus on creating a peaceful environment in the region to pursue the goal of economic development and social progress.

The dialogue with India, it has to:

- Be purposeful and result orientated
- Be on the basis of mutual respect and mutual interest,
- Include efforts for the resolution of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute.

The strategic partnership with China remains and continues to be deepened in all its dimensions. Our on going negotiations with the US and the international security force are guided by the policy guidelines and we are confident to find an amicable solution of pending issues.

There is a high level support or cooperation with the British government. Over the two countries, there has been established enhanced strategic dialogue since last year. Since then we have made strong, confident progress and are moving in the right

direction. There have been exchange of high level visits from both sides; with the gratitude of Pakistan to the UK government and its people for extending their unwavering support, in these testing times. It's the UK's strong support to the promotion of democracy in Pakistan that is viewed with great appreciation within the country.

Pakistan is also one of the largest recipients of development and assistance for which we are thankful. These broadly, are some of the fundamental terms Pakistan seeks for engagement with the international community and we expect understanding from the international community in this regard. Pakistan of course has a conviction that it has bright future, but its equally linked to the success and sustenance of democracy in the community in Pakistan.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION FROM RESEARCH STUDY

The table below shows that there was overwhelming support for three of the four hypothesis as there was clear agreement through the participants.

Table 1: Overview of results for hypotheses

Hypothesis	Result
H1: rehabilitation of extremists is a multistage process	<i>Supported</i>
H2: education is an important process of rehabilitation	<i>Supported</i>
H3: western policy is a major factor in radicalisation	<i>Partially Supported</i>
H4: refocusing religious ideology is a key component in rehabilitation	<i>Supported</i>

A good participant rate was observed for the research as according to the intended sampling strategy as shown below.

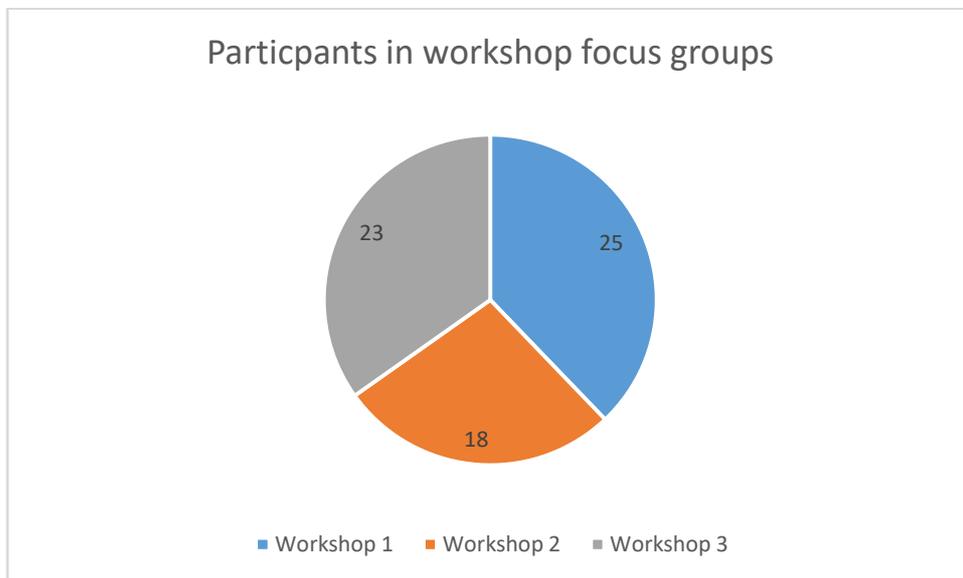


Figure 1: Participants in workshop focus groups

Workshop 1 focussed on the multi staged nature of the rehabilitation process. The majority, 96%, supported the idea that there were different components needed to faze a terrorist out of his ideology. Tackling the religious ideology was recurrent theme.

Family and friends was ranked as the most important social construct with 60%. Society was seen as the second most important with 25% of participants claiming that society would be able to provide a second layer of integration and rehabilitation. 55% agreed that online literacy and awareness should also be included in the rehabilitation process as where they can be forced to not only come across dangerous material but also many individuals fall victim to online and cyber bullying and forced to commit certain acts. There was also repeated discussion of extremists falling victim and joining extremist wings quicker than others. Participants said:

“It could be that some are more resilient than others. But [sic] there is clearly something going on when one person can become radical in the space of four or five months and for others it can take a year or longer”

“There are different factors that need to be addressed when trying to rehabilitate [someone]. This means dealing with their religious misconceptions, providing them with better prospects, whether that’s jobs or otherwise, and also providing them with a good support network.”

Underlying this entire notion of a rehabilitation model was that it must be community-led. There was a lack of trust or belief in governmental actors to be able to successfully rehabilitate. There was the view that community organisations better understood the local context and individuals in the community and would be more vested in a fellow community member's ordeal and rehabilitation. This was supported 100% of participants.

Interestingly, a role model was seen as the least important with 45% of participants stating so. In follow up to this, all participants agreed that a role model can only be effective when family and friends can act as an initial influencer towards the terrorist. All participants agreed that terrorists being rehabilitated needed to take responsibility for their actions and become independent in the programme. All participants also argued that once rehabilitated and integrated into society, they could then become functioning members of society that would act as a role model. Supporting them to improve their prospects and employment and life opportunities was a theme. There was a sense that the success of rehabilitation was when one is able to stand on their own two feet and become independent.

One participant spoke about what they mean by this:

“The best role models out there are the ones who have been through the same situation themselves. Whether its drug abuse or terrorism, getting those people who have been there done that are the types of people that others can relate to. They have a certain credibility. So the aim of a rehabilitation should be to turn offenders into role models for others to learn. That’s because if they don’t become role models, they are not independent and this will mean they will go out and become extremists again”

Another commented:

“Unless you solve the life struggles of these [individuals], you can’t expect them not fall prey to these gangs. They’ll play on the anger. You’ve got to have a multi pronged approach to rehabilitation that should help them get a job, education, financial sustainability so they don’t need to rely on others”

Workshop 2 revolved around the foreign policy and religious ideology hypotheses. Only 10% in the group placed foreign policy as a major factor among their choices for rehabilitation, although there has been support for foreign policy being a factor in the radicalisation of people. When pressed on this issue, the participants agreed that the

foreign policy element could be covered in the education and mentoring phase. Participants highlighted a number of aspects such as education and skills enhancement, affordable housing, employability and income, as potential root causes for extremist ideology. This supported the findings from workshop 1.

Through workshop 2, 69% said that faith based education in particular was important to holding firm against radicalisation and extremist ideology since they understood the differences in terminology used to justify extremism. This report outlines how socio-religious education builds up character and can rehabilitate those who have chosen the extremist path by countering the “brainwashing” style of information dumping on youth through authentic scholars.

“Many of the people [who turn to extremism] don’t even know what some passages of the holy text means when they turn to extremism. So you need to provide them with the correct interpretation.”

“Whether or not the assertion is right or wrong that some religions promote extremism is beside the point. Some do believe and also act on this misconception which has to be eradicated”.

In workshop 3, 83% of participants believed educational rehabilitation was a major factor in preventing radicalisation within the youth. A striking 80% of this group also believed that religious education was an important factor to understanding the differences extremist ideology and religious beliefs. Only 5% of participants believed that education would have no impact. Further queries with this participant highlighted that secular education was a major step required, whereas religious education was equally important.

Participants agreed that when rehabilitating terrorists it was important to put them through educational programmes that could allow them to become reskilled. This reemphasised views expressed in workshop 3 (see below). 70% of participants believed that employment should be part of the rehabilitation process to keep them within the daily routine of a normal individual since the free time could lead them to their old ways. Linked to this is the income aspect, which 70% of participants also believed was crucial. Without steady income they could revert to some sort of crime or it could lead to them believing they are without dignity. 68% of participants believed that social housing should be provided rather than them having to rent out in the private sector for affordability. When asked about living with family members, 90% said it would be helpful to be surrounded by siblings and parents but 60% said that it could create further problems if there is a gap in understanding between those

family members, it could compound the matter, resulting in an unhealthy environment for rehabilitation. They also said that it is likely to lead to relapse at some point.

Moving towards a model for rehabilitation

Using thematic analysis it was that four categories or 'stages' were emerging in the research. The first stage was clear that the 'narrative' or religious ideology needed to be corrected as part of the rehabilitation process, and should be done early on, perhaps even in the first stage as suggested by participants in the research.

A strong need for social support to be provided to the individual was needed, not just to be there 'when needed' but to proactively act as a protective layer and offering emotional support.

What was also evident from the research, was that an individual's life prospects had to be turned around if they were to become independent and have the resilience to tackle the extremist ideology. This could be done through enhanced education and employment opportunities being created during rehabilitation. This vocational rehabilitation was a very strong motivator to reducing recidivism as discussed earlier.

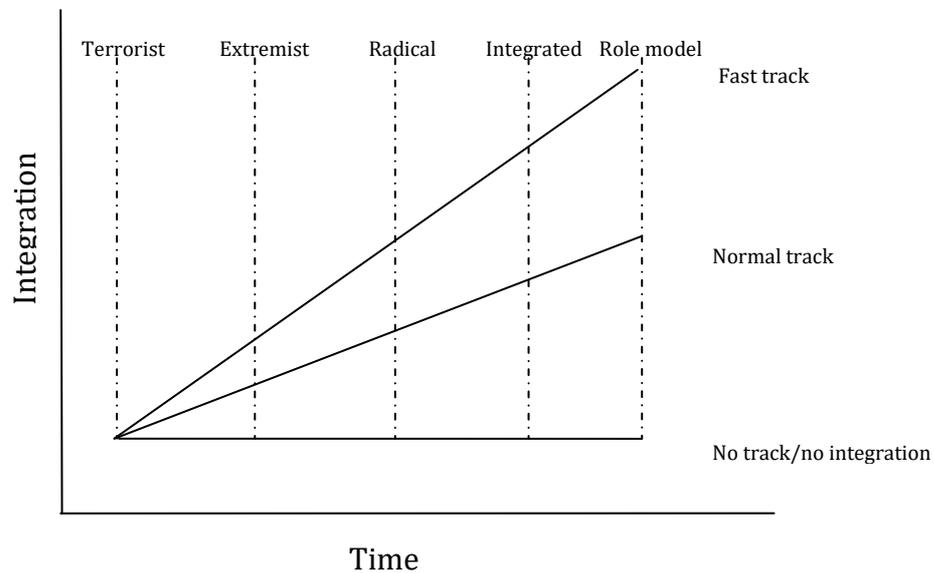
Finally, there was a strong case for the individual to be supported to become self-governing and contributing to civic society. Whilst the term role model was not easily understood by participants in the research, the intention was that for risk of reoffending to be truly reduced and to also encourage others not to fall victim, the individual should share their stories which can provide a sense of empowerment through sharing.

As shown in figure 2 below, the individual may start off as a terrorist at the Narrative stage but as he or she moves to the Role model stage, they become integrated which is the desired end state. In this sense, the ideology of the individual is slowly unravelled and moves from a severe terrorist ideology, to an extremist stance, and then to a radical viewpoint and ultimately absolves him or herself of these views and becomes integrated and a role model.

In essence, an individual is considered as on "no track" if they are going through the stages of the NSPR model and are not being rehabilitated or are unable to downgrade from the terrorist category to any other category below. The normal track is identified when an individual is progressing at the average rate through the categories from Terrorist to Role Model. An individual on a fast track has the ability to go through the stages at a faster pace and at times may frog leap a particular category. It is believed

however that an individual on a fast track can only move to the integrated category and must still go through the process of becoming a role model given the serious nature of the category and what it entails.

Figure 2: three progression routes to rehabilitation of terrorists



As a result, the four phases of rehabilitation identified from this research was Narrative, Social Support, Prospects and Role (NSPR) Model. This is captured in table 2.

Table 2: Description of phases of rehabilitation for terrorists

No.	Phases	Processes	Progression Route
1.	Narrative	Religious education/mentoring (constant)	Terrorist to integrated (fast track) Terrorist to extremist (normal track) Terrorist (no track)
2.	Social Support	family (parents, siblings), friends, society, role models	Extremist to integrated (fast track) Extremist to radical (normal track) Terrorist (no track)
3.	Prospects	Wider education and skills Social housing Employability Livelihood	Radical to integrated (fast track) Radical to integrated (normal track)

			Terrorist (no track)
4.	Role model	Responsible and self-governing Contributing to civic society	Integrated to role model

The NSPR Model, derived through the research of the conference, gives a new perspective on deradicalisation than any previous models detailed before. The model illustrates four stages for a “terrorist” to be deradicalised. It is important to note that this must be a community-led rehabilitation process to be effective. That is, local community organisations and leaders should be involved in designing and delivering rehabilitation programmes.

Stage 1 of the model is “Narrative”, whereby a process is initiated for the terrorist’s ideology to be debunked and deconstructed by authentic and recognised scholars in a safe space. These scholars will separate the political, religious and cultural elements of the argument used to justify the individual’s beliefs or actions. Intelligence agencies have said that most terrorists are religious novices and are in fact not religiously inclined, being woman abusers, drug abusers, alcoholics and the like. Therefore, this re-education, or socio-religious mentoring, is the first important angle that needs to be corrected.

Significant emphasis in the research was placed on improving the digital awareness of websites that can lure vulnerable individuals. There is a deal of overt online bullying as well as covert online grooming taking place to attract individuals towards radical initiatives. The narrative stage therefore also involves building the capacity of the individuals to source material responsibly on the internet.

This stage is a must and is a constant i.e. is the common thread tying the entire model together. Without this stage, a person cannot be fully rehabilitated as narrative is the crux of the ideological terrorist. There are three potential progression routes as for an individual going through this deradicalisation cycle: Fast Track (terrorist to integrated); Normal Track (terrorist to extremist) and No Track (terrorist i.e. disinterested).

Once completing this stage, the individual can move on to **Stage 2: Social Support**. This stage includes processes where social constructs are used to support the rehabilitation process, i.e. family (parents, siblings), friends, society and role models. Most terrorists that have been convicted, or indeed radicals, have a good social network that is unaware of their activities. The compartmentalisation of these activities means that they are able to conduct activities without being questioned and

without being challenged. The social support network can be an anchor to the real world for terrorists, humanising and personalising the impact of the actions they are about to execute.

Inherent to this stage is the close relationship between the individual and the network. The ability to open to the network and the network's ability to influence is important – the network is trusted by the individual and so referrals, interventions and recommendations can be made by them to press them on the right track.

There are three potential progression routes for an individual going through this deradicalisation cycle: Fast Track (extremist to integrated); Normal Track (extremist to radical) and No Track (terrorist i.e. disinterested).

Stage 3 is known as Prospects. The processes for this stage include wider education and skills, social housing, employability and livelihood. This stage revolves around providing people with opportunities that will allow them to integrate back into society. It is important for people to feel that they have access to elements that other sections of society do, such as suitable living arrangements and appropriate employment. These elements provide people with things to keep them distracted and in a revolving door of social and authority interaction. There are three potential progression routes for an individual going through this deradicalisation cycle: Fast Track (radical to integrated); Normal Track (radical to integrated); and No Track (terrorist).

Stage 4 is Role model where the individual is now self-governing and is no longer required to be part of the deradicalisation cycle. The individual has now achieved the level of contributing directly to civic society in a proactive manner. This may include contributing to the third sector, local or national politics as well as business. This stage is possible, but not all individuals will reach this stage of rehabilitation. This stage may be compared to Maslow's Hierarchy of needs theory where the final stage is "self actualisation"; although it is open and available to everyone to reach, not everyone will have the capacity to do so. There is only one potential progression route for an individual going through this deradicalisation cycle: integrated to role model.

It became clear through the findings that an individual should take control of his own actions to account for his behaviour. This accountability and control demonstrated that there was a phase to be identified i.e. Role Model. According to some researchers (Foucault, 1981), responsabilisation techniques such as self-assessment can induce behavioural changes in those engaging in antisocial conduct. Responsibilisation urges the independence of individuals, who are ultimately free agents with the capacity of changing their way of thinking/behaving (Garland, 2001). Techniques of

responsibilisation may include motivation, persuasion, teaching, mentoring, counselling and more.

It has been established throughout history that peer support has been shown to be a key component of many existing addiction treatment and recovery approaches, including rehabilitation, such as the Community Reinforcement Approach (Meyers et al, 1998). The Community Reinforcement Approach (CRA) has established the importance of valued social roles in maintaining abstinence, which is considered the foundation of the peer support relationship (Smith et al, 2001). Though the CRA model has been traditionally used for alcoholism, “it has been successfully integrated with a variety of other treatment approaches, such as family therapy and motivational interviewing, and has been tested in the treatment of other drug abuse” (Miller et al, 1999).

Generally, health has been the more active field displaying the importance of other issues identified in the NSPR model, such as self-determination. There has been a swing away from paternalism towards self-determination and autonomy in behavioural and mental health, which forms part of the “recovery movement” (Sheldon et al, 2003).

Much like the CRA, the NSPR model establishes that environmental occurrences can play an influential role in encouraging or discouraging certain types of behaviour. Similarly, the use of reinforcers such as family, social life etc. can assist in the recovery of a convicted terrorist.

CONCLUSION OF RESEARCH STUDY

The research posits the first community led rehabilitation model as a result of qualitative research study. The Narrative, Social, Prospects and Role Model (NSPR) rehabilitation model indicates there are three distinct progression routes, referred to as “track”, which the participants can join when going through each stage. The tracks are: no track, normal track and fast track. These apply to the categories of: 1) Terrorist, 2) Extremist, 3) Radical, 4) Integrated and 5) Role Model.

A terrorist is a person who has committed a violent act with extremist ideology. An extremist is an individual who espouses a twisted narrative of any political or religious ideology and advocates illegal, violent, or other extreme action. A radical is an individual who espouses a twisted narrative of any political or religious ideology. An integrated person is someone who holds conservative views, either political or religious, and is able to make a cohesive merger between those views and society they

live in. A role model is the person who, as a former terrorist, is now able to divert other people away from the path of terrorism.

The study may be limited somewhat given the study sample was relatively small i.e. 15-25 members per group. However, it is believed that if the number of participants was higher, it would have yielded further support for the NSPR model and would have been in line with the findings of the research.

This research provides further support to the need for a community led rehabilitation model that can be further developed through research.

RECOMMENDATIONS

WORKSHOP 1 - “Reforming the economy and Education in Pakistan”

The below section presents the general recommendations from the workshop. It does not represent the findings from the workshops conducted as part of the qualitative research study.

General Recommendations

1. A pressure group should be created and Senator Waqar Ahmed would be happy to lead that group.
2. Pakistan’s natural resources need to be re-evaluated to give it greater economic clout. For example, Pakistan has 140 billion tonnes worth of coal reserves. Given even a \$10 value per tonne would create a \$1.4 trillion worth industry, even though coal is going at \$100 approx.
3. 10 distribution companies (DISCOS) of Pakistan are producing 20,000MW approximately, but it is valued at \$2bn which is significantly undervalued. This needs to be re-evaluated through balance sheet optimisation.
4. London Stock Exchange in 2009 said they would help raise \$5bn for Pakistan and help Pakistan become independent instead of relying on the ‘begging bowl’ from the IMF. This was at a conference held at the LSE during 2009/10.
5. We need a counselling guidance system for students on jobs and employment and a mapping should be done with other countries.
6. Alternative Dispute Resolution system is something that multinational businesses want in Pakistan, and employment law must be developed around this
7. IFC rated Pakistan higher in ease of business than countries such as China, India, Indonesia etc., but what is needed is core structures. Pakistan must capitalize on the rating by strengthening the positives and building up the difficulties identified.
8. Mass literacy needs to be brought into Pakistan through campaigns and raising awareness.
9. Female inclusion in schools and colleges needs to be promoted in Pakistan – Peshawar accepted (for the most part).
10. Review of government schools provision and increased access for poor. The review will give Pakistan a good understanding of what needs to be amended and what needs to be implemented, especially when Pakistan begins to compare to a world standard.
11. Establishment of “Change Maker” scholarship programme for deprived areas of Pakistan, particularly Baluchistan and Sindh in the field of education.

12. Madrasa and religious schools to have standard curricula. Involve madrasas in the “Change Maker” Scholarship programme.
13. Discussion needs to take place on the language of education; should it remain English for higher levels or not?
14. Private schools and universities currently provide excellent education for those that can afford them and their model could offer real hope to remodel the access and level of future education.
15. The curriculum needs to be universal with universal access for boys, girls and adults.
16. Pakistan need to teach a modern skills for life based approach in their curriculum.
17. Awareness needs to be raised that tax revenue should be an important priority for the government and plans must be drawn up on how this could be implemented (possible tax land lords).
18. Narrative on religious education needs to be devised to clarify the religious stance on terrorism and to divert youth away from radicalisation.
19. Appraisal needs to take place of Government departments and their staff to see what element is performing best and what isn't. Those who are not performing will be worked on to become more efficient and thus save the government money.
20. There needs to be privatization in Pakistan – such as PIA becoming private, so that the government doesn't have to plough money into it. Just the PIA curtail would save the government \$400 million a year.
21. Expenditure needs to be cut through curtailing of the ministries by merging ministries with similar roles and by completely removing some and giving more power to the provinces as well as creating a national strategy to reduce the oil bill.
22. There is a need to modernise the way that aid from UK, UN, USA EU is applied to issues and problems, and to ensure that the allocation of these valuable resources is applied directly to problem areas and the impact of them is regularly monitored, reviewed and reassessed.
23. Work pay needs to be made more appropriate to give people dignity – this can be done by introducing the minimum wage scheme that is implemented in many countries so that workers feel safe and protected.

The below section presents the general recommendations from the workshop. It does not represent the findings from the workshops conducted as part of the qualitative research study.

General Recommendations

1. Form a common understanding between the establishment and the parliament.
2. Create a consensus on defense and foreign policy.
3. Adopt a delivery mechanism with implementation and review processes.
4. Promote clarity on resourcing, coordination and communication.
5. Provincial and Federal foreign governments must be taken into confidence when it comes to security issues and the foreign policy. Proper importance given to intelligence agencies so that they don't become maligned and work within the governmental parameters as the UK did with their government agencies.
6. Foreign policy has to be set right.
7. Youth needs to be considered so that they don't become radicalized.
8. Education on narrative needs to be rolled out.
9. The overseas Pakistanis need to be made a partner in Pakistan for solutions.
10. Rehabilitation of terrorists needs to take place to reduce further radicalisation.
11. A Probation Service that can facilitate the implementation of rehabilitation with stages of the NSPR Model should be set up at provincial and federal government.
12. Provide a fertile ground for investments for overseas Pakistanis so that they can give back to their country and get a return at the same time. Bringing their expertise, knowledge, education, experience, exposure, everything back into Pakistan.
13. Create an informal line of dialogue for positive ideas between Pakistan and the US.
14. More candid public discussion led by educated class and media re Taliban, and Haqani network.
15. Discussion with India for Kashmir – solution similar to northern Irish agreement

The below section presents the general recommendations from the workshop. It does not represent the findings from the workshops conducted as part of the qualitative research study.

General Recommendations

1. Smaller but better targeted economic aid programmes need to be created between US/Pakistan through candid discussions.
2. Track 2 dialogue is needed, and a group should be formed with people that are independent of government but have influence
3. Businesses need to invest genuinely – Pakistan does not need investment in the form of gifts. Genuine investment from businesses will build and develop Pakistan with business ties.
4. People to people talk needs to be created which should happen on regular basis. Non-formal dialogue forums should be formed.
5. Raise awareness amongst Pakistani public of the systems in place between USA and Pakistan so that they understand what it is that US-PK are doing. This will reduce their expectations and give them the real situation.

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