A PIPS Research Journal

Conflict and Peace Studies

Issue: 2008 *Number*: 1

Pak Institute for Peace Studies (PIPS)

A PIPS Research Journal

Conflict and Peace Studies

Issue: 2008 Number:1

Pak Institute for Peace Studies (PIPS)

406, Millenium Heights, F-11/1, Islamabad.
Tel: +92-51-2291586

www.san-pips.com
E-mail: pips@san-pips.com

Contents

Abstracts

Jihadi Print Media in Pakistan: An Overview

Jihadi print media is an important component of jihadi movements in Pakistan. The [mostly Urdu] daily and weekly newspapers, magazines and pamphlets of militant groups, religious organizations and [even] madrassas cover operational, ideological, and preaching aspects of jihadi movements. They also carry fundraising appeals. Research by individuals and institutions, analysts and journalists has not yet paid due attention to this limb of jihad. Friedrich Naumann Stiftung, a German organization, produced a research paper written by Zafarullah Khan, which focused only on four major jihadi outfits with media publications.[1] Amir Rana's 'Gateway to Terrorism' lists jihadi publications and other modes of these groups' propaganda.[2] In 2005, an International Crisis Group (ICG) report entitled 'Madrassas, Extremism and the Military' contained a section on jihadi culture in Pakistan, identifying and briefly examining some of the publications of the major outfits.[3]

This paper undertakes to have an overview of contemporary jihadi media, which started to flourish in the 1980s, with around 100 jihadi monthly and 12 weekly publications from Peshawar, Quetta and Islamabad in 1990.[4] This media has now developed distinct dynamics of its own. A media department has become an essential organ of jihadi outfits and religious organizations. They have the most modern printing facilities and claim extensive distribution and circulation of their publications. Some basic characteristics of these publications include an emphasis on Islam and global jihad, pro-jihad and anti-western rhetoric, glorification of Mujahideen and their activities, training and preaching sermons, coverage of organizational activities and advertisements carrying appeals for donations. Jihadi media has also been playing a key role in indoctrinating and recruiting youth for jihad. The government has not yet been able to check the growth and distribution of jihadi publications. In absence of a stringent control mechanism by the State, these publications reappear under the same or a new name after being banned for some time.

Radicalization and Media

Radicalism is one of the major issues faced by the state and society in Pakistan. Pakistani media, which has recently acquired a certain level of vibrancy, has always been there as a factor in radicalizing the individuals, groups and organizations. The phenomenon of radicalization and media in Pakistan have been influencing each other. But, little is known about the interaction and mutual relationship between the two. This study finds out how they have been impacting upon each other, to what extent media is under pressure from the radical groups, and, to what extent our media has played its role in the process of radicalization.

The overall image that emerges from the research is that media has played a role – in some cases consciously and in others unconsciously – in the spread of radicalism in Pakistan. Through qualitative and quantitative interviews, this study recovers that the media is inadvertently glorifying the militants. An element of sympathy for the radicals exists in the media. The radicals use all types of tactics, to pressurize the media.

The survey shows that an overwhelming majority of Pakistani journalists notice that the phenomenon of radicalization is making some impact on Pakistani media. An analysis of the quantitative interviews yields that a majority (57%) also believes that the media is concealing the facts regarding the phenomenon of radicalization. Sixty-nine percent say that the phenomenon is hindering freedom of expression in the country. Seventy-seven percent responded positively to the question that is there any pressure on the media from radical groups.

Poverty and Radicalization

The paper examines the possible links between incidence of poverty, and radicalization, or the growth of militancy. It examines the limited available literature on the causes of radicalization, with particularly emphasis on the linkages between income and likelihood of joining a militant organization. It goes on to look at the spatial distribution of poverty in Pakistan, and concludes that the

data on spatial distribution of poverty does not suggest that poverty is confined to, or is even more intense than the norm, in areas now characterized by intense militant activity. There is little evidence to support the contention that poverty, in and of itself, fuels extremism. Studies on the socio-economic profiles of militants would suggest, however, that poverty is a contributing factor pushing people towards militancy, provided an enabling environment already exists.

Counter-Terrorism Legislation

Anti-terrorism laws are the mechanism adopted by the State to curb violent acts or acts meant to terrorize the population. In Pakistan, changes in anti-terrorism laws were mostly made in the absence of parliament. The aim of this paper is to systematically explore the prominent features of laws implemented in the country by various regimes since the creation of Pakistan to suppress violent and terrorist acts. Legislation in the country against violent activities began in 1949 with the promulgation of the Public and Representative Offices (Disqualification) Act, 1949, which the government used to curb political violence. As circumstances changed, political violence transformed into sectarianism and ethnic clashes and finally led to the creation of several militant organizations whose radical ideology manifested itself through a range of violent tactics. As the nature of violence changed, successive governments established or amended the law accordingly to deter terrorists with the fear of punishment. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto introduced the words 'terrorist activities' in legislation for the first time and established special courts to try such offences. But Nawaz Sharif was the first policymaker who created a specific Anti-Terrorism Act in 1997 which extended to the entire country and was amended by subsequent governments according to their needs. Pakistan introduced severe penalties through a 2007 law to curb cyber-terrorism in the age of Information Technology (IT). The law was meant to dissuade people from any part of the world from accessing or harming any data or network with illegitimate designs. Pakistan's anti-terrorism laws cover every aspect of terrorist activities in detail but a lack of implementation has raised questions about their effectiveness.

Exploring the Mindset of the British-Pakistani Community: The Socio-cultural and Religious Context

---

This study has endeavored to explore the mindset of the British-Pakistani community settled in Great Britain and its interaction with the host community. The scope of the study is limited to the migrants and their families from Mirpur district of Azad Kashmir. The study finds that British-Pakistanis are almost all Muslims and have a mainly rural background. Their first generation in Britain was very conservative and did not let the next generation assimilate and become part of British society. There is lack of political, social and economic awareness among British-Pakistanis, many of whom are still confused and divided, not only physically but mentally as well, between their adopted and native countries. Moreover, there are some radical elements amongst this population also. The socio-cultural and religious identities of the British-Pakistani community may become more crucial in their potential to evolve parallel closed societies within the mainstream host society if not brought into the mainstream immediately.

---

[1] Zafarullah Khan, 'Medieval Mindset, Modern Media', Friedrich Naumann Stiftung, Islamabad, 28 November 2001.
[2] Amir Rana, 'Gateway to Terrorism', New Millennium Publications, London, 2003.
[3] Pakistan: Madrassas, Extremism and the Military, *ICG Asia Report N°36, 29 July 2002*.
[4] Monthly Bedar Digest, Lahore, March 1992.

Jihadi Print Media in Pakistan: An Overview

Muhammad Amir Rana

Introduction

The media had played an important role during the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in the 1980s. The manner in which the media projected the conflict boosted the image of the Mujahideen and glorified their activities, helping them gain moral and economic support from the international community. It also attracted Muslims around the world to take part in jihad physically or contribute financially towards that.

Overview

Getting inspiration from this role of the media, different militant groups launched their own media products during the war, which not only helped them attract financial and human resources but also propagated their ideologies and promoted their concept of jihad. They did not trust the privately-owned mainstream print media or the government-run radio and television and preferred established their own media to create a community of firm believers.[1]

Religious publications were not a new phenomenon in Pakistan. Despite their sectarian and political affiliations, the sphere of these publications was wide -- spanning intellectual debates, religious reforms, dialogue with other faiths, and socio-political issues -- and their readership very limited. It mainly consisted of religious scholars, intellectuals, journalists, writers and students of the relevant subject.

But the new media was very narrow in its vision and its target audience was more general. It not only damaged the image of 'serious religious publications' but also dealt a fatal blow to the professional ethics of Urdu mainstream media. This new form of media has now taken root and is a parallel media industry in Pakistan. Their publishers claim that if allowed free competition, they can capture the mainstream media market overnight.[2]

In terms of their content, Zafarullah Khan labels these publications as 'alternative media'.[3] The term usually refers to "those communication me-

dia, which are alternative to the mainstream media".[4] 'Radical media' is another term referring to publications that contain hate messages.

It has also been described as 'Islamic journalism'[5] but this term includes all religious publications. Many religious publications have specific objectives. They focus on promoting religious values, and debates on theological, philosophical, intellectual and socio-political issues. The fringe media under discussion has the ambition to take over the position of the mainstream media. It follows the practices of mainstream media and has the same target audience and market.

The same is true about 'Islamic media', which uses the print, electronic and cyber means for religious purposes. The term 'jihadi media' usually refers to material publishing by militant groups, which glorify jihad. Zafarullah Khan has used the term 'jihadi journalism' in the same context "as they forcefully propagate jihadi view of life and aspire to sharpen jihadi identity".[6]

Although this section of the media has gone through a transformation since 9/11 and no longer confines itself to glorifying jihad, yet 'jihad media' is an appropriate term to describe this new phenomenon and to differentiate it from other religious publications. While Zafarullah's work only looked at militant groups' publications, this paper includes in the same category other publications that favor or glorify similar ideologies of jihad. For example, daily Ummat,[7] Karachi and daily Insaf, Lahore are not affiliated with any militant group but have similar policies. Some traditional religious and political publications have also been transformed into jihadi media; examples include daily Jisarat of the Jamaat-e-Islami, and monthlies Al-Haq and Laulak.

While this paper focuses only on the print media, militant groups also use other means of communications, especially Internet, FM radio, CDs and DVDs to reach a wider audience. These communication tools might be more effective in some areas than the print media. But monitoring them is difficult on account of a number of constrains. FM radio transmissions are area-specific and have a range of only a few kilometers in most cases. Such transmissions are often not constant, as most of them are illegal and are frequently jammed by the government. Website and blogs of militant groups are also blocked by the authorities, often as soon as their affiliation with militant groups becomes known. Tracking militant groups that keep changing their websites, blogs and web addresses is an additional difficulty. Printed publications are easy to access. Additionally, Internet and elec-

tronic communication tools used by militant groups carry substantially similar ideologies and almost identical content as printed publications of jihad media. Therefore, the findings of this study on the jihad print media can be expanded to other communication tools to understand the overall phenomenon.

Development of Jihad Print Media

Until 1989, the number of jihad publications in Pakistan had reached 150. Most of them were published from Peshawar and Quetta, capitals, respectively, of the NWFP and Balochistan provinces that border Afghanistan.[8] The two cities were the hub of Afghan, foreign and Pakistani militant groups and recruitment centers for volunteers coming from all over the world. At the same time, dozens of jihad media products, mainly of Pakistani jihadi groups, were being published from Lahore, Karachi and Islamabad. Around 100 jihad monthlies and 12 weeklies were being published in Peshawar, Quetta and Islamabad in 1990.[9] These publications were produced in several languages -- 25 were in Urdu, 50 in Pashtu and Persian, 12 in Arabic and 10 in English.[10]

They were not only being published in Pakistan but also in Iran, the United States, United Kingdom, Germany, Norway, Australia and Switzerland.[11] In the 1990s, Kashmiri militant groups also got into 'jihad journalism' and were publishing 22 periodicals in 1994.

Jihad print media gradually became lucrative business. Individuals and religious and political leaders in Pakistan started investing in the business and in the 1990s jihad media emerged as alternative print media with widely circulated daily, weekly and monthly magazines and newspapers. The Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan and its subsidiary organizations launched more than a dozen jihad publications, such as daily Jisarat, weekly Asia and monthly Tarjumanul Quran. Deobandi, Ahle-Hadiath, Sunni and Shia organizations followed suit and more than 100 jihad periodicals are now being published across the country.

With its growing strength, efforts to institutionalize jihad print media began. In August 1990, Institute of Policy Studies, a JI think-tank organized a seminar in Islamabad on the 'Role of Islamic Media in the Afghan Jihad'.[12] Editors of jihad publications attended the seminar and agreed to form a union of Islamic media. They also decided to form a religious committee guide the media and to draft principles for Islamic journalism.

They also approved the establishment of an institute for Islamic journalism. The institute initiated a monthly review of all jihad publication or 'deeni sahafat' (religious journalism) but only lasted for a few months.

Editors of Arab jihad publications in Pakistan and Afghanistan formed an organization called Arabic Islamic Press in Peshawar on similar lines, to promote Islamic journalism and to provide 'entertainment' to Arab Mujahideen in Afghanistan.[13] Later, dozens of organizations such as media publications for Kashmiri jihad groups formed their own umbrella organizations. Pakistani jihad magazines from Karachi also forged an alliance to safeguard their interests.

Various organizations have now started short courses in Islamic journalism,[14] Jamiatul Rasheed, a pro-Taliban madrassa (seminary) in Karachi affiliated with Al-Rasheed Trust, offers a masters degree in Islamic journalism.[15]

Types of Jihadi Media Products

Six major jihadi outfits -- the Jamaat ud-Da'waa (Lashkar-e-Taiba), Tehrik Khuddam-ul-Islam (Jaish-e-Muhammad), Al-Rasheed Trust, Jamaatul Mujahideen, Hizbul Mujahideen and Sipah-e-Sahaba -- publish a wide range of periodicals to specifically influence the minds of children, youth, women or the general reader. These outfits use four languages, Urdu, English, Arabic and Sindhi, for dissemination of their message domestically and abroad.

The Jamaat ud-Da'waa publishes nine media products, Al-Rasheed Trust six, Jaish-e-Muhammad four, and Hizbul Mujahideen, Jamaatul Mujahideen and Sipah-e-Sahaba two each. But these are their official publications. The number exceeds 50 if publications by like-minded madrassas or supporters are included. (Annex II) Other jihadi outfits also have their media sections. Apart from jihad groups' publications, the Jamaat-e-Islami and its subsidiary groups have at least 22 media publications, and promote a jihad outlook. (Some of these publications are listed in Annex II)

These groups have the following publications:

1. The Jamaat ud-Da'waa's (JD) monthly publications are Voice of Islam in English, Al-Anfal in Arabic, Mujalla Al-Da'waa in Urdu, Tayyibaat in Urdu for women, Rozatul Atfal for children, Zarb-e-Taiba in Urdu for youth

and students, and Babul Islam in Sindhi. It also publishes weekly Ghazwa in Urdu.

2. The Jaish-e-Muhammad (JM) publishes weekly Al-Qalam in Urdu and English, monthly Ayeshatul Binat in Urdu for women and weekly Musalman Bachy for children.

3. Al-Rasheed Trust, ostensibly a charity organization, advocates a jihadi view of life through its daily publication Islam and weekly Zarb-e-Momin, both in Urdu, monthly Al-Akhwa for women in Urdu and monthly Truth in English. These publications' contents support Taliban, Jamaatul Furqan, Sipah-e-Sahaba, and, occasionally, Lashkar-e-Taiba.

4. Monthly Khilafat-e-Rashida, monthly Aab-e-Hayat and monthly Genius are the regular publications of the Sipah-e-Sahaba.

5. The Jamaat-e-Islami (JI) has 22 print media publications including daily Jisarat, weekly Friday Special, weekly Asia, monthly Tarjumanul Quran, and fortnightly Jihad-e-Kashmir.

Layout and Presentation

Jihad media products reflect the use of modern technology. Their layout, use of colors and multimedia techniques are similar to mainstream media publications available in the market. According to Zafarullah Khan, their marketing strategy resembles that of the mainstream media.[16] The prices of jihad media products are relatively low and affordable for the poor. This is one reason for growth in their circulation, especially in villages and small towns.

Circulation and Distribution

The publishers of these newspapers and magazines often make claims about circulation that are close to the highest mainstream media circulation in the market.

Urdu monthly Mujalla Al-Da'waa[17] claims the highest circulation of 100,000 copies a month. Weekly Zarb-e-Momin claims circulation of 65,000 copies and weekly Ghazwa Times recently announced that its weekly print order was 200,000 copies. Daily Islam claims it sells 110,000

copies throughout the country. The banned Jaish-e-Muhammad's weekly Al-Qalam claims circulation of 40,000 copies.[18] (Annex III)

The JI, JD, JM, and other smaller jihad media groups' publications are available at newsstands across the country. But some groups like the banned Jamaatul Furqan, Harkatul Mujahideen and Sipah-e-Sahaba only mail or deliver their publications at subscribers' addresses, mainly through workers or like-minded people. Seminaries have also played an important role in the circulation of their publications.

However, after the ban on jihad organizations and their publications, they have found new methods to circulate their products. Banned publications are now sold outside mosques after Friday prayers or are available only at designated points, such as madrassas and selected newsstands.

Most of these publications have legitimate declarations issued by the designated authority. The Audit Bureau of Circulation (ABC) that entitles them to get government advertisements has certified some of them. However, they prefer to print jihadi advertisements, announcing training opportunities and soliciting donations.[19] The publications without legitimate declarations do not usually appear at newsstands and are distributed through the organization's own network.

Content Analysis

Most jihad publications project and glorify jihadi activities all over the world in general and in Palestine, Afghanistan, Kashmir and Pakistan's tribal areas in particular. They advocate global jihad. The agenda of these jihadi publications prioritizes Islam and jihad and criticizes the Pakistani government for allying with the US in the war on terror. Their ideology envisions the creation of an Islamic caliphate or emirate. While mapping the jihad media discourse, Zafarullah Khan has mentioned some interesting aspects of these publications: "The jihadi publications described the global war against terrorism as 'crusades'. They criticized the Pakistani government slogans of putting Pakistan first and emphasized that all believers are obliged to die for Islam and everything [else] comes later. They glorify the cult of death and regard human development indicators and longevity of life as infidel moves to scrap the spirit of jihad. As per the dominant message of these publications, the real life of the believers starts after their martyrdom. Picking up from the same logic they motivate the

believers to embrace martyrdom in jihad and reach heaven instead of being killed by Jewish or Hindu bullets. In many publications there are standard articles like the last will of any martyr, a letter from his mother/sister or wife eulogizing the sacrifice of their dear ones. However, the lists of martyrs published in these newspapers and magazines testify that many non-state actors are busy in jihad. These publications make fun of democracy and capitalism as the instruments of obscene civilization and urge the Muslim youth not to study in Europe or America because they will end up losing [their] faith in the glitter of what they call 'nude civilization' of the west. The jihadi publications urge the Muslim children to immerse themselves in the spirit of jihad as early as possible. They should play with guns as toys and eventually should learn to use them against the infidels."[20]

These publications carry calls for the Muslim *ummah* to stand united against enemies of Islam. The US and other western countries are shown as weakening in the face of jihad by Muslims. Anti-west tirades and propaganda is a common feature of these publications.

They distort the context while covering major international and national events. Meanwhile domestic issues are analyzed through their ideological lens and presented with a particular diction characterized by more polemic and less substance. Local news agencies and mainstream media publications are usually a major source for gleaning reports for jihad publications, which then present these reports in a manner that supports their viewpoint. They glorify and magnify achievements of Mujahideen anywhere in the world. The language and expression used to narrate events is deliberately very radical, meant to 'encourage' the Mujahideen.

While glorifying the Mujahideen, these jihad publications never forget to disparage the US and its allies. They portray that the troops and citizens of the US and allied countries are afraid of attacks by the Mujahideen and are on a gradual decline. For example, an excerpt from a news item narrates how a person who had recently returned from America told the reporter in a meeting: "I was walking on the road [in the US] when I saw a gathering of people watching something on a big screen…It was a person sitting in a chair. He was a soldier who had come back from Iraq. He had lost his legs and arms in a clash with the Mujahideen. He was crying and asking why Mujahideen left him alive. The people there were in fear of Mujahideen when they left the place."[21] Similarly, Japan's decision not to send troops to Afghanistan was reported in a magazine as: "Japan refused to send its artillery to Afghanistan for fear of Taliban attacks."[22]

Besides encouraging and portraying Mujahideen positively, these publications narrate accounts of Mujahideen in a manner that fascinates people and lures them to join jihad. Maulana Massod Azhar, narrates the story of one of their militants, who was killed in Lal Masjid: "Maqsood Shaheed started his journey of jihad during a 'storm' [i.e. the Afghan jihad]. He became a soldier of Taliban during his student life and went to Mazar-e-Sharif [in Afghanistan]. Following deceit and betrayal by Uzbeks, thousands of innocent people were gunned down. Maqsood Shaheed was among those besieged people. Allah had to assign many other important tasks to him so he returned safe after fighting death. On his way back, he played hide and seek with death at every point and this made his relationship with death that of a lover -- death became his beloved."[23]

Militant activities in Kashmir are glorified likewise. "… In Ganderball the [Indian] army had to bear the brunt of their [Mujahideen's] crackdown. The fighting continued for three days and the Indian army had to carry away six dead soldiers."[24]

Jihad media also highlights militants' activities, especially conferences and training sessions about jihad. It shows that militants' operations are proceeding smoothly across the country and calls upon the *ummah* to stand united against enemies of Islam, mimicking similar calls for unity often attributed to Al-Qaeda. The US and other western countries are shown to be in decline because of jihad.

Jihad media publications disseminate comments and analysis of current affairs and developments in their ideological sphere. Issues of jihad publications in August 2008 wrote at length about the resignation of former president General (retd) Pervez Musharraf, detention of Pakistani neuroscientist Dr Aafia Siddiqui by the US and Independence Day. Massod Azhar sympathized with Dr Aafia thus: "May Allah provide you (Dr Aafia) with the means and sources to achieve freedom or martyrdom. My sister Aafia, I am upset over your detention as I have lost dignity and honor. Former president Pervez Musharraf sold you and proved to be an infidel. He sold a daughter of the nation for money.[25]

How Jihadi Media Attracts Funds

Jihad media is also used for soliciting donations from the public and almost every publication regularly carries appeals for funds. Two examples

below show the tactics these organizations use to attract donations. Jamiatul Ansar publication Al-Hilal carries the following advertisement in every issue on its last page:

"The bleeding Muslim world

Iraq, the land of prophets	where	hungry and orphaned children oppressed by America are crying for help.
Afghanistan, the land of martyrs	where	the war between Islam and infidels rages on.
The Kashmir valley, heaven on earth	where	honor is unprotected and women disgraced.
The holy land of Palestine	where	mothers' beloved children are being sacrificed.
Burma	where	the people are deprived of human rights.
Chechnya	where	once-lively marketplaces and towns are turning into ghost towns.
Bharat (India)	where	Lives of Muslims are under attack.

- Is it not obligatory upon you to help these Muslims?
- Are they not your brothers by virtue of Islamic brotherhood and human concern?
- Can this not be your fate as well?

Be aware of your duties."

A regular advertisement by Jamaatul Furqan published in Tadbeer-e-Nau is as follows:

"Have you ever thought?

- From Kashmir to Palestine, millions of Muslims are living in a state of helplessness. Who will help them?
- Who will tend to the wounds of innocent children who are being bombed by infidels?
- Who will secure the release of the great generals of Islam imprisoned in the jails of *kafirs* (infidels)?
- Who will save the faith of the Muslims trapped by the NGOs?"

Recruitment

Jihad publications also play a pivotal role in attracting the youth to join their outfits for jihad.

Jihadi publications such as Ghazwa, Mujalla Al-Da'waa, Zarb-e-Taiba, Shamsheer and Zarb-e-Momin reveal that over 7,000 volunteers aged between 18 and 25 signed up for various groups all over Pakistan between January and June 2003. High-profile outfits Lashkar-e-Taiba and Jaish-e-Muhammad claimed that over 3,350 and 2,235 boys and young men had enlisted with them, respectively.[26]

Government's Response

When Pakistan decided to join the international coalition against terrorism, the government took some serious measures to curtail jihad print media. On March 6, 2002, the federal government asked the Sindh, Punjab and Azad Kashmir governments to ban the publication of 22 magazines, propaganda tools of various religious and jihadi organizations, appearing from Karachi, Lahore and Muzaffarabad. The banned publications included 17 monthly[27] and five weekly or quarterly magazines. The curbs were in line with the measures suggested by the UN Security Council Sanction Committee and the US government against terrorist individuals and entities.

However, after only two months of restrictions, many of these publications reappeared at newsstands under the same names, though some also emerged under new names. Fortnightly Jaish-e-Muhammad reappeared as Al-Aslah, and later as Shamsheer. When the publication was banned under both new names it started appearing as Al-Qalam, a name under which it is still being published from Peshawar. Jamaat ud-Da'awa's Jihad Times is now being published as Ghazwa Times; Harkatul Mujahideen's monthly Sada-e-Mujahid as Al-Hilal; while Jamaatul Furqan's monthly Rah-e-Wafa is being printed under the same name. Jamaat-e-Islami's Jihad-e-Kashmir, Jamiatul Mujahideen's Mahaz-e-Kashmir, Hizbul Mujahideen's Zarb-e-Mujahid, Al-Badar Mujahideen's monthly Al-Badar, Sipah-e-Sahaba's Khilafat-e-Rashida and monthly Aab-e-Hayat and Tehrikul Mujahideen's monthly Shahadat are usually not available at newsstands but continue to be published and distributed among their cadre despite government restrictions.

The government is spending 1.5 billion rupees to gather information regarding the anti-terrorism fight in Pakistan[28] but implementing the ban on jihad publications remains its biggest challenge. There challenge facing law enforcement agencies is two-fold:

1: Law enforcement agencies have no mechanism to ban these publications. When a banned publication reappears, the process to ban it again takes more than eight months;

2: Banned organizations have ostensibly transformed into charities and under law their publications cannot be banned until these charities are declared defunct. Jaish-e-Muhammad is now operating as Al-Rehmat Trust, Lashkar-e-Taiba as Jamaat ud-Da'awa and Jamaatul Furqan as Al-Asar Trust. Legislation is required to ban or restrict their activities and the government is reluctant to introduce such legislation due to pressure from the clergy.

In August 2006, however, then President Pervez Musharraf took strict action against jihad publication while announcing a ban on the sale and distribution of hate material. Following the president's orders, the federal Interior Ministry banned 90 books containing sectarian or hate material.[29]

Actions such as these might stop sale of these books at newsstands, but they are usually sold in madrassas or outside mosques after Friday prayers. Since those books were banned in 2006, no new action has been taken against jihad print media. Some media analysts suggest that the impact of and violations by alternative media could be neutralized by bringing a clear media policy that treats violations by the mainstream and jihad media with equal firmness.

They say the policy should give direction about the presentation of news and views and a publication not following the policy should be banned whether it belongs to jihad media or the mainstream. However, government efforts to introduce such a policy may invite severe criticism, as journalist bodies are not satisfied, with good reason, about the recent state of freedom of expression in Pakistan and view any government intervention with suspicion.

Specific legislation about radical groups and charities is the best way to curb their operations. A code of ethics for religious publications should

focus on banning appeals soliciting donations and advertisements attracting youth towards jihad.

Annex 1: Publications by the militant / affiliated groups (2008)

No	Title	Published from / target audience	Language	Organization
1.	Daily Islam	Karachi, Lahore, Peshawar, Rawalpindi, Muzaffarabad	Urdu	Al-Amin Trust[30]
2	Weekly Zarb-e-Momin	Karachi	Urdu	Al-Amin Trust
3	Monthly Truth	Karachi/ youth	English	Al-Amin Trust
4	Bachoon ka Islam	Karachi/ children	Urdu	Al-Amin Trust
5	Khawateen ka Islam	Karachi/ women	Urdu	Al-Amin Trust
6	Al-Akhwa	Karachi/ women	Urdu	Al-Amin Trust
7	Weekly Ghazwa	Lahore, Karachi	Urdu	Jamaat ud-Da'awa (JD)
8	Monthly Al-Da'awa	Lahore	Urdu	JD
9	Monthly Tayyibaat	Lahore/ women	Urdu	JD
10	Monthly Zarb-e-Taiba	Lahore/ youth	Urdu	JD
11	Voice of Islam	Lahore	English	JD
12	Monthly Al-Anfal	Lahore	Arabic	JD
13	Fortnightly Rozatul Atfal	Lahore/ children	Urdu	JD
14	Monthly Babul Islam	Karachi	Sindhi	JD
15	Monthly Nanhay Mujahid	Lahore/ children	Urdu	JD
16	Weekly Al-Qalam	Karachi, Peshawar	Urdu	Banned Jaish-e-Muhammad

				(JM)
17	Monthly Ayeshatul Binat	Karachi/ women	Urdu	JM
18	Monthly Musalman Bachy	Karachi/ children	Urdu	JM
19	Monthly Rah-e-Wafa	Lahore	Urdu	Jamaatul Furqan
20	Monthly Al-Ibrar	Karachi	Urdu	Al-Akhtar Trust
21	Fortnightly Jihad-e-Kashmir	Rawalpindi	Urdu	Hizbul Mujahideen (HM)
22	Fortnightly Hizb-e-Mujahid	Rawalpindi	Urdu	HM
23	Monthly Al-Hilal	Islamabad	Urdu	Harkatul Mujahideen
24	Monthly Sada-e-Mujahid	Islamabad, Karachi	Urdu	Harkatul Mujahideen
25	Monthly Shahadat	Muzaffarabad, Rawalpindi	Urdu	Tehrikul Mujahideen
26	Monthly Mahaz-e-Kashmir	Muzaffarabad	Urdu	Jamiatul Mujahideen
27	Monthly Al-Masood	Rawalpindi	Urdu	Jamaatul Mujahideen
28	Monthly Al-Irshad	Islamabad	Urdu	Harkatul Jihad-e-Islami
29	Monthly Sunni Tarjuman	Karachi	Urdu	Sunni Tehrik
30	Monthly Aab-e-Hayat	Lahore	Urdu	Sipah-e-Sahaba
31	Monthly Khilafat-e-Rashida	Faisalabad	Urdu	Sipah-e-Sahaba
32	Monthly Tadbeer-e-Nau	Lahore	Urdu	Jamaatul Furqan
33	Monthly Al-Badar	Karachi	Urdu	Al-Badar Mujahideen
34	Monthly Tanzeemul Islam	Gujranwala	Urdu	Sunni Jihad Council

Annex II: Publications promoting jihadi outlook (2008)

No	Title	Published from	Language/ target audience	Directly/ indirect affiliation with
1	Daily Jisarat	Karachi	Urdu	Jamaat-e-Islami (JI)
2	Weekly Asia	Lahore	Urdu	JI
3	Monthly Jareedatul Ittehad	Lahore	Urdu	Jamiat Ittehad-e-Ulema (JI's Ulema wing)
4	Monthly Hamqadam	Lahore	Urdu/ youth	Islami Jamiat Talaba (JI's student wing)
5	Monthly Paigham	Lahore	Urdu/ children	Islami Jamiat Talaba
6	Monthly Sathi	Karachi	Urdu/ children	Islami Jamiat Talaba
7	Monthly Message	Lahore	English/ youth	Islami Jamiat Talaba
8	Monthly Mishkatul Misbah	Lahore	Urdu/ madrassa students	Jamiat Talaba Arabia (JI's madrassa student wing)
9	Monthly Sada-e-Jamiat	Karachi	Urdu	Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (JUI)
10	Monthly Al-Jamia	Rawalpindi	Urdu	JUI
11	Zarb-e-Haq	Karachi	Urdu	JUI
12	Monthly Hammad	Karachi	Urdu	JUI/ Jamia Hamadia
13	Weekly Ahle Hadees	Lahore	Urdu	Markazi Jamiat Ahle

				Hadiath
14	Daily Ummat	Karachi	Urdu	Ummat Group
15	Weekly Takbeer	Karachi	Urdu	Ummat Group
16	Monthly Ghazi	Karachi	Urdu	Ummat Group
17	Monthly Al-Hasan	Lahore	Urdu	Jamia Ashrafia, Lahore
18	Monthly Al-Khair	Multan	Urdu	Jamia Khairul Madaris
19	Monthly Laulak	Multan	Urdu	Tehrik Khatm-e-Nabuwwat
20	Monthly Naqeeb-e-Khatm-e-Nabuwwat	Multan	Urdu	Majlis-e-Ahrar Pakistan
21	Monthly Al-Murshid	Lahore	Urdu	Tanzeemul Akhwan
22	Monthly Naghma-e-Tauheed	Gujrat	Urdu	Jamiat Isha'at Tauheed wal Sunnah
23	Monthly Al-Haq	Akora Khattak, Nowshera	Urdu	Darul Aloom Haqqania,
24	Monthly Al-Qasim	Nowshera	Urdu	Jamia Abu Hurraira, Khaliqabad
25	Monthly Maseehayi	Karachi	Urdu	Darul Aloom Hanfia
26	Monthly Bazm-e-Qasmi	Karachi	Urdu	Sipah-e-Sahaba
27	Monthly Nusratul Aloom	Gujranwala	Urdu	Jamia Nusratul Aloom
28	Monthly Al-Farooq	Karachi	Urdu	Jamia Farooqia
29	Quarterly Al-	Gujrat	Urdu	Jamia Han-

	Mufakkaraatul Islamia			fia Ahle Sunnat

Annex III: Price and circulation of jihad media products (2008)

No	Title	Circulation	Medium	Pages	Price (In Pak rupee)
1-	Daily Islam	110,000	Urdu	8	5
2-	Daily Jisarat	30,000	Urdu	16	9
3-	Daily Ummat	65,000	Urdu	16	8
4-	Weekly Al-Hilal	5,000	Urdu/ English/ Arabic	100	30
5-	Weekly Asia	5,000	Urdu	25-30	15
6-	Weekly Zarb-e-Momin	65,000	Urdu	8	7
7-	Weekly Deen	---	Urdu	4	4
8-	Weekly Ghazwa Times	20,0000	Urdu	4	3
9-	Weekly Al-Qalam	40,000	Urdu	8	7
10-	Fortnightly Hizb-e-Mujahid	2,000	Urdu	6	6
11-	Weekly Al-Hadees	5,000	Urdu	24	7
12-	Weekly Tanzim Ahl-e-Hadees	5,000	Urdu	20	5
13-	Weekly Al-Mutaquam	------	Urdu	32	5
14-	Monthly Ayeshatul Binat		Urdu	52	13
15-	Fortnightly Zarb-e-Mujahid	5,000	Urdu	8	3
16-	Fortnightly Jihad-e-Kashmir	7,000	Urdu/English	54	15
17-	Monthly Al-Abrar	7,000	Urdu	66	16
18-	Monthly Al-Balagh	10,000	Urdu	68	20
19-	Monthly Al-Hamad	5000	Urdu	68	15
20-	Monthly Al-Ahrar	1,000	Urdu	68	15
21-	Monthly Al-Irshad	5,000	Urdu	52	15
22-	Monthly Mujalla Al-	100,000	Urdu	60	12

	Da'waa				
23-	Monthly Zarb-e-Haq	4,000	,,	4	3
24-	Monthly Haq Char Yar	4,000	,,	68	12
25-	Monthly Zarb-e-Taiba		,,	-	-
26-	Monthly Tayyibaat		,,	-	-
27-	Monthly Voice of Islam		English	68	30
28-	Monthly Sunni Tarjuman	5,000	,,	52	16
29-	Monthly Anwar-e-Madina	3,000	,,	68	13
30-	Monthly Sada-e-Jamiat	2,000	,,	38	15
31-	Monthly Mishkatul Misbah	5,000	,,	48	14
32-	Monthly Nusratul Uloom	2,000	,,	60	15
33-	Monthly Maseehayi	1,000	,,	54	20
34-	Monthly Bazm-e-Qasmi	---	,,	52	16
35-	Jareedatul Ittehad	5,000	,,	84	15
36-	Monthly Al-Murshid	5,000	,,	68	25
37-	Monthly Sada-e-Hosh	10000	,,	34	10
38-	Monthly Laulak	5,000	,,	60	10
39-	Monthly Naqeeb-e-Khatm-e-Nabuwwat	-------	,,	76	15
40-	Monthly Al Akhuwah	2,000	,,	58	15
41-	Monthly Sada-e-Mujahid		,,	52	15
42-	Monthly Naghma-e-Tauheed	2,000	,,	60	15
43-	Monthly Tadbeer-e-Nau	5,000	,,	30	12
44-	Monthly Khilafat-e-Rashida	15,000	,,	52	15
45-	Monthly Munaqib	1,000	,,	44	10
46-	Monthly Shahadat	10,000	,,	54	10

47-	Monthly Al-Badar	10,000	,,	54	15
48-	Monthly Al-Masood	2,000	,,	28	10
49-	Monthly Tanzeemul Islam	10,000	,,	52	20
50-	Monthly Al-Ma'arif	5,000	,,	50	12
51-	Monthly Al-Muntazir	2,000	,,	52	15
52-	Monthly Mahaz-e-Kashmir	5,000	,,	52	15
53-	Monthly Truth	1,000	English	60	20
54-	Noor-e-Islam		,,	25	9
55-	Kanz-ul-Iman	1,000	,,	52	10
56-	Ahwal-o-Aasar	1,000	,,	68	15
57-	Al-Jamia	2,000	,,	60	15
58-	Nida-e-Ahle Sunnat	1,000	,,	52	15
59-	Monthly Nanhay Muja-hid	10,000	,,	52	15
60-	The Message	2,000	English		
61-	Bedar Digest	3,000	,,	40	15

References:

---

[1] Zafarullah, Cyber Jihad: Fighting the Infidels from Pakistan. (Asian Cyber Terrorism, edited by Steven Gan, James Gomez and Uwe Johannen) Friedrich Naumann Foundation, Bangkok, 2004.

[2] The claim was made during a seminar on Islamic media in Karachi on September 19, 2006.
The seminar was organized by Jamaat ud-Da'awa and its weekly publication Ghazwa Times, Lahore, carried a report about it in its 22-28 September, 2006 issue.

[3] Zafarullah, 'Medieval Mindset, Modern Media'. This was the title of a paper discussed in a media workshop organized by Friedrich Naumann Stiftung in Islamabad on November 28, 2001.

[4] This is not a consensus definition. In South Africa, it was used during the 1980s to refer to grassroots newspapers that reflected the deprived classes' point of view. In the US, it refers to the media by political left, 'which present a point of view that counters the alleged bias of mainstream media'. While discussion the term 'alternative media', The Canadian Encyclopedia poses the question 'alternative to what?' It says: "the field is notoriously difficult to define. Should it be confined to only radical or underground media, such as those that challenge the status quo, or should all media apart from large circulation daily newspapers and major television networks be included? Should it encompass media directed toward specific ethnic and cultural groups? Should only non-profit media be considered? There are no easy answers to these questions." http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/index.cfm?PgNm=TCE&Params=A1ARTA0009706

[5] The term was first used with consensus to refer to parallel media during a seminar of editors of jihad publication organized by Institute of Policy Studies (IPS) in Islamabad in August 1990.

[6] Zafarullah, p. 4.

[7] Ummat Group also publishes weekly Takbeer and monthly Ghazi.

[8] Monthly Bedar Digest, Lahore, March 1992.

[9] Monthly Bedar Digest, Lahore, March 1992.

[10] Ibid

[11] Monthly Bedar Digest, Lahore, December 1989. The issue included the list of media publications, showing that 45 were being published in Pashtu and Persian, 12 in English and 25 in Arabic.

[12] Monthly Al-Jihad, Peshawar (Arabic), August 1990.

[13] Monthly Al-Bunyanul Marsoos, Peshawar, (Arabic), December 1991.

[14] Jaish-e-Muhammad, Jamaat ud-Da'awa and different madrassas offer these courses. On September 2, 2008, a madrassa in Islamabad organized a media workshop for journalists affiliated with jihad media to enhance their capabilities. Daily Islam, Islamabad, September 3, 2008.

[15] Zarb-e-Momin.

[16] Zafarullah, p. 1.

[17] Ghazwa Times, Lahore, 22-28 September 2006.

[18] These publications often make claims about their circulation on their advertisement pages.
[19] Zafarullah, p. 5.
[20] Zafarullah, p. 13-17.
[21] Amir Hamza, 'Shoot Me', Weekly Ghazwa, Karachi, June 27-July 3, 2008.
[22] Weekly Al-Qalam, Peshawar, July 25 – 31, 2008. The news item describes casualties suffered by the allied forces in different parts of Afghanistan. Magnifying Taliban gains at every front, it says, "the Taliban destroyed a US helicopter in Paktika and six US soldiers were burnt alive. Mujahideen occupied a district of Ghazni by killing 10 who resisted. A *fidayi* (suicide) bomber attacked a convoy of allied forces and killed 25 people. In another attack on a NATO convoy in Spin Boldak area, four Canadian soldiers were killed. While seven Afghan security personnel were killed in a landmine blast in Sangeen district. In Farah province, allied air force bombed an Afghan police party during night and Afghan policemen were torn to pieces. America termed the incident a case of friendly fire. …… Japan refused to send its artillery to Afghanistan for fear of Taliban attacks."
[23] Sa'adi (Maulana Masood Azhar), 'In cradle of hurricanes', weekly Al-Qalam, Peshawar, Special edition, July 11-17, 2008. Maqsood was reportedly the first editor of Al-Qalam and was killed during the Lal Masjid operation by the security forces in July 2007. This special edition of Al-Qalam was dedicated to him.
[24] Weekly Ghazwa, Karachi, July 11-17, 2008.
[25] Sa'adi (Maulana Masood Azhar), 'Aafia: My Sister', weekly Al-Qalam, Peshawar, August 15-21, 2008.
[26] Pak Institute for Peace Studies (PIPS) Database.
[27] The banned monthly publications included: Al-Irshad International (Islamabad), Ayeshatul Binat (Karachi), *Al-Da'awa* (Lahore), *Kashmir Action* (Lahore), *Al-Rihat* in Arabic (Lahore), *Al-Masood* (Muzaffarabad/Karachi), *Sada-e-Kashmir* (Muzaffarabad), *Sada-e-Mujahid* (Islamabad/Karachi), *Voice of Islam* in English (Lahore), *Shahadat* (Srinagar/Muzaffarabad/Islamabad), *Jihad-e-Kashmir* (Muzaffarabad), *Zarb-e-Taiba* (Lahore), monthly *Bedar Digest* (Lahore), *Mohaz-e-Kashmir* (Muzaffarabad), *Dawaat-e-Tanzeemul Islam* (Lahore/Sialkot/Gujranwala) and *Al-Khalid* (Lahore). Also banned were *weeklies Jihad Times* in Urdu, and *Asia* (Lahore), *Zarb-e-Momin* (Karachi), fortnightly Jaish-e-Muhammad (Karachi) and quarterly Taiba (Lahore). Jaish-e-Muhammad, Al Badar-Mujahideen, Jamaat-e-Islami, Lashkar-e-Taiba, Al-Rasheed Trust, Hizbul Mujahideen, Sunni Jihad Council, and Hizb-e-Jihad-e-Islami were managing these publications.
[28] Daily Jisarat, Karachi, June 1, 2006.
[29] Daily Express, Lahore, (Urdu) September 8, 2006.
[30] The new name Al-Rasheed Trust adopted after being banned in 2007.

RADICALIZATION AND MEDIA
Who influences whom and how in Pakistan?

Muhammad Azam

Radicalism is one of the major issues confronting the state and society in Pakistan. Its roots can be traced long before Pakistan came into being in 1947. It has been spreading deeper and farther throughout the country's history. Various actors and factors have played their role in this spread. The Pakistani media, which has recently acquired a certain level of vibrancy, has always been a factor in the radicalization of individuals, groups and organizations. But, ironically, it has also been a victim of the radicalized segments of society. The phenomenon of radicalization and the media in Pakistan have been influencing each other. This study has been conducted to find out the manner of such influence -- the degree to which the media is under pressure from radical groups, and, the extent of our media's to the process of radicalization.

It seems appropriate to begin with the point that successive governments as well as the media have failed to formulate an effective policy to maintain a balance in programs and coverage. The result is that rigid militant and radical forces have acquired a dominating position in society.[1]

Methodology

Both qualitative and quantitative methods were employed in the research for this paper. The research work consisted of three phases; data collection, analysis, and report writing. Data was collected through a survey, media monitoring, and interviews. A questionnaire was designed for a survey to collect responses of journalists and media persons. A three-member team conducted the survey from July 1 to September 10, 2008. The responses were used to measure the impact of radicalization on the media, and vice versa. Newspapers and magazines, both from the mainstream and radical media, were monitored for one month. The monitoring was meant to find out: (a) the media's attitude towards the phenomenon, and (b) the difference between the treatment of the issue by the mainstream and radical media.

Sixteen journalists and media persons, including editors of newspapers and magazines, were interviewed. The interviews were recorded and

transcribed. The responses and data collected through the questionnaire were codified, tabulated, and analyzed.

The questions which have been addressed in this paper include:

(i) How does the phenomenon of radicalization impact the media?
(ii) How do radical groups and organizations pressurize the media?
(iii) What kind of threats do radicals use against the media?
(iv) Does the media glorify radicals? If so, how?
(v) What are the media's weaknesses in covering and reporting about radicals and related events?
(vi) Does the radical media influence the mainstream or is influenced by it?
(vii) What are the problems faced by the media in Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and in the NWFP?

The media has been involved in the process of radicalization in Pakistan from the very beginning. In the early 1950s, the government of Punjab used the media to promote and propagate radical views. The government's Directorate of Information funneled money to the newspapers that campaigned against Ahmadis. The matter was disclosed to an inquiry committee and Hameed Nizami of the *Nawa-e-Waqt* Group also confirmed it.[2]

The policies of Pakistani newspapers range from one extreme to the other. For example, *Daily Times* has an anti-radicalization policy. Other newspapers have a very pro-radicalization policy, for example, Urdu daily *Nawa-e-Waqt.* The paper has assigned a full page to Taliban's coverage. It identifies Taliban and terrorists as 'militants'. Similarly, another Urdu daily newspaper's chief editor attends the congregations organized by the Jamaat ud-Da'awa and Tablighi Jamaat, as a keynote speaker.[3] While every newspaper has its own policy, the media cannot be isolated from other segments of society. Social factors do influence it.[4]

During General Zia-ul-Haq's regime, it was planned to influence the media, states Mubashir Bokhari, an experienced journalist presently working as a director with GEO English, a private TV channel. He says that since the Jamaat-i-Islami (JI) was very close to General Zia and the General used it in the Afghan War; many of JI's people penetrated the media.[5] "Almost all of the *Al-Hilal* staff comes from the Jamaat-i-Islami," says Hussein Naqi.[6] Bokhari further adds:

> "Founders of the Punjab Union of Journalists (Dastur) were from the JI. Currently, the Union has around 300 members. That means that at least 300 people in our media have been promoted and supported by the religious parties. Later on, people from the Sipah-i-Sahaba and Sipah-e-Muhammad also joined the media. These were militant groups, taking people's lives in the name of their respective ideologies. Their people infiltrated the media. They also hired people and used them to their own ends. These people do not influence the policy directly. However, if a person sitting in a newsroom or a reporting section is working with a certain frame of mind, he has the opportunity to overplay or underplay a certain piece of news."[7]

In the words of Rauf Sheikh,[8] radical groups have 'planted' their people in the media. They have placed them there to change the whole thinking, he asserts. To a large extent, their thought has changed many newspapers' policy. They do not report social activities. "They had the kite flying festival of Basant, Punjab's greatest festival, banned," says Sheikh. The Pakistani media encourages radicals indirectly. For example, its coverage of the Lal Masjid standoff in 2007 was one-sided. Similarly, other issues were reported in a biased manner.[9] News regarding the stance of banned militant and religious organizations are reported frequently. All they do is add the word 'banned' before mentioning their names. "Such organizations are getting full-fledged coverage; their statements appear in the media; they are being projected either by design or by default," observes Professor Mehdi Hassan, who heads the Department of Mass Communication of Beaconhouse University, Lahore.

Because of the competition among newspapers and TV channels, radical issues get more coverage than they deserve. Minute events are exaggerated. Even if a firecracker goes off somewhere, the media reports a bomb explosion and states the police were trying to identify the location. Radicals are encouraged by this. Spokesmen for the Taliban get extensive coverage in the media. Groups sitting in Bajaur or elsewhere, who are not involved in such activities, sometimes claim responsibility for bomb explosions. In fact, they feel pride in it. Four or five people get together and form a group under an Islamic or *jihadi* name[10] and start boasting about committing such awful actions.

However, some journalists believe that radical groups only get partial coverage. Statements by only one or two people from the Tehrik-e-Taliban

are published or broadcast.[11] Radicals do not even have access to the media.[12]

The institution of gatekeeper is missing in our media, says Professor Mehdi Hassan. A media person should act as a gatekeeper. A news reporter or editor has to decide that if certain news will do more harm than good then they should not be released. The gatekeeper is absent in the print and electronic media.

The media is coerced. It gets into trouble for not giving 'proper space' to these people, remarks Khalid Farooqi, editor of Urdu daily *Awaz*, Lahore.[13] Another problem, he comments, is that the Pakistani electronic media has emerged recently and its workforce lacks proper training. "That is a big problem," he says. When journalists in the print media write something they have some time, hence, a degree of control over what goes to the press. Subsequent review and editing of their writings also incorporates controls. But this process is missing in the electronic media. That is one of the factors for radical issues being frequently mishandled by Pakistani TV channels. The electronic media reporter has too much room. Also, the Pakistani print media also has the experience of around one and a half century, something the electronic media lacks.[14]

Urdu daily *Aajkal* published a cartoon depicting Umm-e-Hisaan (Lal Masjid cleric Abdul Aziz Ghazi's wife) who was one of the three prominent figures during the Lal Masjid standoff with government troops. The newspaper was openly threatened to prepare for the consequences of publishing the cartoon. Elements from Lal Masjid raised slogans against the newspaper after Friday prayers. They accused the newspaper of being anti-jihad and threatened to "teach them a lesson". Threats were also made over the editorial policy of the newspaper. Media representative bodies, including the Pakistan Federal Union of Journalists (PFUJ) and the Council of Pakistan Newspaper Editors (CPNE) condemned the threats by Lal Masjid clerics over the newspaper's views about radicalization in the country. The PFUJ called the threats an attempt to silence the voice of dissent. The CPNE also condemned the threats. The Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP) expressed its concern.[15] The clerics' reaction and threats were despite the fact that a PFUJ member, Javed Khan, had died while covering the military operation at the mosque in July 2007. Another journalist was seriously injured.

Pakistani newspapers and TV channels have suffered 163 attacks since 1977. At least 28 journalists have been killed, all by these people.[16] Radi-

cals are a constant source of pressure for the media. Though the threat is much higher in the NWFP and FATA than elsewhere in the country, Khawar Naeem Hashmi, whose association with journalism began in 1970, observes that the level of pressure on a journalist sitting in a city like Lahore or Karachi, is no less than that his colleagues face in FATA.[17] The media is not reporting freely and perhaps cannot do so.[18] The media is blamed for publishing 'anti-Islamic' material if something is published against radicals.[19] "Nothing can be published against them," says Khaled Ahmed of Daily Times. [20]

If someone is among the exceptions of a suicide attacker, he would like to remain among the exceptions, argues Khaled Ahmed. He would talk, he explains further, in compliance with the suicide attacker's opinion. It explains the media's attitude and behavior. It wants to be among the exceptions of the would-be suicide attacker by championing the cause of freedom of expression.[21] Pakistani journalists are free to criticize the government but cannot do so with respect to religious fanatics.[22]

The media is not a homogenous entity in Pakistan. I.A. Rahman divides it into two categories, the English and Urdu media.[23] Both differ in significant aspects, including the extent and style of their coverage. "From the very beginning, the Urdu media has believed that most of the Pakistani people are conservative and caters to their conservatism," says I.A. Rahman. The media strengthens their conservatism rather than helping its audience get rid of it. In this way, our media promotes militancy, consciously or unconsciously.[24] The Urdu media encourages radicals because that has commercial value. It does so to increase newspapers' circulation and popularity. Sometimes, state or non-state agencies get them to create a certain impression or hype.[25] Sympathy for militants and radicals is found in the Urdu media in one form or the other, whereas the English media in Pakistan has shown maturity of sorts.[26]

The media needs its audience, that is why no newspaper or magazine is free of radical content, asserts Naqi. Only a small section of the media has an enlightened point of view. Many of them "are just investors. Some of them are smugglers – heroine smugglers, gold smugglers, even arms smugglers. They have entered the media industry. They have mostly influenced the Urdu press, which seems to be completely in their grip."[27]

Asked whether radical organizations pressurize the media, Naqi responded: "Indeed they do. They even tell the newspapers what the headline will be, how much display a certain news will have, and, further, they threaten

them that the paper can only be published if their demands are complied with. Otherwise they will be destroyed. They cannot dare to go against radicals' demands."

Our society is paternalistic. To beat or kill someone is taken as a symbol of courage. Such acts are presented by the media in a manner that encourages people to commit similar acts.[28] "I believe the media has played a major role in promoting violence in Pakistan, the Urdu media in particular, and the English media to a lesser extent," asserts I.A. Rahman.

The media sees the phenomenon of radicalization as a source of hot news. The media focuses on an ongoing conflict. It presents radicals as heroes, thus becoming an instrument for them. Particularly, during the Lal Masjid standoff, the media oscillated like a pendulum. First, it raised the civil society's voice that the state must establish its writ. When action was taken, the media blamed the state. The media is not analyzing things sensibly and critically. It is adding to instability, perhaps because the freedom enjoyed by the media is somewhat new. There is no guideline. If there is any, it is very populist -- that the channel will become popular, regardless of the possibility that it will harm the survivability of freedom of expression in future. This is a very dangerous trend.[29]

Some experts object to the use of the term 'radicalization'. Mayed Ali is one of them. It has been "coined by the West, I don't agree with it," he said.[30] I.A. Rahman, also disagrees with the term 'radicalization' and calls it 'militant sectarianism'. He observes that the Pakistani media is promoting this phenomenon. In fact, the media benefits from it and promotes it because, in its opinion, conservatives are in majority in the society and this majority likes these things, argues I.A. Rahman.

An element of fear has permeated our society. And, that is affecting our media as well. Presently, things are being reported in an environment of fear, says Waseem Ahmed Shah, resident editor of English daily *Dawn* in Peshawar.[31] Because of this fear, media representatives and reporters are not reporting the things they know. Readers and viewers are not getting appropriate information. Reporters feel an increased fear while covering big incidents. For example, if a militant commander is killed the reporters covering the incident and the burial ceremony are not sure how the militants will react to the coverage.[32]

Radical organizations want coverage because they want to spread their message. The media is aware of that and is giving them extensive cover-

age to please them. Though many articles have been produced against the Taliban, an element of sympathy for them exists.[33]

Although, most of the journalists believe that the phenomenon of radicalization has negatively influenced the media, exceptions exist. "There is no negative impact of the phenomenon on the media as such," says Mayed Ali. They do not exert any pressure, asserts Asim Hussein.[34] But, the media, says Hussein, has to report the continuing violence on a daily basis and while doing that it also has to give the background that these people are Taliban.[35] This view is held by a small minority, but it does exist. According to this view, the government is trying to stop the media's interaction with these people, so that the government can brand them as it likes. It says the language being used by the government is influenced by the West. The liaison between the journalist and the community is missing. The information is very sketchy and is coming from untrained journalists.[36]

How do radicals pressurize the media? Methods, tools and techniques:

According to many journalists and media persons, radicals use all kinds of tactics, "whatever they have",[37] to pressurize the media. Sometimes radicals threaten the newspapers, journalists and TV channels openly and sometimes the threats are veiled. They write anonymous letters, make phone calls, or send emails. They also bribe the media.[38] News editors and reporters are scared of writing against radicals. This way, the threats become successful and radicals achieve their objective.[39] "We often have to call for police protection to go home," said a leading Lahore-based journalist of the threats.

In 1981, Urdu daily *Jang* published a news item against the Islami Jamiat Talaba, a student organization. Students in two buses arrived at the newspaper's office and set it on fire. No news has appeared in the paper against the organization since then.[40]

Some radical groups want to maintain their interaction with the media. They demand that their view should be published and broadcast more and more. Some journalists write against them but still enjoy a good relationship with them; basically because they are not being professionally dishonest. Radical groups probably also recognize or acknowledge that. However, they create problems when they suspect a journalist is working for a government agency.[41]

Sometimes radicals ask journalists to resign if they want to live. One can imagine the severity of problems the media community faces in a country where radical groups threaten journalists to quit their jobs to save their lives, says Hashmi. The Pakistani journalist, he says, is courageous and, the media is representative of the people. He asserts that the Pakistani media is playing its role against extremism and extremists.

Khaled Ahmed is a leading writer on radicalization in Pakistan. In an interview with this writer, he said, "We are under threat from the Lal Masjid. We have stopped everything. We have stopped writing (against them). We have become apologetic. They say, 'We will bomb you the next time you write against us'."

Radicals threaten to kidnap or physically harm journalists' children on their way to or from school. Not only do they threaten reporters and commentators they also threaten newspaper and TV channel owners and entire media organizations. They exert their pressure from the bottom to the top.[42] Naqi named a leading critic of radicals, who, he said, has to get the support of one of the groups or pay money to certain groups for protection. Most of the newspapers, he adds, have to pay protection money and provide 'protection jobs'.

"The media has come under immense pressure because of radicalization," says Imtiaz Alam, "it has imposed self-censorship." Journalists prefer to write on issues like the economic situation, or produce reports or commentaries on international issues but do not discuss the phenomenon of radicalization much.[43]

A minority among journalists says that radicals do not threaten the media at all. Hussein observes:[44] "The middle and lower parts of the country are totally free from their influence. Only in Peshawar, you can say that the newspapers or bureaus might be feeling their influence because of physical proximity. Otherwise there is nothing like that."

Is our media not writing for fear of radicals? "No, no. Not at all. Rather our media is condemning them. It is not addressing the real issue. Our media is influenced by Western media and tows their line," adds Hussein.

Glorification of radicals by the media

"Our media is inadvertently glorifying militants," said Waseem Ahmed Shah, speaking at a media workshop on the subject held by Pak Institute of Peace Studies (PIPS) in Peshawar on August 21, 2008. The reason is that journalists are mostly untrained. They have not been educated on working in a hostile environment amid a full-scale militancy. They are not trained on how not to glorify terrorists and militants while reporting. Waseem said that there is a very thin line between reporting militancy- and terrorism-related issues and glorifying militants and terrorists. "It's not just our national media organizations glorifying them. International media entities like BBC's Urdu and Pashto services are glorifying them even more."[45] All of the news channels feel privileged broadcasting footage of statements from Taliban leaders and spokesmen, he said.

Use of terms

According to I.A. Rahman, using words like *jihad* or *shaheed* (martyr) is the highest form of propaganda. Radical groups, organizations, and their leaders are very conscious of that. They notice it seriously. Khaled Ahmed thinks that they might mind if someone calls them extremists. But, they may be less angry if they are called militants or warriors. Sometimes, media organizations receive anonymous calls asking why a certain person was referred to as 'killed' and not 'martyred'. "There is a headline in today's *Nawa-e-Waqt* that such and such Taliban were 'martyred,' says Imtiaz Alam. "All of the newspapers," he says, "write 'Shuhada-e-Lal Masjid' (martyrs of the Red Mosque). If someone does not write that he will come under pressure, he says. "If all newspapers refer to them as 'martyrs,' then anyone not mention them as such will be pinpointed and receive threatening phone calls," remarks Imtiaz. "They seriously object to these things," says Sheikh. Offices of two newspapers were burnt in Waziristan because they were accused of not using 'appropriate words' for Taliban casualties.[46]

Shaheen Buneri shares a personal account: "I was reporting from Swat and militants used to call me, asking why I had written that their people had been 'killed'. 'They were not killed, they were martyred', they would say. We also faced pressure from state agencies. They used to say, 'Our soldiers have been martyred'. Sometimes, it gets very difficult for a journalist."[47]

Some journalists disagree that radicals attach much significance to the terminology used by the media. Mazhar Abbas, deputy director of ARY News channel and secretary general of Pakistan Union of Journalists, commented that radicals do not take the terminology very seriously. However, it does happen at a certain level, he said.[48]

Radical Media's Impact on Mainstream Media

The radical media does not influence Pakistan's mainstream media as such. In certain cases, however, people from the former join the latter. These people then go back to work for their own radical papers. Thus, radical groups use the mainstream media as a 'training sanctuary'.[49] While they work for the mainstream media, they manage to get favorable coverage for their groups. Some journalists believe that the radical media does not influence the mainstream media directly but through society.[50]

Media and Radicals in NWFP and FATA

FATA and parts of NWFP are hard-hit by militancy and violence. The media is under immense pressure in these areas. Six journalists have been kidnapped and killed in FATA in the last two and a half years. Others have been severely injured. "A few days ago, one of our colleagues escaped an abduction attempt but received three bullet wounds," said Sailab Mehsud, chief editor of weekly *Karwan-e-Qabail.* Another colleague remained unaccounted for for around six months. He then fled captivity and was shot and injured while trying to get back home. Tribal Union of Journalists vice president Abdullah was killed in a bomb blast. Another journalist, Naseer Afridi, was killed in crossfire between two groups. Tribal journalism is at the mercy of militancy and radicals. Threatening letters have been sent to Sailab Mehsud himself. He was warned of being kidnapped and killed if he did not quit journalism. Dozens of journalists from FATA, particularly, from South Waziristan Agency, have been forced to migrate to other parts of the country.[51]

Working as a journalist in FATA is not an easy task. Difficulties faced by journalists in the area "are unparalleled all over the world". Truth cannot be reported at all. Only those reporters who enjoy a position of influence in the area can dare to do so. In the prevailing circumstances, journalists cannot perform their duties as they should. If a journalist writes something against the Taliban, he is scared of being kidnapped and killed. A tribal journalist was fined Rs. 150,000 for reporting a piece of news. Later, Rs. 50,000 were waived off and he paid the rest of the 'fine'.[52] Some jour-

nalists have received letters demanding that the death of any foreigner in the tribal belt should not be reported.[53]

Journalists do not even carry their media organizations' cards with them for fear of being beaten, kidnapped or killed. Religious organizations and Taliban see journalists as American agents. "However, Baitullah Mehsud announced in a press conference that they respected journalists and that he had told his men that they were responsible for journalists' safety," said Sailab Mehsud. He said the situation was much better than before in areas controlled by Baitullah. But he admitted that it could not be said that the tribal journalist is safe and secure. A journalist working in FATA can be beaten, kidnapped or killed for any reason, he said.

Following a recent media report that some Taliban had joined another group in Bajuar Agency, a cleric announced on FM radio that all journalists must be killed. The situation became very alarming for the media community in the area. Jirgas were called and efforts made to convince clerics that newspapers have their own policies and journalists cannot be held responsible for everything and should be forgiven.[54] The writ of the state does not exist in certain areas of Bajuar and Mohmand agencies. In fact, Taliban groups are running affairs of the state there. Reporting from there is very difficult.[55]

Media monitoring: Newspapers and magazines representing radical groups and organizations are referred to as *radical* media in this paper. Representative newspapers and magazines from both the radical and mainstream media were monitored for one month – July 2008 – to gauge radical content in their coverage. For the sake of analysis, items related to the subject were divided into three categories, (a) highlighted issues (headlines), (b) organizational activities (headlines), and (c) articles and editorials (titles of articles and editorials).

Fourteen papers – eleven dailies[56] and three weeklies[57] – were monitored from the mainstream media. Twenty-eight items were tabulated from the papers in total. Out of these, 21 were related to the category of 'highlighted issues', one to 'organizational activities' and six to the 'articles and editorials' category.

Headlines included Hanif Qureshi's[58] statement that an onslaught of western and Indian culture against Muslim culture was going on;[59] a statement by Lashkar-e-Islam's spokesperson that the group's chief Mangal Bagh would not leave the area and that they were working for the im-

plementation of *Shariah*;[60] Mangal Bagh's statement that he will continue his fight appeared in Urdu daily *Khabrain*;[61] another statement quoted him that the Lashkar-e-Islam will not end patrols in Bara.[62] Hizbul Mujahideen's resolve to fight against the US and NATO in Afghanistan made a headline in English daily *The Post*.[63] A cleric, Zaman Chishti's statement appeared in Urdu daily *Mashriq* that any plot to harm madrassas (seminaries) will be resisted.[64] Madrassas, he said, wage a jihad against social evils. On July 18, many of the papers carried a statement by Baitullah Mehsud – in which he threatened the NWFP government to resign within five days – as the lead story.

The only significant event reported during the month in the mainstream media was the Shuhada-e-Lal Masjid Conference. Articles and editorials included Sultan Siddiqui's 'Rumours and atmosphere of terror in NWFP',[65] Sajjad Satti's 'If death sentence is abolished, pray for killers',[66] 'Will fate of NWFP not change?'[67] by Asif Nisar Ghayathi, Zahid-ur-Rashidi's 'Successfully held Shuhada-e-Lal Masjid Conference and new challenges',[68] Hashmat Habib's 'Markaz Ghazi Shaheed'[69] and 'A new hype of talibanization in Karachi' by Abdul Qasim Siddiqui.[70]

In his article, 'Markaz Ghazi Shaheed', Hashmat Habib sympathized with the Lal Masjid administration and madrassa students. He criticized the government and likened the operation at Lal Masjid to the Battle of Karbla, a battle fought between Imam Hussein[71] and the forces of Yazid. The writer also criticized the political parties which used the Lal Masjid issue as a slogan in their electoral campaigns but did nothing after the elections to condemn the operation. He also criticized NGOs for not assisting with the rehabilitation of those affected by the operation.

Though a section of the mainstream Pakistani media apparently strives for impartiality, it consciously or unconsciously favors and glorifies radical groups, individuals and their activities.

Radical Media: Four newspapers and magazines were monitored from the *radical* Pakistani media.[72] Fifty-nine items were tabulated in all. Thirty-eight out of 59 were related to 'highlighted issues', nine to 'organizational activities' and 12 to the 'articles and editorials' category. Out of 38 items in the first category, nine (almost one-fourth) focused on Afghanistan. Kashmir was the subject of six items. Eight items were against the US, India, Israel and Qadyanis; five about jihad, jihadis and jihadi organizations; another five about Lal Masjid, Jamia Hafsa and madrassas; and two about

the Islamic political system. Un-Islamic practices, Pakistan's foreign policy and Pak-Iran trade featured in one item each.

Nine items in the 'organizational activities' category covered seminars, conferences, and conventions (4 items), fundraising (2 items) and a training workshop. Training courses included an 'Islamic Training Course' and an 'Arabic and English Language Course'. Twelve articles and editorials discussed issues like US domination, Lal Masjid, tributes to Maqsood Shaheed (a former *jihadi*), glorification of jihad and Mujahideen, American conspiracies against Islam and Muslims, blasphemous caricatures published in the West, and abolition of the death penalty. They condemned the Lal Masjid operation and publication of blasphemous caricatures. In one of the articles, Maulana Mansoor argued that the government was using the Taliban issue and madrassas for financial gains from western countries.[73]

Comparing Mainstream and Radical Media: With 28 items in 14 mainstream papers and 59 items in just four radical papers, it is clear that there is no comparison between the extent of radical coverage by the two media categories. The language used by the radical media is also far more extreme and full of rhetoric than that of the mainstream media. The most fundamental difference between the two, however, is their choice of terminology. Terms like *jihadi*, militant, killed, martyred have very strong connotations. Their use completely alters the impression conveyed by a report or article. Militants who die are called 'martyrs' by the radical media. Soldiers who lose their lives fighting radicals are regarded as 'martyrs' by the government. The mainstream media is caught in a dilemma. Who is 'martyred' and who is 'killed.' If the media regards a soldier as 'martyred' radical groups get angry and pressurize the media. This gives a glimpse of the immense pressure the mainstream media works under.

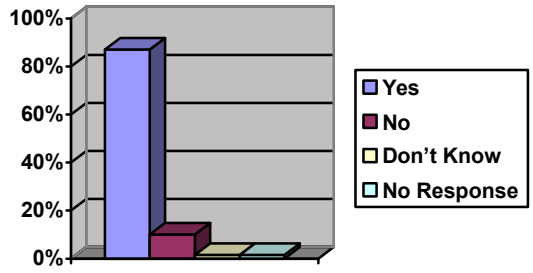
Survey Analysis

The survey was conducted to gather responses of 68 journalists to 13 questions. Out of the 68 respondents, 39 were from FATA and the NWFP, 11 from Rawalpindi and Islamabad, 10 from Lahore and eight from Azad Jammu and Kashmir. An effort was made to maintain a gender balance but female representation is visibly low in Pakistani media. Moreover, few female journalists have an understanding of the subject, because they mainly cover subjects like women rights, sports and culture, etc. Among the respondents, 59 (87%) were male and nine (13%) female. An analysis of the collected responses is furnished in the following lines.

The following table shows that an overwhelming majority (87%) of Pakistani journalists responded positively when asked if radicalization is having an effect on Pakistani media. An analysis of the questions asked and the responses received follows.

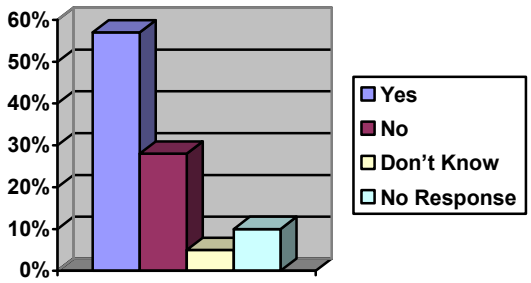
Q. 1. Do you think that the phenomenon of radicalization is making some impact on Pakistani media?

Responses	Percentage
Yes	87%
No	10%
Don't Know	1.5%
No Response	1.5%



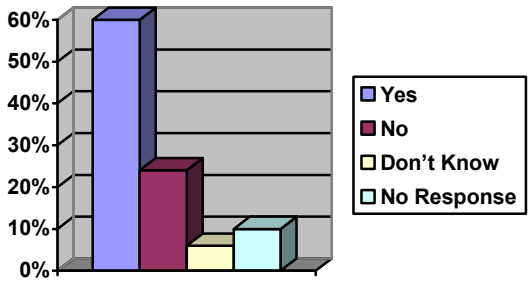
Q. 2. Is our media concealing the facts regarding the phenomenon of radicalization?

Responses	Percentage
Yes	57%
No	28%
Don't Know	5%
No Response	10%



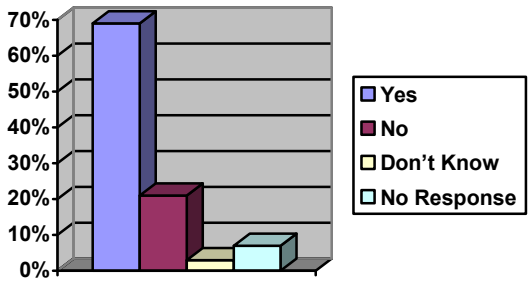
Q. 3. Other important issues are not being covered properly because too much space is occupied by radicalism and related issues and incidents.

Responses	Percentage
Yes	60%
No	24%
Don't Know	6%
No Response	10%



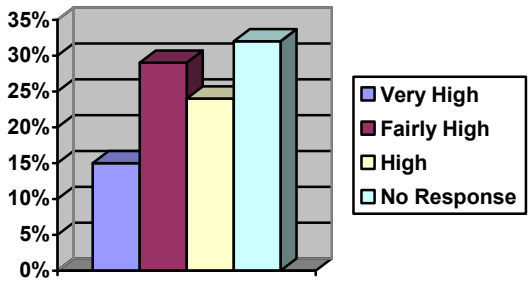
Q. 4. Radicalization is hindering freedom of expression.

Responses	Percentage
Yes	69%
No	21%
Don't Know	3%
No Response	7%



Q.5. The level of hindrance in the way of freedom of expression because of radicalization is:

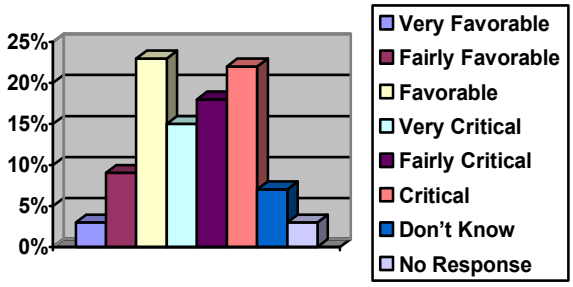
Responses	Percentage
Very High	15%
Fairly High	29%
High	24%
No Response	32%



Q. 6. The media's attitude towards radicals is:

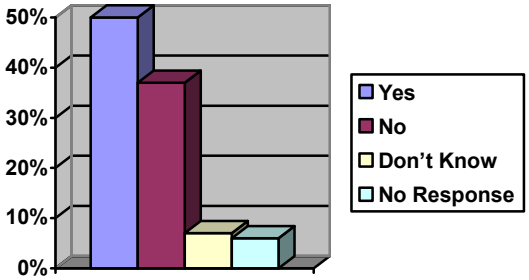
Responses	Percentage
Very Favorable	3%
Fairly Favorable	9%
Favorable	23%
Very Critical	15%
Fairly Critical	18%
Critical	22%
Don't Know	7%

No Response	3%



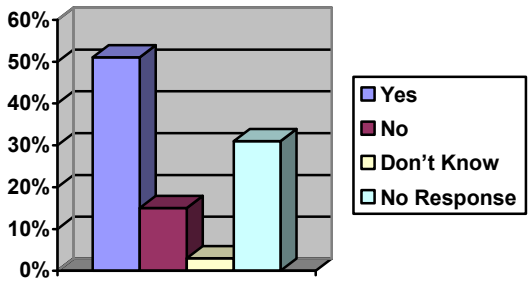
Q. 7. Is there any impact of radical media on the mainstream media?

Responses	Percentage
Yes	50%
No	37%
Don't Know	7%
No Response	6%



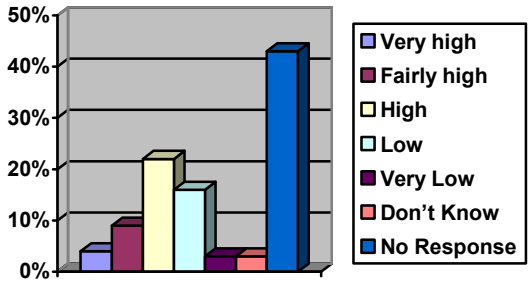
Q.8. Radical media causes sympathy among people in the mainstream media towards radicals.

Responses	Percentage
Yes	51%
No	15%
Don't Know	3%
No Response	31%



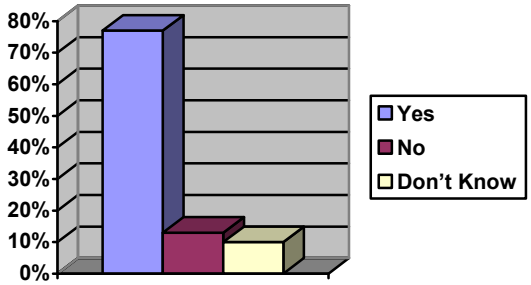
Q.9. The level of sympathy among people in the mainstream media towards radicals is:

Responses	Percentage
Very high	4%
Fairly high	9%
High	22%
Low	16%
Very Low	3%
Don't Know	3%
No Response	43%



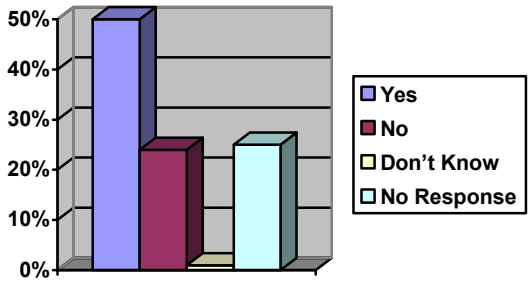
Q.10. Is there any pressure on the media from radical groups?

Responses	Percentage
Yes	77%
No	13%
Don't Know	10%



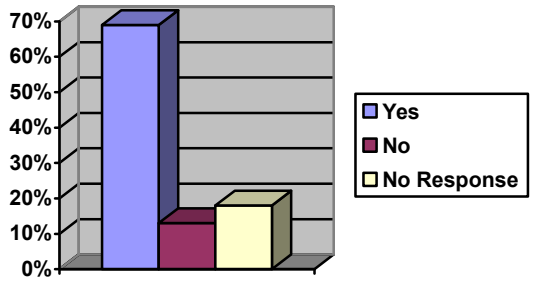
Q.11. Radicals demand more media coverage.

Responses	Percentage
Yes	50%
No	24%
Don't Know	1%
No Response	25%



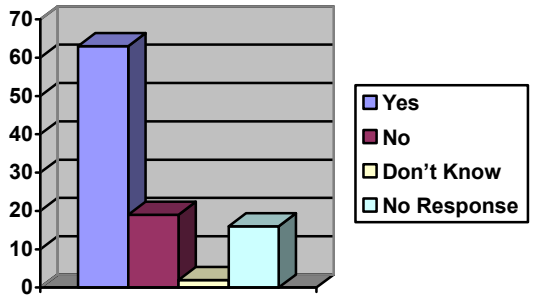
Q.12. They press for favorable coverage.

Responses	Percentage
Yes	69%
No	13%
No Response	18%



Q.13. Radicals pressurize the media regarding the use of words like *shaheed* (martyr), killed, militant, extremist, terrorist, *jihadi*, etc.

Responses	Percentage
Yes	63
No	19
Don't Know	2
No Response	16



Conclusion: Although most of the journalists questioned believe that radicalization has negatively affected the media, there are some exceptions as well. Since the beginning, the media has been involved in radicalization in Pakistan. Different governments, at different points in time, have used the media to spread radicalism in the society to achieve their goals. Because of competition, radical issues get more coverage than their new worthiness would suggest.

The media is inadvertently glorifying the militants. Though a section of the mainstream Pakistani media strives to be neutral or impartial, it generally is not. Consciously or unconsciously, it favors and glorifies radical groups, individuals and activities. An element of sympathy for radicals exists in the media. English and Urdu media, however, are different to a large extent. The Urdu media is generally believed to be more pro-radical. Another, though very limited, view suggests that the government is trying to stop the media's interaction with radicals. According to this view, radicals do not threaten the media at all.

According to many journalists and media persons, radicals use an array of tactics to pressurize journalists, media persons and media organizations and associations. Radicals are a constant source of pressure for the media. The media is not reporting freely. Pakistani newspapers and TV channels have faced 163 attacks since 1977. At least 28 journalists have been killed, all by such forces.

Radical groups, organizations, and their leaders are very conscious of the use of words like *jihad, shaheed,* militant/s or terrorist/s by the media. FATA and parts of NWFP are hard-hit by militancy and violence. The media community is under immense pressure in these areas. The *mainstream* media is much less radical in its content and coverage compared to the *radical* media. Furthermore, the language used by the latter is far more extreme and full of rhetoric than that of the *mainstream*.

The survey shows that an overwhelming majority (87%) of journalists interviewed acknowledge that radicalization is having some impact on Pakistani media. The majority (57%) also believes that the media is concealing the facts regarding radicalization. Sixty percent of the media community thinks that other important issues are not being covered properly because radicalism and related issues take too much space; and, 69% say that the phenomenon is hindering freedom of expression in the country. Seventy-seven percent responded positively when asked if there was any pressure on the media from radical groups.

Reference:

[1] Khalid Farooqi, editor daily *Awaz,* Lahore. Interview by the author, July 14, 2008.
[2] Hussein Naqi, National Coordinator for HRCP Core Groups. Interview by the author, July 15, 2008.
[3] Mubashir Bokhari, Senior Correspondent GEO Television Network, Lahore. Interview by the author, July 15, 2008.
[4] Saif-ul-Islam Saifi, Bureau Chief TV One, Peshawar, also associated with Al-Jazeera TV. Interview by the author, August 21, 2008.
[5] Bokhari.
[6] Naqi.
[7] Bokhari.
[8] Rauf Sheikh, News Editor *The News,* Lahore. Interview by the author, July 15, 2008.
[9] Mehdi Hassan, Head Department of Mass Communication, Beaconhouse University, Lahore. Interview by the author, July 14, 2008.
[10] Shaheen Buneri, Web Editor, Khyber News TV, Peshawar. Interview by the author, August 21, 2008.
[11] Mayed Ali, Chief Reporter, daily *The News*, Lahore. Interview by the author, July 15, 2008.
[12] Asim Hussein, Reporter, daily *The News*, Lahore. Interview by the author, July 15, 2008.
[13] Farooqi.
[14] Ibid.
[15] *Dawn*, July 13, 2008
[16] Mehdi Hassan.
[17] Khawar Naeem Hashmi, Bureau Chief, GEO TV, Lahore. Interview by the author, July 14, 2008.
[18] Mazhar Abbas, Secretary General Pakistan Union of Journalists and Deputy Director ARY News, Islamabad. Interview by the author, July 22, 2008.
[19] Hashmi.
[20] Khaled Ahmed, Consultant Editor *Daily Tim & Friday Times,* Lahore. Interview by the author, July 15, 2008.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Khaled Ahmed, 'Adm-erawadari aur Zaraae Ablagh," (Intolerance and the Media), in Hasan Abidi, *Pakistani Moashra aur Adm-erawadari* (Pakistani Society and Intolerance), (Lahore: Mashal, 1997), p. 44.
[23] I.A. Rahman, Secretary General, HRCP, Lahore. Interview by the author, July 15, 2008.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Buneri.
[26] Farooqi.
[27] Naqi.
[28] Rahman.
[29] Imtiaz Alam, Secretary General, SAFMA, Lahore. Interview by the author, July 14, 2008.

[30] Mayed.
[31] Wasim Ahmed Shah, Bureau Chief daily *Dawn,* Peshawar. Interview by the author, August 21, 2008.
[32] Abbas.
[33] Alam.
[34] Asim.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Mayed.
[37] Rauf.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Mehdi Hassan.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Abbas.
[42] Rauf.
[43] Alam.
[44] Asim.
[45] Wasim.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Buneri.
[48] Abbas.
[49] Bokhari.
[50] Naqi.
[51] Sailab Mehsud, Chief Editor weekly *Karwan-e-Qabail* and founder president Tribal Union of Journalists. Interview by the author, August 21, 2008.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Buneri.
[54] Wasim.
[55] Ibid.
[56] *Ummat, Nawa-e-Waqt, Islam, Jinnah, Aaj, Mashriq, The News, Khabrain, The Post, Daily Times,* and *Express*.
[57] *Akhbar-e-Jehan, Takbeer* and *Friday Times*.
[58] Hanif Qureshi is leader of Shabab-e-Islami Pakistan.
[59] *Nawa-e-Waqt*, Islamabad, July 11, 2008.
[60] *Aaj,* Peshawar, July 12, 2008.
[61] *Khabrain,* Islamabad, July 13, 2008.
[62] *The News,* July 15, 2008.
[63] *The Post,* July 15, 2008.
[64] *Mashriq,* July 16, 2008.
[65] *Akhbar-e-Jehan,* July 7-13.
[66] *Islam,* July 11, 2008.
[67] *Mashriq,* July 12, 2008.
[68] *Islam,* July 12, 2008.
[69] *Jinnah,* July 14, 2008.
[70] *Friday Special,* Karachi, June 27-July 3, 2008.

[71] Imam Hussein was the Holy Prophet Muhammad's grandson and was martyred along with his family by Yazid's forces in the Battle of Karbla.
[72] *Zarb-e-Momin, al-Qalam, Ghazwa,* and *al-Jamiah.*
[73] *Zarb-e-Momin,* Jul. 11-17.

POVERTY AND MILITANCY

Safiya Aftab

Introduction

Pakistan's body politic began to assume a right-wing orientation in the late 1970s after the military coup of General Zia-ul-Haq. The new government's key policy was the launch of a campaign of "Islamization" which extended to laws, administration (the induction of mosque imams into regular government service for example), controls on the arts and culture, the introduction of new instruments in the financial sector, and to the revision of curricula. Perhaps as a result, Pakistani society undoubtedly moved towards becoming more conservative in terms of the public practice of social and cultural mores over the last three decades. Although this societal shift presaged growing intolerance of any but the strictest interpretations of religion as practiced by a particular sect, it did not, for the most part, manifest itself in violence.

The past six years, however, have witnessed a significant rise in incidents of terrorism perpetrated by extremist organizations, including bombings at government installations, public places and houses of worship; targeted assassinations; and incidents of kidnapping for ransom.[1] More recently, the state is threatened by the rise of militant groups of a variety of hues who have again and again challenged the government's writ, and whose influence is no longer confined to remote tribal areas.

The rise of extremism and militancy in Pakistan is almost unprecedented.[2] This is not only in terms of the speed at which militancy has spread, particularly in the province of NWFP, but also in terms of the level of organization of the concerned groups, who have succeeded in establishing parallel systems of government across large swathes of territory in tribal areas in particular. However, scholarship into the causes of extremism is only just taking root, and there is little understanding of the drivers of extremism among researchers, analysts and policy makers. Among the possible causes that are talked about in public forums, poverty and poor social indicators figure fairly high on the list. This paper is an attempt to explore this possible nexus with the limited data and literature available.

Literature Review

Literature on the causes of militancy is limited, and largely restricted to newspaper articles and opinion pieces. Nevertheless, the few academic attempts to analyze causes, or to assess possible links between extremism and economic factors throw up some interesting results.[3]

Robert Kemp, in his paper on extremism in Afghanistan and Pakistan (Kemp, 2008), postulates that the rise of radicalism in Afghanistan and the Pakhtun tribal areas of Pakistan is rooted in the disintegration of tribal (in both countries) and state (mainly in Afghanistan, but increasingly in Pakistan) structures; and the increased influence of religiously orthodox foreign elements who assumed prominence during the long drawn out conflict in Afghanistan. The paper acknowledges that the current insurgency in Afghanistan and Pakistan has complex local roots, and is fed by poverty and unemployment among other factors, but it does not analyze the extent to which these two factors may have contributed to the influence of orthodox "foreign elements."

While Kemp's paper is more "macro" level, an interesting set of studies attempts a more "micro" approach wherein data is collected on members of militant organizations, or other young men who have taken up arms or joined extremist organizations. Sohail Abbas used his experience as a psychologist for such research in a recently published book (Abbas, 2007). Abbas based his research on a survey of 517 men, who were held in Haripur and Peshawar jails respectively upon their re-entry to Pakistan following the overthrow of the Taliban in October 2001. Abbas developed a psycho-sociological profile of his subjects, and compared them to a matchable "control" group which had not joined the war in Afghanistan, but consisted of men of similar socio-economic and ethnic backgrounds to the *jihadis*. It is important to point out here though that Abbas's sample consisted entirely of those who had gone to fight the war against the US in Afghanistan, and there is no evidence to suggest that these people had carried out acts of terrorism in either Afghanistan or Pakistan before or since. Nevertheless, the data gives an interesting insight into the mindset of people who are likely to be attracted to extremist organizations.

In addition to demographic and psychological profiles of his subjects, Abbas also collected a range of information on their socio-economic backgrounds. Although his sample was small, his findings were telling. He concluded that the *jihadis* were drawn largely from mainstream Pakistani society. They were, for the most part, not educated in madrassas but in

public schools; their literacy level (as a group) was higher than the average for Pakistan. Data on occupations of the *jihadis* showed that in the Haripur sample, only 13.1 percent had been unemployed when they left for Afghanistan, while 30.3 percent worked as laborers, 18.2 percent were students, 14.1 percent worked as tenant farmers, 10.1 percent were small businessmen or shopkeepers while the rest worked in services or as skilled labor. The Peshawar sample yielded a slightly different profile in that the rate of unemployment amongst the group was almost nil. Instead, the largest group (33.8 percent) consisted of tenant farmers, 24.2 had worked as laborers, while skilled labor and students were equally represented at about 17 percent each. Interestingly, the proportion of businessmen in the Peshawar group was very low at only 3.5 percent of the sample. Thus the data does not conform to the commonly held precept that it is primarily the unemployed who are likely to join *jihadi* groups.

The same study also collected data on average income levels. In the Haripur sample, a staggering 35.7 percent reported having no income of their own. Ninety percent of the respondents from Haripur had incomes of less than $1000 (or Rs. 60,000 at exchange rates for that time) a year, and 75 percent had incomes of less than $500 (or Rs. 30,000) a year. More or less the same proportions held for the Peshawar sample, although the percentage of respondents who reported having no income was smaller in this group at 26.3 percent. Thus almost all the respondents belonged to the bottom two or three income quintiles in Pakistan in terms of their individual earnings. Nevertheless, most of them were employed in some form, and those who reported having no income of their own were presumably supported in a joint family system. The survey did not have further data on this latter large group, and there was no information on the average income of the families that these people belonged to. In fact, the survey question was worded such that it asked for the income of the respondent only, and did not further question the respondent on the family's sources of income or socio-economic status. In a society where resources tend to be pooled at the household level, and joint family living is the norm, the income data may not be a very reliable indicator of the respondent's actual economic status.

A more recent study with a similar focus was conducted by Christine Fair, who based her work on a survey of the families of 141 militants most of whom were slain in conflict in the Kashmir valley or in Afghanistan. Fair's study was conducted in 2004-05, and concentrated on families of

militants who had died in the post 1990 era, thus excluding men who had taken part in the conflict with the Soviets in Afghanistan. Given the limited information available, a generalized sample universe pinpointing the location of slain militants could not be created, and the sample picked could be characterized as a "convenience" sample wherein newspaper reports or personal information was used to identify families who had lost a family member to conflict. The sample disproportionately represented the NWFP, with 55 percent of respondent households being picked from that province. A further 26 percent were from Punjab, while 13 percent were from Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJK). Only 4 percent of respondent households were located in Balochistan, while 2 percent were in Sindh.

As in the case of Abbas's study, Fair's work also profiled the socio-economic characteristics of the household of the deceased militants, in addition to collecting a range of information on the household's religious convictions, support for the militant's decision to leave for *jihad* etc. Her findings with regard to education were similar to the earlier study in that only 4 percent of the deceased militants were reported to have attended a madrassah full time, and levels of education attained by the group were higher than the average for Pakistan. About 94 percent of the militants had had some form of formal education, with 40 percent having completed high school.

The survey also collected information on the militant's employment status before he left for the front, and found that 50 percent of the militants did not have jobs in the year before they left. A further 25 percent worked part time, while the remaining 25 percent worked full time. The results were adjusted for the fact that many militants were studying before recruitment and did not enter the workforce at all, but even so, about a quarter of the sample were entirely unemployed in the year before joining the *jihad*. Of those who had worked either part or full time, the paper reports that "several" were highly skilled, but does not provide data on the numbers. Fair's survey did not collect information on income of the militants or their families, or on assets held by the households.

Shinwari's recent study on the Federally Administrated Tribal Areas (FATA) is one of the more comprehensive recent works on the region and provides an excellent historical background of the evolution of systems in administration in the tribal areas (Shinwari, 2008). Shinwari claims that FATA is the most backward region in Pakistan, with 60 percent of the population living below the poverty line. Per capita public expenditure in

the region is, according to his finding, one-third of the average for Pakistan. Employment opportunities are limited, and the main sectors of employment are agriculture, transport, (generally illegal) cross-border trade, small businesses, and arms and drug trafficking. Shinwari sees poverty and lack of opportunity as a contributing factor towards growing militancy in FATA, and advocates "local" solutions – conflict mediation through the traditional *jirga* mechanism, and the strengthening of the fledgling local government system (established in FATA in 2002). The study is primarily a sociological one, and incorporates the results of an extensive survey in the region which questioned the residents on their perception of societal change, and their vision for the region.

The literature on causes of militancy and/or studies profiling militants tend to point to a connection between lack of employment opportunities and the probability of joining a militant organization. Thus poverty and a lack of job prospects may very well be strong contributing factors. But poverty is endemic across Pakistan, and employment prospects are at best highly variable. In the next section, we look at the pattern of poverty incidence in Pakistan.

Poverty Incidence in Pakistan

Estimates of poverty incidence generally come from official sources, requiring, as they do, extensive household income and expenditure surveys which are normally conducted by the Federal Government. Unfortunately, almost all of these surveys, like the Household Income and Expenditure Survey (HIES), which was the standard household survey conducted in the 1990s, and the more recent Pakistan Social and Living Standards Measurement Survey (PSLM) which is supposed to monitor the outcomes of the Poverty Reduction Strategy (PRS), are conducted only over the settled districts of Pakistan, and not in FATA – a serious omission with respect to this paper. Nevertheless, given that militancy has spilled over beyond the tribal belt, an analysis of data from the settled districts is also not without value.

Federal Government sources, which estimate poverty incidence according to the headcount index, indicate that in 1998-99, 30.6 percent of Pakistanis were living below the poverty line. In 2004-05, poverty incidence was estimated by the Federal Bureau of Statistics (FBS) at 23.9 percent, and by 2005-06, this level had apparently dropped to 22.3 percent (EAW, 2008. Table 13.4). The distinction between urban and rural poverty is important

here – rural poverty incidence was estimated at 27 percent in 2005-06 as opposed to urban poverty incidence of only 13.1 percent.

The Federal Government's poverty estimation methodology has, however, been criticized on a variety of counts including faulty survey design and technique of estimation etc. The World Bank estimated poverty incidence in Pakistan at 28.3 percent in 2004-05 using the official raw data. Nevertheless, the available data does indicate a declining trend in absolute poverty between 1998-99 and 2005-06. More disturbingly, the Gini coefficient, which measures inequality in income distribution was estimated at 0.3 in 2005-06 compared to 0.27 in 2001-02, indicating that in spite of apparent decreases in absolute poverty, inequality had increased over the five year period (EAW 2008, Table 13.6).

Spatial Distribution of Poverty by Province

In terms of spatial distribution, there is limited information on poverty incidence by province since the beginning of this decade, and no official estimation of district level poverty headcounts.[4] However, in one of the more comprehensive analyses of poverty in Pakistan, the Social Policy Development Center (SPDC), an independent research institution based in Karachi, estimated poverty incidence by province for 2001-02 data from the Household Income and Expenditure Survey (HIES) (SPDC, 2004). The key estimates are reproduced in Table 1.[5]

Table 1: Poverty Incidence by Province (Percent)

			Urban		
Province	*Overall*	*Rural*	*Provincial capital*	*Large cities*	*Small cities and towns*
Punjab	26	24	18	22	43
Sindh	31	38	10	23	40
NWFP	29	27	28	-	41
Balochistan	48	51	14	-	44

Source: SPDC 2004, Table 3.3.

Thus at the beginning of this decade, which is also the starting point of our period of interest with regard to the rise of militancy in Pakistan, overall poverty incidence was highest in Balochistan, where almost half of the population was estimated to live below the poverty line. The difference in poverty incidence in Sindh and NWFP was minimal overall, but Sindh data tends to be skewed because of the inclusion of data from the mega-city of Karachi in Sindh samples. A more realistic comparison would be to look at data for poverty incidence in rural Sindh and compare it with poverty incidence in rural areas of NWFP. Here, Sindh fared considerably worse with 38 percent of the rural population living under the poverty line compared to 27 percent in NWFP. Punjab was the most prosperous province relatively, with an overall poverty incidence of 26 percent, and, anomalously, rural poverty incidence of just 24 percent.[6]

The 2001-02 data was also analyzed at the Center for Research on Poverty Reduction and Income Distribution (CRPRID), which looked at trends in the headcount measure of poverty incidence across all the provinces from 1992-93 to 2001-02 (Cheema, 2005). The CRPRID estimates differed significantly from those of SPDC, and showed that NWFP had the highest incidence of poverty of all the provinces in Pakistan in 2001-02 at 41.5 percent. Poverty incidence in Sindh and Balochistan was estimated to be almost equal at about 35 percent, while the incidence in Punjab was the lowest at 32 percent. Poverty incidence had, however, significantly increased in all provinces between 1992-93 to 2001-02, particularly in Sindh and Balochistan which had been ravaged by a drought from 1999 to 2002.

There are key differences in methodology of poverty estimation between the SPDC and CRPRID studies, the discussion of which would be beyond the scope of this paper. Broadly though, a review of both studies suggests that Punjab and urban Sindh have the lowest poverty incidence in Pakistan, while NWFP and Balochistan have relatively high poverty levels. Furthermore, poverty was steadily on the increase throughout the 1990s, with the effects of the drought becoming strongly apparent in parts of Sindh and Balochistan in the early years of the current decade.

While the above two studies measured poverty levels at the provincial level, the Pakistan National Human Development Report prepared by UNDP in 2003 attempted to rank provinces on the basis of social development using the methodology developed for the preparation of the UNDP's cross country Human Development Index (see Hussain et. al., 2003). Thus the HDI is constructed on the basis of literacy and enrolment ratios in an area, in addition to infant mortality and immunization rates

and real GDP per capita. The report developed two broad rankings, one for provincial urban and rural areas, and the other for individual districts. Overall, Punjab ranked highest on the human development index, followed by Sindh, NWFP and Balochistan. When the provinces were further disaggregated by urban and rural areas, however, urban Sindh ranked at the top, while rural Sindh fell to the bottom of the list. Table 2 reproduces the index.

Table 2: Human Development Index for Pakistan – Province Rankings

Province	*HDI**	*Rank*
Overall province		
Punjab	0.557	1
Sindh	0.540	2
NWFP	0.510	3
Balochistan	0.499	4
Rural and Urban Areas		
Sindh (Urban)	0.659	1
Punjab (Urban)	0.657	2
NWFP (Urban)	0.627	3
Balochistan (Urban)	0.591	4
Punjab (Rural)	0.517	5
NWFP (Rural)	0.489	6
Balochistan (Rural)	0.486	7
Sindh (Rural)	0.456	8

Source: Hussain, 2003. Table 4.
* The HDI scale varies from 0 to 1, with 1 being the maximum level of human development.

The above result is somewhat counter-intuitional, and serves to highlight the disparity in urban and rural development in the Sindh province. It also points to the gap between NWFP and Balochistan on the one hand and Punjab on the other – while urban Sindh and urban Punjab had similar rankings, NWFP lagged by about 30 basis points in terms of both urban and rural human development.

District Rankings

The NHDR also carried a more detailed HDI ranking of districts, reproduced in Annex I. The ranking covered 91 settled districts in all four provinces of Pakistan, and shows some fairly clear patterns. For example, almost 60 percent of the districts featuring in the top one-third of ranked districts lay in the province of Punjab, while 19 percent were in NWFP. Of the bottom one third districts, 47 percent lay in Balochistan while 34 percent lay in NWFP, while no district from Punjab was ranked in the last one-third of districts. Across provinces, inter-district disparity was highest in Balochistan, followed by NWFP.

A comprehensive study on food security in rural Pakistan conducted by the World Food Program (WFP) in 2003 also provides valuable insight into sub-national poverty incidence (WFP/SDPI 2003). The study was based on an analysis of secondary data, and assessed food availability, economic access to food and food absorption in rural areas of all districts of Pakistan, including districts in FATA. The findings of the study were alarming in that rural areas of 62 percent of the 120 districts assessed were found to be food insecure in terms of insufficient availability and limited economic access to food, while 38 percent of districts had poor rates of food absorption, pointing to the widespread prevalence of nutritional insecurity even when food is available. The report also found that 65 percent of districts in Sindh were food insecure, while in Punjab this figure was significantly lower at 29 percent. The situation in NWFP and Balochistan was perilous, with 88 percent of all districts in NWFP, and 85 percent in Balochistan being food insecure. In FATA, the level of food insecurity was extreme in that all seven agencies comprising the tribal areas were judged to be food insecure.

The study's estimates of caloric poverty in rural Pakistan are reproduced in Annex II. In terms of intensity of caloric poverty, Balochistan comes out the most intensely food insecure province, with caloric poverty in the rural area of Dera Bugti assessed at 73 percent – the highest for any district of Pakistan. Of the 27 districts of Balochistan, 23 had caloric poverty

incidence of over 40 percent in their rural areas. In comparison, only 5 of the 34 districts in Punjab were as intensely poor in terms of caloric poverty, while no district in the settled area of NWFP had caloric poverty incidence of over 40 percent.[7] In Sindh, 7 out of 17 districts were assessed to have caloric poverty incidence of over 40 percent, with incidence in Tharparkar estimated at 72 percent. The situation in FATA was also fairly serious, with caloric poverty in the two Waziri agencies assessed at close to 49 percent and 46 percent respectively, but this was by no means an unusual circumstance given the prevalence of caloric poverty throughout rural Pakistan according to the study.

Findings

Any attempt to establish a quantitative relationship between the prevalence of poverty and recruitment into militant organizations is precluded by the lack of data on the latter variable – we simply do not have enough information on the numbers joining militant groups, let alone their home district or place of recruitment. Our analysis is therefore restricted to broad brush strokes, based on regional data. Key findings are as follows.

Poverty Clusters Occur Throughout Pakistan: Whether measured in terms of caloric poverty or the HDI, poverty is endemic throughout Pakistan. In general, northern Punjab and urban Sindh boast higher standards of living than the rest of the country, but in terms of poverty incidence, there is little to distinguish between much of NWFP and Balochistan; as well as rural Sindh, southern Punjab, and FATA. In terms of poverty intensity in rural areas, NWFP may actually be faring better than the rest of the country, largely because of the nature of the provincial economy, which is essentially remittance based, and therefore less liable to be affected by the vagaries of the agriculture sector. Similarly, average caloric poverty intensity in FATA was not significantly different from the average in Sindh, and was in fact seven percentage points lower than the average for Balochistan.

Militant Recruitment in High HDI Districts: The studies by Abbas and Fair both point to the existence of active militant organizations in areas such as the environs of Peshawar and Haripur, and Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJK), areas where caloric poverty levels are relatively low, and HDI levels are high.[8] On the other hand, neither of the studies found significant representation from the province of Balochistan in the groups of militants they interviewed. This is in spite of the fact that Balochistan has a history of political instability, has witnessed at least three insurgencies

against the central government, and has extremely poor socio-economic and poverty indicators. Rural Sindh is similarly under-represented in the samples of both the studies cited in spite of its poor HDI rankings.

***Poverty as a Contributing Factor*:** Although there appears to be little support for the idea that poverty fuels extremism, it does appear to be a contributing factor. Abbas's study, which has fairly detailed data on the socio-economic profiles of militants, suggests that most of them belonged to households whose incomes would lie in the bottom two or three quintiles of household income distribution in Pakistan. Fair's work seems to dispute this, and she mentions the presence of a fairly high number of skilled, middle class people in her sample, but her research also showed that three quarters of her sample consisted of people who were either unemployed or under-employed in the year before joining a militant organization, and were therefore likely to be facing some financial pressure.

The difference in the poverty related findings of the two studies may also point to differences in the nature of the two conflicts in Afghanistan and Kashmir. Fair's work suggests that the conflict in Kashmir required the recruitment of relatively educated persons with a demonstrated ability to pick up new skills. Abbas's sample consisted mostly of young men who had gone, mostly on their own initiative, to join the war in Afghanistan in reaction to the US invasion. Nevertheless, in both cases, it appears that the rank and file of militant organizations consists of persons drawn from the poor or lower-middle income groups. Thus poverty may push disaffected, unemployed young men to join militant organizations when the surrounding socio-cultural milieu is heavily inclined towards such groups and peer pressure is strong.

Public Schooling: The link between low household income and militancy may manifest itself in the form of schooling that the household can provide for. While both Fair (in the study quoted, as well as a paper on militancy and madrassa education – see References) and Abbas found few madrassa alumni in their samples of militants, they also did not encounter any private school graduates. Fair contends in her paper on militancy and madrassas (see Fair, 2007) that the public school system in Pakistan works on the basis of a curriculum that is highly likely to engender intolerance and promote the concept of conflict resolution through violence. Children from low income households who tend to use public services are thus exposed to a schooling that essentially does not encourage free thinking, inquisitiveness, or tolerance of any sort of difference. Combined with a lack of employment opportunities for the average graduate, this is a com-

bustible mixture in an environment where armed conflict is presented as a religious duty.

Conclusion

As is typical of developing economies and particularly countries in South Asia, widespread poverty and deprivation, and poor social and human development indicators characterize Pakistan's society. While poverty levels tend to fluctuate considerably in the country, particularly in consonance with growth or decline in the agriculture sector, official sources would suggest that poverty, when measured according to the headcount index, decreased in the period between 2001-02 and 2005-06. Nevertheless, this period also witnessed a significant increase in militancy and incidents of terrorism. An analysis of the spatial distribution of poverty does not suggest that poverty is confined to, or is even more intense than the norm, in areas now characterized by intense militant activity. Also, militant recruitment from some particularly poor regions, namely rural Sindh and much of Balochistan, appears to be fairly low. There is thus little evidence to support the contention that poverty, in and of itself, fuels extremism.

Studies on the socio-economic profiles of militants would suggest, however, that poverty is a contributing factor pushing people towards militancy, provided an enabling environment already exists. The lack of employment opportunities for the educated, as well as deficiencies in the public school system also appear amongst the factors that drive militancy.

Refrences:

[1] The current wave of extremist related unrest started in early 2002 in South Waziristan, when the Pakistan Army moved troops into the Agency in July 2002 for the first time since independence. The conflict became markedly more intense after a strike (carried out either by the Pakistan Army with US complicity, or by an unmanned US aircraft, according to different sources) on a *madrassah* in Bajaur Agency in October 2006 which allegedly killed 80 people, including many children. Thereafter, the Army operation on the Red Mosque in Islamabad in July 2007 added to the ferocity of militant attacks, many of which were allegedly carried out in retribution for the incident.

[2] The two terms are often used interchangeably, as they are inextricably linked in Pakistan's context. However, extremism refers to a rigid, intolerant interpretation of religion, whereas militancy refers to acts of terrorism or challenges to the writ of the state effected by organizations generally run and manned by extremists. Another term, radicalization, which will be used in this paper, refers to the process by which people are drawn towards extremism and eventually, militancy.

[3] Most of the studies referenced in this section contain information on a range of issues in addition to socio-economic characteristics. However, the literature review concentrates on the socio-economic data collected in the surveys in keeping with the focus of this paper.

[4] The reluctance of the Federal Bureau of Statistics (FBS) to share raw data from its household surveys has precluded attempts by independent economists to construct a "poverty map" of Pakistan.

[5] The sample size in the HIES 2001-02 survey was not large enough to prepare robust estimates of poverty incidence by province. The SPDC team therefore used the Small Area Estimation Technique when calculating poverty incidence by province.

[6] The SPDC's results indicated that rural poverty was lower than overall poverty in both Punjab and NWFP, a result that goes against conventional wisdom.

[7] All five Punjab districts with caloric poverty of over 40 percent lay in southern Punjab.

[8] Although HDI figures quoted in this paper do not cover AJK, school enrolment and basic health indicators in the autonomous region are believed to be higher than the national average.

Bibliography:

Abbas, Sohail. 2007. Probing the *Jihadi* Mindset. National Book Foundation. Islamabad.

Cheema, Iftikhar Ahmed. 2005. A Profile of Poverty in Pakistan. Center for Research on Poverty Reduction and Income Distribution (CRPRID), Planning Commission, Islamabad. November.

Economic Advisor's Wing (EAW), Finance Division, Government of Pakistan. 2008. Pakistan Economic Survey 2007-08.

Fair, C. Christine. 2007. *Militant Recruitment in Pakistan: A New Look at the Militancy-Madrassa Connection*. In Asia Policy, No. 4, July.

Fair, C. Christine. 2008. *Who Are Pakistan's Militants and Their Families?* In Terrorism and Political Violence, 20:49-65.

Hussain, Akmal et. al. 2003. Pakistan: National Human Development Report – Poverty, Growth and Governance. UNDP.

Kemp, Robert. 2008. *Religious Extremism and Militancy in the Pashtun Areas of Afghanistan and Pakistan*. In BC Journal of International Affairs. Volume 11, Spring 2008.

Shinwari, Nadeem. 2008. Understanding FATA: Attitudes Towards Governance, Religion and Society in Pakistan's Federally Administrated Tribal Areas. Published by the Community Appraisal and Motivation Program (CAMP). Downloadable from the website: www.understandingfata.org

Social Policy Development Center (SPDC). 2004. Combating Poverty: Is Growth Sufficient? Annual Report, 2004.

World Food Program (WFP)/Sustainable Development Policy Institute (SDPI). 2003. Food Insecurity in Rural Pakistan.

Annex 1: District Rankings by HDI

District	*Province*	*HDI*	*Rank*
Jhelum	Punjab	0.703	1
Ziarat	Balochistan	0.697	2
Haripur	NWFP	0.629	3
Sheikhupura	Punjab	0.621	4
Karachi	Sindh	0.618	5
Abbottabad	NWFP	0.598	6
Bhakkar	Punjab	0.581	7
Kasur	Punjab	0.577	8
Rawalpindi	Punjab	0.576	9
Khusab	Punjab	0.575	10
Mandi Ba-hauddin	Punjab	0.568	11
Lahore	Punjab	0.558	12
Loralai	Balochistan	0.556	13
Sialkot	Punjab	0.555	14
Chakwal	Punjab	0.545	15
Gujrat	Punjab	0.543	16
Sahiwal	Punjab	0.541	17
Rahim Yar Khan	Punjab	0.541	18
Kohat	NWFP	0.537	19
Mianwali	Punjab	0.537	20
Dadu	Sindh	0.535	21
Sargodha	Punjab	0.535	22
Hyderabad	Sindh	0.532	23
Peshawar	NWFP	0.531	24
Gujranwala	Punjab	0.529	25
Nowshera	NWFP	0.529	26
Jhang	Punjab	0.529	27
Mastung	Balochistan	0.528	28
Okara	Punjab	0.528	29
Swabi	NWFP	0.523	30
Mirpur Khas	Sindh	0.522	31
Mardan	NWFP	0.519	32
Lasbela	Balochistan	0.514	33

District	*Province*	*HDI*	*Rank*
Khanewal	Punjab	0.513	34
Kech	Balochistan	0.512	35
Vehari	Punjab	0.508	36
Attock	Punjab	0.507	37
Naushahro Feroze	Sindh	0.506	38
Charsadda	NWFP	0.506	39
Bahawalpur	Punjab	0.501	40
Pakpattan	Punjab	0.498	41
Ghotki	Sindh	0.496	42
Panjgur	Balochistan	0.496	43
Multan	Punjab	0.494	44
Nasirabad	Balochistan	0.492	45
Hafizabad	Punjab	0.486	46
Sukkur	Sindh	0.486	47
Karak	NWFP	0.484	48
Nawab Shah	Sindh	0.481	49
Chitral	NWFP	0.479	50
Lodhran	Punjab	0.475	51
Narowal	Punjab	0.472	52
Dera Ghazi Khan	Punjab	0.471	53
Chagai	Balochistan	0.468	54
Bannu	NWFP	0.465	55
Sanghar	Sindh	0.461	56
Malakand	NWFP	0.461	57
Mansehra	NWFP	0.459	58
Muzaffargarh	Punjab	0.459	59
Badin	Sindh	0.459	60
Killa Saifullah	Balochistan	0.455	61
Jaffarabad	Balochistan	0.454	62
Khairpur	Sindh	0.449	63
Thatta	Sindh	0.447	64
Lakki Marwat	NWFP	0.444	65
Swat	NWFP	0.442	66
Larkana	Sindh	0.435	67
Zhob	Balochistan	0.432	68

District	*Province*	*HDI*	*Rank*
Dera Ismail Khan	NWFP	0.425	69
Buner	NWFP	0.423	70
Barkhan	Balochistan	0.420	71
Shikarpur	Sindh	0.417	72
Lower Dir	NWFP	0.413	73
Kalat	Balochistan	0.412	74
Sibi	Balochistan	0.411	75
Hangu	NWFP	0.400	76
Jacobabad	Sindh	0.393	77
Gwadar	Balochistan	0.392	78
Killa Abdullah	Balochistan	0.387	79
Tank	NWFP	0.384	80
Awaran	Balochistan	0.381	81
Upper Dir	NWFP	0.369	82
Batgram	NWFP	0.363	83
Bolan	Balochistan	0.360	84
Kohlu	Balochistan	0.348	85
Kharan	Balochistan	0.346	86
Jhalmagsi	Balochistan	0.345	87
Tharparkar	Sindh	0.343	88
Kohistan	NWFP	0.332	89
Shangla	NWFP	0.332	90
Dera Bugti	Balochistan	0.285	91

Source: Hussain, et. al. 2003. Table 4(b).

Annex II: Caloric Poverty in Rural Pakistan

Punjab

District	*Percent of Poor*	*Rank*
Rajanpur	48.1	1
Muzaffargarh	47.1	2
Dera Ghazi Khan	46.4	3
Multan	46.2	4
Bahawalpur	43.3	5
Layyah	39.7	6
Rahim Yar Khan	39.4	7
Attock	39.1	8
Lahore	38.6	9
Lodhran	37.5	10
Rawalpindi	37.1	11
Khanewal	37.0	12
Mianwali	36.7	13
Gujrat	36.5	14
Jhang	36.1	15
Chakwal	35.7	16
Narowal	35.5	17
Khushab	35.3	18
Vehari	34.1	19
Bhakkar	34.0	20
Kasur	33.8	21
Bahawalnagar	33.8	22
Sahiwal	33.6	23
Gujranwala	33.5	24
Pakpattan	33.2	25

District	*Percent of Poor*	*Rank*
Okara	32.4	26
Sialkot	32.2	27
Faisalabad	32.1	28
Hafizabad	31.9	29
Sheikhupura	31.8	30
Sargodha	31.4	31
Toba Tek Singh	31.1	32
Jhelum	30.8	33
Mandi Bahauddin	30.6	34

Sindh

District	*Percent of Poor*	*Rank*
Tharparkar	72.4	1
Umerkot	46.2	2
Jacobabad	45.0	3
Sukkur	44.4	4
Khairpur	42.9	5
Ghotki	41.1	6
Thatta	40.7	7
Sanghar	38.6	8
Dadu	37.8	9
Mirpurkhas	37.6	10
Larkana	37.2	11
Shikarpur	36.2	12
Hyderabad	34.0	13
Badin	33.9	14
Karachi	33.2	15
Noushero Feroze	32.6	16

Nawabshah	32.0	17

NWFP

District	*Percent of Poor*	*Rank*
Shangla	37.4	1
Kohistan	37.3	2
Hangu	36.2	3
Upper Dir	33.8	4
Batgram	31.4	5
Swat	29.1	6
Bannu	28.0	7
Tank	27.6	8
Chitral	27.4	9
Buner	27.3	10
Lower Dir	27.1	11
Karak	26.4	12
Mansehra	25.9	13
Nowshera	25.8	14
Lakki	25.7	15
Mardan	24.7	16
Kohat	24.5	17
Dera Ismail Khan	24.4	18
Swabi	24.3	19
Charsadda	23.8	20
Malakand	23.0	21
Peshawar	21.3	22
Haripur	19.9	23
Abbotabad	17.8	24

Balochistan

District	*Percent of Poor*	*Rank*
Dera Bugti	73.0	1
Musakhel	68.9	2
Kharan	68.6	3
Bolan	62.2	4
Kohlu	57.1	5
Zhob	56.8	6
Khuzdar	56.6	7
Awaran	53.9	8
Kila Abdullah	52.7	9
Jhal Magsi	51.5	10
Barkhan	51.5	11
Kila Saifullah	49.7	12
Kalat	49.6	13
Sibi	48.9	14
Chaghi	47.8	15
Panjgur	46.7	16
Turbat	46.6	17
Lasbela	46.2	18
Gawadar	45.0	19
Mastung	43.1	20
Pishin	42.7	21
Loralai	41.8	22
Jafarabad	36.8	23
Quetta	35.9	24
Nasirabad	30.3	25
Zhob	27.7	26

Northern Areas

District	*Percent of Poor*	*Rank*
Diamer	46.2	1
Skardu	40.9	2
Ghanche	40.4	3
Ghizer	35.1	4
Gilgit	32.5	5

Azad Jammu and Kashmir

District	*Percent of Poor*	*Rank*
Muzaffarabad	33.7	1
Bhimber	30.0	2
Bagh	28.7	3
Kotli	28.6	4
Sudhnoti	26.9	5
Rawalakot	26.2	6
Mirpur	24.6	7

Federally Administrated Tribal Areas (FATA)

District	*Percent of Poor*	*Rank*
North Waziristan	48.8	1
South Waziristan	46.3	2
Khyber	41.3	3
Kurram	41.0	4
Mohmand	40.9	5
Orakzai	39.3	6
Bajaur	38.5	7

Source: WFP/SDPI, 2003. Table 6.5.

EVOLUTION OF COUNTER-TERRORISM LEGISLATION IN PAKISTAN

Saba Noor

Anti-terrorism laws are the mechanism adopted by the State to curb violent acts or acts meant to terrorize the population. In Pakistan, changes in anti-terrorism laws were mostly made in the absence of parliament. The aim of this paper is to systematically explore the prominent features of laws implemented in the country by various regimes since the creation of Pakistan to suppress violent and terrorist acts. Legislation in the country against violent activities began in 1949 with the promulgation of the Public and Representative Offices (Disqualification) Act, 1949, which the government used to curb political violence. As circumstances changed, political violence transformed into sectarianism and ethnic clashes and finally led to the creation of several militant organizations whose radical ideology manifested itself through a range of violent tactics. As the nature of violence changed, successive governments established or amended the law accordingly to deter terrorists with the fear of punishment. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto introduced the words 'terrorist activities' in legislation for the first time and established special courts to try such offences. But Nawaz Sharif was the first policymaker who created a specific Anti-Terrorism Act in 1997 which extended to the entire country and was amended by subsequent governments according to their needs. Pakistan introduced severe penalties through a 2007 law to curb cyber-terrorism in the age of Information Technology (IT). The law was meant to dissuade people from any part of the world from accessing or harming any data or network with illegitimate designs. Pakistan's anti-terrorism laws cover every aspect of terrorist activities in detail but a lack of implementation has raised questions about their effectiveness.

Introduction

The enormous problem of international terrorism became a key security concern for the whole world after the 9/11 terror attacks in the United States. The attacks served as a reminder to States across the world to

adopt counter-terrorism strategies to deter terrorists within and beyond their territory.

Pakistan was among the countries that took legal initiatives to counter terrorism and put in place stiff penalties to deter terrorists. Anti-terrorism legislation had been resorted to in Pakistan since the country's creation, with different regimes introducing laws according to the nature of illegal acts.

Anti-terrorism laws may cover areas of administrative, constitutional, criminal, immigration and military laws, as well as laws of internal and international armed conflict, all of which cannot be analyzed in isolation from a state's domestic environment, including its political, social and economic variables. At times, regional and international circumstances also influence such legislation in a country.[1]

Every government in Pakistan has contributed to the anti-terrorism legislation to curb violent activities. However, implementation remains patchy despite the enactment of many laws.

To evaluate the counter-terrorism process in Pakistan, the author has mainly focused on theoretical studies, anti-terrorism statutes and research papers by Pakistani and foreign scholars. Qualitative and open-ended interviews were conducted with a political analyst, a former judge and an IT expert to understand the object of these laws and the circumstances leading to their enactment.

However, the problems successive governments faced in implementing these laws and a difference of perception about these laws between the common man and the government are beyond the scope of this paper, which is limited to exploring the evolution of counter-terrorism laws with a view to familiarizing a layman with the legislative process and the law's purpose.

Anti-terrorism legislation by various regimes

Anti-terrorism legislation has been divided into phases to follow its enactment in Pakistan from 1947 to 2008.

i. 1947-1959 (Formative years)

The government was facing political upheaval and problems in East and West Pakistan during this phase. Absence of a constitution was a major

reason for lack of political structure and stability amid politicians' lust for power. Prime minister Liaquat Ali Khan introduced One Unit, merging all the provinces of West Pakistan into one province, to control the political crisis in the country and adopted the Public and Representative Offices (Disqualification) Act (PRODA), 1949. The law was used as a tool to restrict political freedoms.[2] It generated a lot of resistance and resentment among the people as through this law the Muslim League used increasingly suppressive laws, including those inherited from the British, which incorporated protective confinement and imposed restrictions on the gathering of more than five persons. The term 'misconduct' was expanded to curb political rights.

The Public and Representative Offices (Disqualification) Act, 1949[3]

"The Act was made to prevent abuse of official power and position in the interest of public probity to limit such persons that are found guilty of 'misconduct' in any public office or representative capacity or in any affair which comes under it."[4]

The Act passed by the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan in 1949 extended to the whole country (Section 1(2)). It came into force at once and took effect from August 15, 1947 (Section 1(3)). The law applied to any person found guilty of 'misconduct' (bribery, corruption, robbery, favoritism, nepotism, maladministration, misuse of public money, money collection and abuse of official power or position), who was not to be eligible for holding any office of profit under the Crown for 10 years (Section 3(1)). The tribunal hearing such cases consisted of two or more High Court judges -- as the Governor-General or Governor -- (Section 3(2)). The law said that any person found guilty would immediately leave his post (Section 4). The Act allowed the government to disqualify any person found guilty of 'misconduct' for 10 years (Section 3(1)). The Governor-General's decision in this matter was deemed final and no appeal was allowed. Most regimes used the Code of Criminal Procedure, enacted by the British rulers of India, to suppress anti-State activities.[5]

This period was followed by military rule imposed by army chief Ayub Khan, who used a number of laws to stifle civil liberties and media freedom.

ii. 1960-1971 (The rule of Ayub and Yahya)

General Ayub Khan imposed martial law in the country. His regime directly targeted political rights of the people -- censoring newspapers and eliminating civil rights by enforcing extraordinary penalties against criminals.[6] He established military courts and enforced the Security of Pakistan Act, 1952 on November 26, 1958.[7] He charged members of the political opposition under the Public Offices (Disqualification) Act, 1959 and the Electoral Bodies (Disqualification) Order (EBDO). The Defence of Pakistan Ordinance, 1955 and Defence of Pakistan Rules, 1965 were also used during his regime to target political activists.[8]

The Security of Pakistan Act, 1952[9]

The law was enacted on 5th May 1952 to provide special measures to deal with persons who damage the defence, peripheral interactions and security of Pakistan.[10] The law became applicable across the country at once (Section 1(1 & 2)). The Act permitted the federal government to restrict the movement of any suspected person and issue his detention orders. It also described that anyone violating the orders may be removed from such area or place by a police officer or by any person authorized by the federal government in this regard (Section 3(3)). The Act also authorized the federal government to release at any time any person arrested under the law unconditionally or for a specified period. The federal government could also cancel his release orders at any time (Section 3-A(1)). According to the Act, the federal and provincial governments could direct any person to submit his photograph, fingerprints, handwriting and signatures to the designated officer. The Act also explained that anyone disobeying the orders would face a six-month imprisonment or a fine, or both (Section 4(2)).

iii. 1972-1977 (Bhutto's era)

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto established what many believe to be the country's first democratically elected government after East Pakistan's split from the western part of the country and the creation of Bangladesh in 1971. During the 1970s, Bhutto's government faced opposition and nationalist movements in the North West Frontier Province (NWFP) and Balochistan. With a view to curbing violence,[11] his government was the first to use the word 'terrorist' to refer to those accused of violating provisions of law and established separate 'special courts' to try 'scheduled offences'. All offences under the Arms Act 1878, West Pakistan Arms Ordinance 1965, Railway Act 1890, Telegraph Act 1885, 1937 Act, 1908 Act, and Anti-National

Activities Act 1974 were considered scheduled offences.[12] Initially enacted as an ordinance, the law was subsequently approved by parliament and enforced as the Suppression of Terrorist Activities (Special Courts) Act 1975.

The definition of 'terrorist acts' and the list of scheduled offences were expanded with the passage of time, at times to target political parities. The National Awami Party (NAP) was banned and its leader Khan Abdul Wali Khan arrested on charges of plotting against the State. He was tried by the same 'special courts'.[13]

The Suppression of Terrorist Activities (Special Courts) Act 1975[14]

The law was made to suppress the acts of sabotage, subversion and terrorism in the country.[15] It applied to the entire country (Section 1(2)) and explained that after a notification in the Official Gazette, the federal government could establish special courts all over the country or in any part of it (Section 3(1)). The law further explained that the judges of these special courts would be appointed in consultation with the Chief Justice of the High Court where a special court was established and that no other judge would be consulted. The law also empowered the federal and provincial governments to appoint special judges and establish special courts anywhere in the country (Section 3(2 & 3)). It also allowed cases to be transferred from one special court to another for the convenience of the parties (Section 4).[16] The Act gave immense powers to the special courts as they could pass any sentence authorized by law and had all powers of the High Court to punish any person who disobeyed, abused and interfered in the court's order (Section 6). The law also defined the rights of an accused to appeal in the High Court[17] -- within 30 days of the award of sentence by a special court -- where a bench of at least two judges heard and decided the case within three months (Section 7). The law provided that if the accused appeared before the court once, the remaining trial could proceed even in his absence.[18] However, the 1975 law declared that before the trial of an absconding accused, a proclamation should be published in three national daily newspapers, two of which should be in Urdu language. In such a case, a special court was also required to appoint a lawyer for the accused and publicize his appointment through newspapers before proceeding with the trial (Section 5). After its enforcement in 1975, many amendments were made to this law until the promulgation of the 1997 Anti-Terrorism Act. Many changes were made following criticism and demands by human rights organizations. Successive governments

also made changes in the law according to the circumstances to handle terrorist activities.

Military ruler General Ziaul Haq (1978-1988) made two minor amendments to the law. The first was in 1984, when Zia authorized the special courts to only try such persons who had committed scheduled offences.[19]

iv. **1988-1999 (Democratic phase)**

After the death of Ziaul Haq, his successor Muhammad Ishaq Khan held elections and for the first time a woman, Benazir Bhutto, was elected prime minister of the country on December 1, 1988. In 1988, the government's efforts to improve law and order included amendments to the 1975 Suppression of Terrorist Activities Act and broadening the definition of 'offences' by including offences under Section 13-A and B of the Pakistan Arms Ordinance, 1965 to scheduled offences under the 1975 Act.[20]

During Benazir's tenure, a number of riots occurred in Hyderabad and Karachi. In 1989, terrorists tried to target the parliament. Amid this situation, the government made amendments to the Act and included Section 124-A of the Pakistan Penal Code in scheduled offences.[21] Amid worsening law and order, president Ishaq Khan dismissed the government in 1990 and once again held elections in the country.[22]

On October 29, 1990, Nawaz Sharif became prime minister of Pakistan. The country was in the grip of terrorism at the time, including bomb blasts in Islamabad, Lahore, Jhang and Karachi.[23] Sectarian and ethnic clashes and target killings were occurring in various parts of the country, mainly in Sindh where the Muhajir Quami Movement (now Muttahida Qaumi Movement) tried to destabilize the government, turning major urban centers in the province into battlegrounds. Amid frequent and prolonged curfew in various places, law enforcement agencies apprehended a large number of terrorists from the province in their efforts to restore peace.[24] The government used various laws including the Special Courts for Speedy Trial Ordinance 1987, the Terrorist-Affected Areas (Special Courts) Ordinance 1990, and the Terrorist-Affected Areas (Special Courts) Act 1992 to control the disturbing situation.[25]

Widespread sectarian violence in Sindh and Punjab compelled the government to take measures to restore the law and order situation, but a large number of people randomly arrested by the police could not be convicted because of the investigation agencies' failure to present credible

evidence against them in court. Nawaz Sharif's government promulgated the Anti-Terrorism Act 1997 to ensure an ideal situation of law and order in the country within months by publicly hanging terrorists.[26]

Commentators have hinted at the possibility that Nawaz Sharif and his political followers supported a parallel justice system to pursue their political interests as trials of a number of renowned members of Sharif's rival Pakistan People's Party could be transferred to the new courts for expeditious decisions.[27]

Anti-Terrorism Act 1997[28]

> "The Act was made to provide prevention from terrorism, sectarian violence and for speedy trial of heinous offences."[29]

It provided a detailed definition of a terrorist act as:

> "Whoever, to strike terror in the people, or an any section of people, or to alienate any section of the people or to adversely affect harmony among different sections of the people, does any act or thing by using bombs, dynamite or other explosive or inflammable substance, or firearms, or other lethal weapons or poisons or noxious gases or chemical or other substances of a hazardous nature in such a manner as to cause the death of, or injury to, any person or persons, or damage to, or destruction of, property or disruption of any supplies or services essential to the life of the community or display firearms, or threaten with the use of force public servants in order to prevent them from discharging their lawful duties commits a terrorist act."[30]

The Act declared that if a provincial government needed military and civilian armed forces (Frontier Constabulary, Frontier Crops, Pakistan Coast Guard, Rangers and any other) to prevent terrorist acts or scheduled offences it could request the federal government, which would decide which forces were required for deployment to the affected area (Section 4). The forces deployed in any area could use the necessary amount of force against any terrorist after giving sufficient warnings. Military and civilian armed forces could use all powers of a police officer in that connection (Section 5(1)). The Act further provided all powers to law enforcement personnel to arrest any person and enter and search any house without warrants (Section 5(2)(ii & iii)). The Act permitted the military and civilian armed forces to enter any premises if they had reasonable

grounds to suspect the presence there of a person involved in possession of written material, recordings or other material used for threatening people (Section 10). The Act protected actions by the military and civilian forces' personnel by providing that no one could prosecute any act done in good faith by these personnel (Section 39). According to the Act, the designated officer had to complete the investigation of a case within seven days, however the court could extend the period where a case warranted extension (Section 19 & 19(2)). The Act stipulated that any investigation officer found guilty in investigating a case would face imprisonment of two years (Section 27). The Act authorized the special courts to try any accused in his absence, provided that the court first appointed an advocate for his defence and concluded the trial of the case within seven days (Section 19). The Act also declared that a convict whose actions resulted in death would be punishable by death, and in other cases to imprisonment ranging from a minimum of seven years to life imprisonment and fine (Section 7). The Act further explained that anyone found guilty of spreading sectarian hatred faced a seven-year prison term with possible fine (Section 9). All persons arrested under the Act's provisions could be tried only by the special courts (Section 12), which were entitled to hear cases at any place (Section 15(2)). The Act also afforded the right of appeal against the court's verdict under Section 25. It empowered judges to punish those found guilty with the maximum penalty and made it mandatory to record reasons for their decision if they awarded lesser punishment (Section 20). The law made abusing or scandalizing the court an offence punishable with imprisonment of six months and fine (Section 37). It authorized the government to include or omit any action from scheduled offence (Section 34); make through a notification any rules that fulfilled the requirements of the Act (Section 35); and declare any association unlawful (Section 40(ii)).

The Act was severely criticized by human rights organizations and opposition political parties. The Pakistan People's Party (PPP) called it a 'black law' as the Act provided avenues for the government to victimize the opposition parties. However, General Jahangir Karamat, the then army chief, declared the law "a good thing" but also cautioned against its misuse.[31]

Meanwhile, *Mehram Ali vs. Federation of Pakistan*[32] became a landmark case and a strong reason for subsequent amendments to the Anti-Terrorism Act of 1997. The Supreme Court of Pakistan declared certain provisions of the 1997 law unconstitutional and ordered changes in the Act, especially highlighting three points:

1. "The judges of such courts would have fixed and established tenures

2. Such special courts would be subject to the same or similar procedural rules as regular courts, including rules of evidence, etc

3. The decisions of specials courts would be subject to appeal before the relevant constitutionally mandated regular courts."[33]

The Nawaz Sharif government amended the law according to the Supreme Court decision on October 24, 1998, issuing the Anti-Terrorism (Amendment) Ordinance 1998.

Anti-Terrorism (Amendment) Ordinance, 1998[34]

The ordinance fixed the tenure of office of judges of Anti-Terrorism Courts. It curtailed powers of officers of the military and civilian armed forces, who were now required to justify in writing their reason for suspecting a person or premises before taking any action (Section 10). The ordinance stated that the special courts judges were to be appointed for two years in consultation with the Chief Justice of the High Court and could be dismissed in consultation with the Chief Justice (Section 7(2)). The ordinance also limited the special courts' powers to try an accused in absentia and stipulated that before trying an accused in his absence the court must publish a proclamation in at least three national daily newspapers, of which one must be an Urdu newspaper. The court was to appoint a legal practitioner for his defense and the accused was entitled to consult or appoint a defender of his choice (Section 19). The ordinance further provided that any accused under the anti-terrorism law, whose appeal was pending before an appellate tribunal could file an appeal in a High Court within seven days of the 1998 Ordinance's commencement. An accused could now file an appeal against a High Court judgment in the Supreme Court (Section 25). The ordinance stated that a High Court could make rules necessary to fulfill the requirements of the Act (Section 35). The special courts were authorized to punish any person for abusing, scandalizing, or disobeying the court's orders with six months of imprisonment or with fine (Section 37).

The ordinance provided more safeguards for the accused but soon after its implementation, the deteriorating law and order situation in Karachi – including ethnic killings and the murder of former Sindh governor Hakim

Muhammad Said – led to the government imposing a sate of emergency in the Sindh province on October 17, 1998.

The Pakistan Armed Forces (Acting in Aid of Civil Power) Ordinance (PAFO) was promulgated to provide legal cover for sending the military to the province to ensure peace. According to this ordinance, civilians could be tried in military courts instead of the special courts. A new term, 'civil commotion', was introduced for crimes that could be punished with seven years of imprisonment.[35] It was defined as:

> "Civil commotion means creation of internal disturbances in violation of law or intended to violate law, commencement or continuation of illegal strikes, go-slows, lock-outs, vehicle snatching or lifting, damage to or destruction of state or private property, random firing to create panic, charging *bhatta,* acts of criminals trespass (illegal *qabza*), distribution, publishing or pasting of a handbill or making graffiti, or wall-chalking intended to create unrest or fear or create a threat to the security or law and order."[36]

The term was severely criticized by human rights organizations, opposition parties, lawyers and the media. Another decision by the Supreme Court in the case of *Liaquat Hussain vs. Federation of Pakistan*[37] on February 22, 1999 paved the way for changes in anti-terrorism rules.[38] The court dismissed the conditions under which the government had established such rules;[39] and declared that no civilian could be charged in a military court. The Supreme Court also decided that only one case should be tried by an Anti-Terrorism Court (ATC) at a time to increase the courts' efficiency.[40]

On April 27, 1999, the government revoked the PAFO but included the term 'civil commotion' in the Anti-Terrorism Act 1997 through an ordinance.[41] During 1999, several amendments were made to the Act, which included an expanded definition of a 'terrorist act'. The 1999 ordinance provided that the accused was not entitled to consult or be defended by a legal practitioner of his choice during his absence (Section (11-A)). All the cases were again transferred to ATCs (Section 39-A). The ordinance further declared that any offence including an offence under Pakistan Arms Ordinance, 1965 would be punishable under the 1997 Anti-Terrorism Act (Schedule).[42] That was the last amendment to the anti-terrorism law by the Nawaz Sharif before his government was toppled in a military coup by army chief General Pervez Musharraf on October 12, 1999.

v. **1999-2000 (Musharraf's era)**

After coming into power in October 1999, General Musharraf suspended parliament and enforced the Provisional Constitution Order (PCO) No. l of 1999 as well as Order No. 9 of 1999 in the country.

According to a former Supreme Court judge, who requested anonymity, "Musharraf used the PCO to demolish the government and simultaneously seized the offices of the country's Chief Executive, a new term he had coined, and the army chief. However, in the beginning he diplomatically announced that he will not disturb the powers of President Muhammad Rafique Tarar but later assumed the charge of president as well by imposing a PCO in the country on January 25, 2000.[43]

In 2000, Musharraf amended sections 18 and 25 of the Anti-Terrorism Ordinance, 1999[44] for personal benefit. According to Charles H Kennedy in 'The Creation and Development of Pakistan's Anti-Terrorism Regime, 1997-2002',[45] Musharraf amended the anti-terrorism law twice in 1999 and inserted new provisions in it, such as:

> "Abetment of offense (Section 120); concealing of design to commit an offense (Section 120); criminal conspiracy to commit a crime punishable by death or with imprisonment of more than two years (Section 120-B); waging or attempting to wage war against Pakistan (Section 121); conspiracy to commit certain offenses against the State (Section 121-A); collecting arms with the intent to wage war (Section 122); concealment with the intent to facilitate waging of war (Section 123); kidnapping (Section 365); being one of the five or more persons assembled for the purpose of committing dacoity (Section 402); and conspiracy to commit hijacking (Section 402 B)".[46]

The 2000 ordinance established two special courts that provided appellate tribunals for ATCs' decisions and were authorized to shift any case within a province.[47] The ordinance was used against Nawaz Sharif when he was charged with endangering the lives of aircraft passengers including then army chief General Pervez Musharraf and with alleged hijacking of the aircraft. An ATC in Karachi sentenced Nawaz Sharif to life imprisonment on April 6, 2000. Nawaz was exiled to Saudi Arabia after reaching a reported deal with the government and after paying more than Rs 20 mil-

lion fine.[48] Because of overwhelming sectarianism in Pakistan and international isolation on account of being a strong ally of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan, Musharraf reorganized the security policy. One concern was to amend laws relating to ATCs to restore peace and curb sectarian violence. Another reason could be India's propaganda of Pakistan's involvement in cross-border terrorism. In the circumstances it became essential for Pakistan to take credible measures against terrorism. The Anti-Terrorism (Amendment) Ordinance 2001 was promulgated against this backdrop.

The Anti Terrorism (Amendment) Ordinance 2001[49]

Section 11-A of the ordinance declared any organization 'concerned with terrorism' a terrorist organization, i.e. which:

(i) Commits or participates in acts of terrorism, (ii) prepares for terrorism, (iii) promotes or encourages terrorism, (iv) supports and assists any organization concerned with terrorism, (v) patronizes and assists in the incitement of hatred and contempt on religious, sectarian or ethnic lines that stir up disorder, (vi) fails to expel from its ranks or ostracize those who commit acts of terrorism and presents them as heroic persons, or (vii) is otherwise concerned in terrorism (Section 11-A). The ordinance empowered the federal government to ban any organization if the federal government had reason to believe that (i) an organization was involved in terrorism, (ii) operated under the same name as an organization listed in the First Schedule or operated under a different name; or (iii) the First Schedule was amended by the federal government in any way to enforce proscription (Section 11-B). However, the ordinance provided the right of review to organizations affected by the proscription and clarified that such organizations could respond to the orders banning them within 30 days and submit a written review application to the federal government, stating the grounds on which it was made. The federal government was required to decide the matter within 90 days after hearing the applicant. If a review application was refused, the organization could file an appeal to the High Court within 30 days of the refusal (Section 11-C). The ordinance also authorized the federal government to keep any organization or person under observation for six months if the government believed that any act of an organization or person was covered by the definition of terrorism. The period could be extended even further after hearing the banned organization (Section 11-D). In case of an organization being declared proscribed, the federal government was authorized to seal its office, freeze its accounts, impound all literature, posters, banners, printed, electronic, dig-

ital or other material. The federal government could ban the publication, printing or distribution of any press statements, press conference or public utterances by or on behalf of or in support of a proscribed organization (Section 11-E).

The ordinance stated that any person committing or linked to a terrorist act either in Pakistan or abroad was liable to seven years of imprisonment and confiscation of all his assets within and outside Pakistan (Section 11-V). The ordinance described a maximum of six months of imprisonment and fine for a person who commits an offence, or prints, publishes or disseminates any material, whether by audio or videocassettes or by written, photographic, electronic, digital, wall-chalking or any other method that provokes religious, sectarian or ethnic hatred or gives projection to any person convicted for a terrorist act, or any person or organization involved in terrorism (Section 11-W). An innovation in the ordinance provided that the federal government could authorize officials to create cordoned areas for investigation. For the purpose of investigation, a deputy superintendent of police could declare any area a cordoned area for a maximum of 14 days and the period may be extended (Section 21-A). A uniformed policeman could order any person to leave a cordoned area or leave any premises completely or partially declared a cordoned area. A uniformed policeman could also arrest or search any person whom he reasonably suspected of involvement in terrorism (Section 21-B). The ordinance also enumerated penalties for training someone in the use of weapons or for terrorism (Section 21-C). The ordinance stipulated that besides an ATC, a High Court or the Supreme Court of Pakistan were also empowered to grant bail or release an accused in a case being tried by an ATC (Section 21-D). Section 39-C of the Anti-Terrorism Ordinance, 2001 repealed the Suppression of Terrorist Activities Act of 1975 and the Anti-Terrorism Act of 1997. After implementing the law, the government banned two sectarian organizations, the Sipah-e-Muhammed and Lashkar-e-Jhangvi, because of their involvement in terrorism and sectarian violence in the country.

9/11 attacks and the War on Terror

The September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in the United States at the World Trade Center towers in New York City and the Pentagon in Washington brought home to the world the increasing threat of international terrorism and its impact on global security. The launch of the subsequent 'war on terror' brought a great policy shift in international affairs that influenced

the security policies of third world countries in South Asia. Amid the complex geo-strategic environment, Pakistan faced various internal and external security threats because of its crucial role in the war against terrorism. As a frontline state in the war against terrorism, Pakistan augmented domestic anti-terrorism measures to root out the network of extremists and militant organizations within and beyond its territory. In September and October 2001, the government established at least 11 new courts in NWFP and four in Sindh. At the end of the year 2001, at least 41 more courts were established in the country.[50] Furthermore, the Anti-Terrorism (Amendment) Ordinance, 2002, January 2002 was promulgated to expedite the pending trials.

Anti-Terrorism (Amendment) Ordinance, 2002

The ordinance provided for the inclusion of a 'military person' as one of the three ATC members for a speedy trial. After the ordinance's promulgation, all previous cases were transferred to the new courts, which were to continue working until November 30, but their term could be extended. The ordinance was aimed at targeting terrorist networks and ensuring stiff penalties, including the death sentence. The ordinance did, however, provide a right of appeal to the accused.[51]

Following criticism from human rights organizations, the ordinance was amended after 10 months and a new law -- the Anti-Terrorism (Amendment) Ordinance, 2002 -- was promulgated on November 16, 2002.

Anti-Terrorism (Amendment) Ordinance, 2002

Besides minor changes, the ordinance incorporated some new provisions. One of them authorized the federal and provincial governments to keep a person under observation upon receiving information that he is an activist, office-bearer, or associated with a terrorist organization. If that person was found to have links with a terrorist organization or sectarianism the government could notify his name in a list under the law's Fourth Schedule. However, an accused could be released after presenting one or more sureties to confirm his virtuousness before the district police officer. If the accused failed to present a surety then he was to be presented before a court within 24 hours. The court was empowered to order detention of the accused until he executed the required sureties (Section 11-EE). Any person whose name was included in the Fourth Schedule could appeal to the federal or provincial government within 30 days. After hearing his case, the government was to decide on affording him an opportunity to appeal

within 30 days (Section 11-EE(3)). The ordinance declared that the government could order the arrest and detention of any person whose name was included in the list for a period defined in the order. The period could be extended from time to time but could not exceed 12 months (Section 11-EEE).

Pakistan was faced with an uncertain security environment at the time, with high strain on the country's borders with India amid the 2001-02 military standoff with its eastern neighbour.

After the promulgation of this ordinance the government banned several militant organization based in Pakistan.[52] The ban followed extensive Indian pressure but the step was certainly essential for Pakistan to vindicate its position internationally after charges of these organizations' involvement in cross-border terrorism.

Through the ordinance, then president Musharraf tried to curb the network of militant organizations. He declared that his government would take all possible measures against the banned organizations if they did not stop their activities. Their offices were sealed, their accounts frozen and their literature in both electronic and printed form seized.[53]

Musharraf amended the ordinance again, promulgating the Anti-Terrorism (Amendment) Ordinance 2004 on November 30, 2004.

Anti-Terrorism (Amendment) Ordinance 2004

The ordinance increased the penalties for persons assisting terrorists in any manner. It enhanced the maximum punishment for those found guilty of such assistance from 14 years to life imprisonment and provided a right of appeal to the accused under Section 25(4). According to Section 4-A, a person being tried by an ATC could lodge an appeal with a High Court within 30 days of the order. According to Section 4-B, if an order of acquittal is passed by an ATC in any case set up upon complaint and the High Court, on an application made to it by the complainant in this behalf, grant special leave to appeal the order of acquittal, the complainant may lodge an appeal with the High Court within 30 days.[54] The government sought to deter terrorist activities with enhanced penalties in the Anti-Terrorism (Second Amendment) Act, 2005.

Anti-Terrorism (Second Amendment) Act, 2005[55]

The ordinance increased the maximum punishment from five years to 10 years (Section 7-B); from 14 years to life imprisonment (Section 7-C); from seven years to 10 years (Section 7-D); and imprisonment not exceeding 14 years to a prison term not exceeding life imprisonment (Section 7-F). Under Section 6(2), punishment was enhanced from 14 years to life imprisonment. The imprisonment was increased from six months to two years; from three years to five years; from one year to five years; and from five years to 10 years (Section 7-G, H & I). According to the ordinance, a person who commits any offence under Section 11-G must be punished with five years of imprisonment or fine, or both. Under Section 11-N, imprisonment of six months was enhanced to five years; five years to 10 years and the maximum punishment increased from seven years to life (Section 11-V). The ordinance stipulated that an ATC shall not give more than two consecutive adjournments during the trial of the case. If the defense counsel does not appear after two consecutive adjournments, the court would appoint a state counsel -- having at least seven years of experience in criminal defense -- to proceed with the trial of the case (Section 19(8)).

The ordinance stated that each High Court would establish a special bench or benches consisting of at least two judges for hearing appeals (Section 25(9)). The appellate bench would also not grant more than two consecutive adjournments (Section 25(10)). The ordinance authorized the impounding of passports of any accused for a period specified by the court (Section 28-A). It further provided that the ATC, to the exclusion of any other court, shall try the cases of abduction, kidnapping for ransom, use of firearms or other explosives in mosques, Imambargahs, churches, temples or any other place of worship and firing or use of explosives in the court premises (Third Schedule (4)).

Pakistan faced severe deterioration of law and order and internal security in 2007. Following the Lal Masjid clerics' standoff with government troops that ended in July 2007,[56] extremist activities became more pronounced and militancy and Talbinization spread across Pakistan, especially in the Tribal Areas and parts of the NWFP. The government launched military operations in the Tribal Areas to restore peace but has so far failed to realize that goal. At least 71 suicide bombings occurred in Pakistan in the year 2007 alone, killing more than 900 people and injuring at least 1,574.[57] President Musharraf declared a state of emergency in the country on November 3, 2007, establishing the Provisional Constitution Order No. 1 of 2007 and suspending the Constitution.

Provisional Constitution Order No. 1 of 2007[58]

To meet the aims of the November 3, 2007 Proclamation of Emergency, Gen Musharraf promulgated the PCO, in his capacity as the Chief of Army Staff, ostensibly to restore peace in the country. Musharraf's November 3 actions were largely seen as an attempt to pre-empt an impending Supreme Court verdict about his eligibility for the office of the president.

According to the PCO, fundamental rights under Articles 9, 10, 15, 16, 17, 19 and 25 of the Constitution were suspended. The PCO also provided that the Supreme Court, High Court or any other court would not have the power to pass any order against the president or the prime minister or any person exercising powers or jurisdiction under their authority (Section 3). It authorized the president to issue any order to amend the Constitution from time to time and he used the power to amend, among other, articles 175, 186-A, 198, 218 and 270 of the Constitution. The PCO provided that all persons who were in office before November 3 as judges of the Supreme Court, the Federal Shariat Court or a High Court would be governed by the Oath of Office (Judges) Order, 2007 – which necessitated a new oath by judges under the PCO – and "such further Orders as the President may pass" (Section 2(4)). The parliament and provincial assemblies were, however, allowed to function (Section 2(5)).

Musharraf faced enormous criticism, both in Pakistan and abroad, and countrywide protests over the imposition of emergency. On December 15, 2007, the Emergency order was revoked, the PCO repealed and the Constitution restored, albeit with changes made by Musharraf. Superior court judges sworn in after the November 3 actions continued in office and took a new oath under the Third Schedule of the Constitution. Musharraf announced the holding of general elections, leading to the eventual restoration of a political setup in the country after the February 18 elections. The law and order situation worsened considerably in the latter half of 2007 and 2008 as terrorists targeted the security forces, political leaders and political gatherings. Several suicide attacks occurred during the election campaign. On December 27, 2007, Pakistan's Peoples Party (PPP) leader and former prime minister Benazir Bhutto was shot dead in a gun-and-bomb attack as she left after addressing a rally in the garrison city of Rawalpindi. PPP leader Yousuf Raza Gilani became prime minister of Pakistan on March 25, 2008.[59] His government struggled to contain terrorism that was growing both in its reach and ferocity. During a visit to the Unit-

ed States, the prime minister declared that his government would persist with the counter-terrorism strategy pursued by Musharraf.[60]

Cyber-Terrorism Laws

Cyber-terrorism is a new strain of terrorism through which a terrorist can assault and destroy electronic communication networks and infrastructure of states by using the relative anonymity afforded by cyberspace. It allows terrorist groups and individuals opportunities to cause massive damage to computer-dependent societies by targeting defense-related institutions. Cyber-terrorism can target considerably more people than any physical terrorist attack can and that too without the inherent threat of capture, injury, or death to the attacker that being physically present would bring.

Individuals or groups of hackers infiltrate the private and government computer networks, disable the military cyber systems and hack the data of any organization, causing both financial and material losses.[61]

According to the Dorothy Denning:

> "Cyber-Terrorism is the convergence of cyberspace and terrorism. It refers to unlawful attacks and threats of attacks against computers, networks and the information stored therein when done to intimidate or coerce a government or its people in furtherance of political or social objectives. Further, to qualify as Cyber-Terrorism, an attack should result in violence against persons or property, or at least cause enough harm to generate fear. Attacks that lead to death or bodily injury, explosions, or severe economic loss would be examples. Serious attacks against critical infrastructures could be acts of Cyber-Terrorism, depending on their impact. Attacks that disrupt nonessential services or that are mainly a costly nuisance would not."[62]

In 2007, Pakistan enacted the Prevention of Electronic Crimes Act, 2007 to prevent any action directed against the confidentiality, integrity and availability of electronic systems, networks and data as well as the misuse of such systems, networks and data by penalizing such actions and providing mechanism for investigation, prosecution and trial of such offences.

Prevention of Electronic Crimes Act 2007[63]

According to the Act, "Any person, group or organization who, with terroristic intent utilizes, accesses or causes to be accessed a computer or computer network or electronic system or electronic device or by any available means, and thereby knowingly engages in or attempts to engage in a terroristic act commits the offence of cyber terrorism." (Section 17)

The Act applies to every person who commits any offence punishable under its provisions, without discrimination -- of nationality, citizenship or the physical presence or otherwise of the accused in Pakistan or beyond -- if it affects the security of Pakistan, its nationals, national harmony or any electronic system or damages any data located in Pakistan (Section 1(3)). The Act provides that any person anywhere in the world trying unauthorized access to any electronic system or electronic device or to break the security measures under the Act would be punishable with more than two years of punishment or with a maximum of Rs 300,000 fine, or with both (Section 3). Any person who tries to access the data illegitimately shall be punished with three years of imprisonment or with fine, or both (Section 4). The Act provides penalties of more than three years of imprisonment or fine, or both, for anyone damaging any data (Section 5). The Act also states that any person involved in damaging any system or choking the networks shall be punishable with three years of imprisonment or fine, or both (Section 6). It says that any person involved in any act of fraud likely to cause harm to any person or persons shall be punished with imprisonment which may extend to seven years or with fine, or with both. According to the Act, any person trying to illegitimately obtain any password, or access a code, system design or any other means of gaining access to any electronic system or data with intent to obtain wrongful gain shall be punished with imprisonment for a term which may extend to three years, or with fine, or both (Section 10). The Act specifies that any person using a computer, computer network, Internet, network site, electronic mail or similar means of communication to harass or threaten any person is liable to 10 years of imprisonment or Rs 100,000 fine, or both (Section 13).

Anyone causing criminal access to any sensitive electronic system in the course of the commission of any of the offences under the Act shall face imprisonment which may extend to 10 years or Rs one million fine, or both (Section 18). All offences under the Act are bailable except the offences punishable with imprisonment for seven years or more (Section 22). After the commencement of the Act, the federal government shall es-

tablish the Information and Communication Technologies Tribunal, with its principal seat in Islamabad. The bench of tribunal shall consist of more than two and less than seven judges to try the cases under the Act (Section 31). The Act also states that the tribunal's judges should have the knowledge regarding the legislation as well as professional experience of telecommunication and information technology (Section 32). It says the federal government should establish a specialized investigation and prosecution cell within the Federal Investigation Agency (FIA) to investigate and prosecute the offences under the Act (Section 25). The Act gives large-scale powers to the investigation officer, allowing him access to any electronic system (Section 26). According to the Act, the federal government may cooperate with any foreign government, Interpol or any other international agency for the investigation and proceedings concerning offences related to electronic systems and data and can forward any information to the concerned foreign government or Interpol or any other international agency through which it can investigate any offence. The federal government can also request the foreign government, Interpol, or other international agencies to keep that information confidential (Section 30). Section 40 of the Act provides the right of appeal to the accused.

The enactment of laws to curb cyber-terrorism is indeed a positive sign but the terminology the Act uses to identify cyber crimes is ambiguous.

Combined with scant knowledge about the subject in Pakistan and the immense power given to FIA under the Act, abuse of the law cannot be ruled out. The people need to be educated about the issue and a fair investigation mechanism needs to be developed to ensure that the innocent do not pay for not being technology savvy.

Conclusion

Despite a long history of anti-terrorism laws in Pakistan, the country continues to suffer widespread terrorism and invites frequent comments from the western media regarding its failure in ensure peace and law and order. Although every government has contributed to the anti-terrorism legislation, none has succeeded in achieving peace in the State. The reason is certainly not any shortcomings in the law but failure of successive governments to efficiently implement these laws.

Instead of sincere implementation, every government has used the anti-terrorism laws to further its interests, suppress political opponents and prolong its rule. As a result, political violence aggravated into unbridled

sectarian violence and terrorism. The anti-terrorism laws arm the government with effective tools of deterrence to maintain law and order but if the will to implement the law is lacking then peace and security would remain elusive irrespective of legislation.

If the present government wants to create a secure and peaceful environment and destroy the network of terrorists then it must adopt a long-term strategy instead of looking for quick fixes. It can begin by changing the mindset of the people -- by spending on education and social development of the masses to enable them to differentiate between right and wrong. Achieving that would deal terrorism the fatal blow that anti-terrorism laws have failed to deliver in decades.

References:

[1] Shabana Fayyaz, 'Responding to Terrorism: Pakistan's Anti-Terrorism Laws: Part I', *Pak-Institute for Peace Studies*, April 28, 2008. http://www.terrorismanalysis.com/P+/index.php?option=com-rokzine&view=article&id=44&Itemid=54
[2] Ibid.
[3] The Public and Representative Offices (Disqualification) Act 1949, 'Constitutional Documents' (Karachi: 1949), p. 66.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Interview with political analyst Shabana Fayyaz, July 8, 2008.
[6] Shabana Fayyaz, 'Responding to Terrorism: Pakistan's Anti-Terrorism Laws: Part I'.
[7] Razi-e-aldin Razi, Shakir Hussain Shakir, '*Pakistan, 58 Years*', Sang-e-Meel Publications, (Lahore: 2006) p. 253 .
[8] Shabana Fayyaz, 'Responding to Terrorism: Pakistan's Anti-Terrorism Laws: Part I'.
[9] G.M.Chaudhry and Irafan Mahmood Warraich, The Security of Pakistan Act, 1952, 'Pakistan Military Laws', Federal Law House, June 2006.
[10] Irfan Mahmood Warraich, 'Pakistan Military Laws', Federal Law House p. 885.
[11] Interview with Shabana Fayyaz.
[12] Mian Ghulam Hussain, Manual of Anti-Terrorism Laws in Pakistan, Afsari Printers, (Lahore: 2006).
[13] Shabana Fayyaz, 'Responding to Terrorism: Pakistan's Anti-Terrorism Laws: Part I'.
[14] Suppression of Terrorist Activities (Special Court) Act 1975, February 1, 1975.
[15] Mian Ghulam Hussain, Manual of Anti-Terrorism Laws in Pakistan.
[16] Suppression of Terrorist Activities (Special Courts) (Amendment) Ordinance 1984, November 11, 1984.
[17] Mian Ghulam Hussain, Manual of Anti-Terrorism Laws in Pakistan.
[18] Shabana Fayyaz, 'Responding to Terrorism: Pakistan's Anti-Terrorism Laws: Part I'.
[19]Section 4, Suppression of Terrorist Activities (Special Courts) (Amendment) Ordinance, 1984, April 5, 1984.
[20] Mian Ghulam Hussain, Manual of Anti-Terrorism Laws in Pakistan, p. 541.
[21] Ibid, pp. 540-541.
[22] Razi-e-aldin Razi and Shakir Hussain Shakir, '*Pakistan, 58 Years'*, pp. 880-890.
[23] Ibid, pp. 894-908.
[24] Ibid, p. 923.
[25] Mian Ghulam Hussain, Manual of Anti-Terrorism Laws in Pakistan.
[26] Amnesty International, 'Legalizing the impermissible: The New Anti-Terrorism Law', October 1, 1997. http://asiapacific.amnesty.org/library/Index/ENGASA330341997?open&of=ENG-325
[27] Charles Kennedy, 'The Creation and Development of Pakistan's Anti-Terrorism Regime, 1997-2002',

http://www.apcss.org/Publications/Edited%20Volumes/ReligiousRadicalism/PagesfromReligiousRadicalismandSecurityinSouthAsiach16.pdf.

[28] The Anti-Terrorism Act, 1997 (XXVII of 1997), Ministry of Law, Justice, Human Rights and Parliamentary Affairs, (Islamabad, 2003).

[29] Ibid.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Amnesty International, 'Legalizing the impermissible: The New Anti-Terrorism Law'.

[32] For details of the case see *Mehram Ali Versus Federation of Pakistan*, Ministry of Law, Islamabad; or Shabana Fayyaz, 'Responding to Terrorism: Pakistan's Anti-Terrorism Laws: Part I'.

[33] Shabana Fayyaz, 'Responding to Terrorism: Pakistan's Anti-Terrorism Laws: Part I'.

[34] Anti-Terrorism (Amendment) Ordinance 1998, October 24, 1998.

[35] Interview with Shabana Fayyaz.

[36] Anti-Terrorism (Amendment) Ordinance 1999, April 27, 1999.

[37] For details see: *Sheikh Liaquat Hussain and other Vs Federation of Pakistan*, PLD 1999 SC 504 to 879.

[38] Interview with Shabana Fayyaz.

[39] *Liaquet Hussain versus the Federation of Pakistan, PLD 1999 SC 504.*

[40] Interview with Shabana Fayyaz.

[41] Anti-Terrorism (Amendment) Ordinance 1999, April 27, 1999.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Interview with a former judge of the Supreme Court of Pakistan. September 4, 2008.

[44] Anti-Terrorism (Amendment) Ordinance 1999, May 30, 2000.

[45] Charles Kennedy, 'The Creation and Development of Pakistan's Anti-Terrorism Regime, 1997-2002'.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Shabana Fayyaz, 'Responding to Terrorism: Pakistan's Anti-Terrorism Laws: Part I'.

[48] Ibid.

[49] Anti-Terrorism (Amendment) Ordinance, August 15, 2001.

[50] Interview with Shabana Fayyaz.

[51] Shabana Fayyaz, 'Responding to Terrorism: Pakistan's Anti-Terrorism Laws: Part I'.

[52] The militant organization banned by the government under the Anti-Terrorism (Amendment) Ordinance 2002, are: Jaish-e-Mohammad; Lashkar-e-Tayyaba; Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan; Tehrik-e-Jafria Pakistan; Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-Mohammadi; Tehrik-e-Islami. One organization, Sunni Tehrik, was placed on the government watch list.

[53] Interview with Shabana Fayyaz.

[54] Anti-Terrorism (Amendment) Ordinance, 2004.

[55] Anti-Terrorism (Second Amendment) Act, 2005, January 11, 2005.

[56] The Lal Masjid and an affiliated seminary Jamia Hafsa are known for their sectarian background. The seminary has been a mainstay of Islamic militancy. The two Ghazi brothers, administrators of Lal Masjid, vehemently opposed the government decision to support the US war on terror and wanted to introduce Shariah justice system in Pakistan. They launched a campaign against women drivers and CD shops. They effectyively attempted to make a state within the state to enforce their version of Shariah in Pakistan. The government launched an operation against Lal Masjid after several warnings. Army soldiers and heavy weapons were used in the operation. Abdul Rashid Ghazi and many others were killed along with a large number of female students. Ghazi's brother Abdul Aziz was arrested.

[57] PIPS Database; State of Human Rights in 2007, Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, p. 65.

[58] Provisional Constitution Order No. 1 of 2007, November 3, 2007.

[59] Daily *The News*, March 26, 2008.

[60] Daily *The Post*, July 29, 2008.

[61] Interview with IT expert Zeeshan Shafi, August 1, 2008.

[62]Gabriel Weimann, 'Cyber-Terrorism: How real is the threat', Special Report No. 119, December 2004. http://www.usip.org/pubs/specialreports/sr119.html

[63] The Prevention of Electronic Crimes Act, 2007, August 17, 2007.

EXPLORING THE MINDSET OF THE BRITISH-PAKISTANI COMMUNITY: THE SOCIO-CULTURAL AND RELIGIOUS CONTEXT

Safdar Sial

Outline

- Introduction
- Research Methodology and Approach
- Part-I: Profile of Mirpur District
    - Geography
    - Location and Topography
    - Climate
    - History
    - Class Division
    - Mirpur's Role in Freedom Movement in Kashmir
    - Education System
    - Health
    - Social Structure
    - Religious Trends
    - *Sufis* and Saints
    - Language
    - Food and Dress Code
    - Sports Facilities
    - Journalism
    - Economics and Trade
    - Politics
    - Madrassas in Mirpur
    - Jihadi Organizations in Mirpur
    - NGOs

- Part-II: Understanding the British-Pakistani Community
    - Socio-cultural Evolution
    - Barriers to Social Interaction
        - Language
        - Education
        - Religion
    - Formation of Identity and Mindset

a. Socio-cultural & Psychological Perspective

1. Roots in Native Land/Culture
2. Generation Gap
3. Discrimination
4. Role of Media

b. Religious Perspective
1. Role of Clergy
2. Islamophobia
3. Roots of Jihad
4. Role of Religious Parties/Radical Groups
5. Kashmir

c. Political Perspective
- Role of Pakistani Immigrants in British Politics
- Link with Native Politics

d. Economic Perspective

- Conclusion

Introduction[1]

The arrival of Pakistanis in Britain began in the middle of the twentieth century. After World War II and the Industrial Revolution, Britain apprehended a lack of workforce, prompting it to attract people from newly-independent countries, especially from the Commonwealth member countries, to avail better economic conditions in Britain. Pakistan also encouraged its citizens to avail the opportunity. In the 1950s, thousands of Pakistanis arrived in Britain to explore these opportunities. Even before 1950, some people from the Indian Subcontinent living in Britain belonged to areas that became part of Pakistan after 1947. But the 1950s migration is considered the first major shift of the Pakistani labor force to Britain.[2]

People from the Subcontinent who had settled in Britain before the creation of Pakistan predominantly worked at ports, and the new migrants also sought work in the same field. Initially, these people settled in London, Liverpool, Cardiff, Hill, Newcastle, and Edinburgh and along areas close to major British harbors. A gradual increase in the local population and decreasing employment opportunities suitable for their skills forced them to relocate to cities like Glasgow, Birmingham, Manchester, Bradford, Sheffield, Leads, Nottingham and Hampton.

Most Pakistani migrants had come to Britain with a view to return to Pakistan once they had saved enough money. Throughout the 1960s and

1970s their numbers increased. Men came over first and their wives, children and other dependants followed. By the 1970s, many Pakistanis working in Britain started thinking that it would be difficult to return home due to a number of factors, including higher living standards in Britain, the need to maintain their new businesses, their children being enrolled in British schools and the political instability in Pakistan.[3] During the 1960s, immigration controls also made it increasingly difficult for the migrants to move in and out of Britain. That also persuaded many migrants to bring their families to Britain, becoming settled communities rather than transitory group of male workers.

According to the 2001 Census in Britain, there were more than 700,000 British-Pakistanis, who had migrated from across Pakistan. Recent estimates suggest this number has now surged to over one million.[4] There is a significant concentration of Pakistanis in Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, Wales, Nottingham, London and Bradford, which is often called 'mini Pakistan'.[5] British-Pakistanis hail from various cities, particularly from Mirpur in Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJK), as well as the Pakistani cities of Attock, Faisalabad, Sahiwal, Bahawalpur, Gujjar Khan, Jhelum, Rawalpindi, Gujrat, Sialkot, Gujranwala, Lahore, Peshawar, Karachi and the interior parts of Sindh.

This research study seeks to explore the background, both in Britain and in Pakistan, and the current status of British-Pakistanis with particular reference to their socio-cultural and religious contexts. The scope of the study is limited to a survey sample representative of British-Pakistanis from Mirpur district in AJK. Mirpur occupies a unique place in the context of UK-Pakistan relations. More than 42% of British-Pakistanis are natives of this district. In cities like Bradford and Birmingham, the people from Mirpur make up about 90% of the Pakistani population.[6] This study has also endeavored to determine the changing patterns of political, cultural and economic life in Mirpur district. The overall aim of the study was to understand the psychological identity and mindset of these British-Pakistanis, rooted in their native homeland and conditioned by the socio-cultural discourse of their host society; and hence to identify and analyze their potential to assimilate in or deviate from the society they are now a part of.

The focus of the study has been justified by the fact that migrants from Mirpur district are not only the strongest Pakistani community in Great Britain in terms of numbers but also the most cohesive and culturally distinct group there. Their impact on the politics and culture of British-

Pakistanis is profound. At the same time, the migrant community from Mirpur has also maintained an intimate relationship with the place of their origin. Mirpur has been transformed as much by its UK-based population as the cities of their abode in Britain have been influenced by the migrants from Mirpur. One factor responsible for this significant migrant majority from Mirpur is the Pakistani government's decision in 1960 to build Mangla Dam near Mirpur. The government issued passports to one member of each family displaced by the dam's construction. Those who got their passports mostly moved to Britain.

Research Methodology and Approach

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 50 British-Pakistanis from Mirpur district [with intervals] while they were visiting their native areas. The sample group was randomly selected from both rural and urban areas of the district. A team of three researchers conducted the interviews between January 1 and April 30, 2007, under the auspices of the Pak Institute for Peace Studies (PIPS). Besides personal information like the age, education, marital status, profession and duration of stay in Britain, the respondents were also asked a range of questions to assess their economic status and socio-cultural, political and religious trends. They were also asked about their affiliations with any religious organization, political party, charities, NGOs or any other group in Pakistan or Britain. The interviewers sought comprehensive views on the socio-cultural and religious norms in the two countries, British foreign policy, war on terror, Kashmir dispute and how the respondents were treated in Britain and Pakistan. Observations of the relatives and families of British-Pakistanis in Mirpur were also recorded at the time of the interviews. Besides this primary data, books, articles and textual documents on the British-Pakistani community were also consulted.

The data was used to develop the two parts of the research analysis. A theoretical study forms the first part of the paper -- giving a profile of Mirpur district; whereas an empirical study, mostly based on the primary data, forms the second part – aimed at understanding the British-Pakistani community's mindset. Most of the data has been analyzed qualitatively while identified variables have been controlled statistically and merged in the report where needed.

Since all interviews were conducted in Mirpur district, the availability of the British-Pakistani respondents from Mirpur during their visits to Pakistan within the duration of the four-month field research perhaps could not serve as a homogenous representative sample of the target community in Britain. Moreover all the respondents belonged to male gender only. Due to some cultural and religious constraints the women could not be interviewed. A wider sample selection and a study over a longer period of time, and in both countries, would obviously have been more accurate and precise in accessing the community's mindset and trends.

Part-I: Profile of Mirpur District

Geography

Area: 1,010 square kilometers.

Population: 333,482 (as recorded in the 1998 Census)[7]

Sub-divisions: Mirpur district is divided into two sub-divisions, or tehsils, Mirpur and Dadyaal.

Main towns: Major towns in the district include Mangla, Chakswari, Afzal Pur, Cheechyan, Islamgarh and Khari Sharif.

Location and Topography

Mirpur is a district in the Pakistan-administered AJK. Though in a hilly terrain, it mainly consists of plains. Mirpur city is located at 33° 11′ E latitude and 73° 45′ N longitude. Other districts in the vicinity are Kotli, 100km to the north, Bhimber, 50km to the east and Gujjar Khan and Rawalpindi in the west. Mirpur is adjacent to the Punjab province and is 28 km from the famous Grand Trunk Road.[8]

Mirpur is the biggest city of AJK. It is 1,500 feet above sea level while the old city of Mirpur was 1,236 feet above sea level.[9] The inhabitants were shifted to the new city as Mangla the old city and 125 adjacent villages were flooded after to the construction of Mangla Dam.[10]

Climate

The area's climate is similar to that of the Punjab. In the summer it is very hot, while winters are very cold. Mangla Dam is situated near the new Mirpur city. It is a masterpiece of construction, stretching over 100 miles,

and is being extended to store more water. The project generates almost 35% of Pakistan's electricity.[11]

History

Most historians agree that Mirpur was founded by Miran Shah Gakharr in 1051 and was named after him.[12]

The army of Alexander the Great crossed the River Jhelum here and met the army of Indian king Porus at the foot of what is now Mirpur. Alexander defeated Porus in the historic Battle of Hydaspes in 326 BC.[13]

Before the Dogra dynasty began, which ruled Kashmir until 1947, the Gakharr, Mangral and Jaral tribes ruled over this region under a feudal system for a period of 600 years -- from 1300 to the mid-19th century.[14]

In the 19th century Maharaja Ranjeet Singh's regime flirted with the idea of merging the state of Kashmir and other states to form a central government. The proponent of this idea was Dogra Gulab Singh of Jammu. After Ranjeet Singh's death, Gulab Singh bought the state in March 1846 with the help of British rulers. Under the sale deed signed in Amritsar, he bought Kashmir along with its attached states and their inhabitants for 7.5 million Nanakshahi coins.[15]

Muslim landlords did not build houses or settled in the cities of Mirpur, Kotli and Bhimber during the colonial period, despite educational, health facilities and economic opportunities in these cities. Other major cities in Mirpur's vicinity, such as Rawalpindi and Jhelum, had attracted a lot of Muslim landlords during the colonial period but Kashmiri Muslim landlords were reluctant to leave their traditions imbedded in rural soil. However, during the British rule, some Muslim landlords and 'Maafidars' (owners of rent-free land) in Mirpur were providing administrative assistance to the central government.[16]

After the creation of Pakistan in 1947, the geographic division of Mirpur district was done in such a manner that separated it from other regions of Kashmir in almost all aspects of life. Its social values, language, folksongs and culture were distinct from the rest of Kashmir.

Mirpur established and maintained its cultural, literary, social and linguistic association with the region of Pothohar, especially the districts of Rawalpindi and Jhelum.[17]

Class Division

In 1947, around 64 villages in the district were feudal property whereas 336 were assigned to 'Maafidars'. In these villages, the majority of the population was Muslim. At the time of partition of British India, there were 3,382 landlords with land holding of at least 100 kanals each. Among those, 3,010 were Muslim and 372 non-Muslim.[18]

Before 1947, Mirpur district consisted of two distinct social classes: the ruling elite, consisting of feudal lords, tribal chiefs, bureaucrats and prominent businessmen; and the poor masses engaged in farming, labor and handicrafts.[19] Significant numbers of men began to migrate from the area towards the end of the 19th century. Traveling south to Bombay, many found work in the docks, and took jobs on ships as the port grew busier.[20] With the exposure came awareness of the socio-economic differences they faced in their native areas, which later led them to leave the country for a better future.[21]

Today's Mirpur is not divided on those lines, mainly due to the area's prosperity after a large number of Mirpur's residents migrated to Britain.

Mirpur's Role in the Freedom Movement of Kashmir

The people of this district support the freedom movement in Indian-held Kashmir (IHK) by all means. Some youth from the outskirts of Mirpur were trained in jihadi camps and died fighting in IHK.[22] Natives of the area also provide funds to jihadi organizations and have raised the Kashmir issue in Europe, America and at the United Nations. British-Pakistanis from Mirpur support the Kashmir freedom movement in Britain from the platform of organizations like the Kashmir Foundation and Kashmir Welfare Association. Several other political and religious organizations from AJK also operate in the United Kingdom.[23]

All AJK political parties have offices in Britain. Barrister Sultan Mahmood Chaudhry, a resident of Mirpur, is a former AJK premier and one of the most prominent advocates of Kashmir's freedom from Indian rule. The UK chapters of these parties lobby the British government to use its influence to solve the Kashmir issue. Most of them consider the jihad in Kashmir a legitimate freedom struggle which cannot be equated with terrorism. Yet, most of those interviewed by PIPS preferred a negotiated solution to a military one.

Only a small number of expatriates from Mirpur concede providing funds to jihadi organizations. But parties like the Jamaat-e-Islami support the jihad openly. Its members not only donate funds but also provide manpower for jihad. The Jamaat ud-Da'awa also provides funds and 'human resource' for the Kashmir jihad.[24]

Education System

Mirpur has made significant progress in education over time. The city has separate university campuses for girls and boys, an engineering university, a distance education university, a paramedics' school, an elementary college, a teachers' training college, a technology college, a women's university and a home economics college. The Intermediate Education Board offices are also based here. There is an intermediate college every 15km in Mirpur and a degree college every 40km. There are numerous private and public schools in the city.[25]

Modern computer education institutions are flourishing in the city. Literary activities are being promoted by the Saiful Malook Arts Academy. A medical college has also recently started functioning in Mirpur.

Health

Mirpur has adequate healthcare facilities. A District Headquarters Hospital is located in the city. A local philanthropist Haji Muhammad Saleem has sponsored a cardiac hospital, built at a cost of Rs 15 million. The hospital is now run by the government. AJK's only dialysis centre is working in Mirpur under the supervision of the Human Welfare Society. Around 15 private hospitals in the city mainly provide services to the well-off residents.

Social Structure

Mirpur is not only a beautiful city but also a cradle of affluence and peace. The expatriate community has built luxurious houses in their native towns and villages but there are usually no residents in these palatial houses. Though settled in Britain the expatriates have built these huge houses as a mark of social status and prestige. Most expatriates visit their native areas during holidays or on occasions such as weddings, funerals or Eid. In some cases, UK-based owners of these houses in Mirpur pay money for maintenance to their tenants instead of receiving rent from them.[26] Remittances from expatriates have helped develop a network of social welfare organizations and public service projects.

The old generation of Mirpur, even though settled in the UK, tends to keep traditional values alive. Though influenced to some extent by the western culture, they strictly follow local traditions whenever they visit Mirpur along with their children to attend any family function.

Most of them prefer to find a spouse in Pakistan for their children so they could invite other members of their clans to live in Britain.[27]

Religious Trends

Mirpur is called the city of *khanqahs* (hermitages) and *darbars* (shrines). Kashmir has been known to be the site of graves of prophets of the pre-Christ era and has attracted pilgrims for centuries. The shrines of Muslim saints are a continuation of that phenomenon.

Islam is the religion of a vast majority of people of Jammu and Kashmir. Much of that is due to *sufis,* or mystics, from Punjab who settled in this region. Pothohari, Punjabi and Pahari cultures have left indelible marks on Kashmir's culture and society. Mirpur has a special cultural and spiritual affinity with the Punjab.

***Sufis* and Saints**

Punjab's *sufis* and saints have had a special place in Mirpur's religious history. Many of the itinerant preachers permanently settled here and their shrines are revered to this day. Pir-e-Shah Ghazi Qalandri Tharyanvali established a spiritual centre in Khari Sharif. His disciple Mian Muhammad Bakhsh, one of the greatest Punjabi poets, was also from Khari Sharif. The list of *sufis* and saints who have shaped the religious beliefs in this region is long. Some of the more famous ones are Hafiz Muhammad Muqeem, Baba Shaker Shaheed, Buleh Shah, Wali Shaheed, Pir Miraan Shah, Baba Shamsuddin, Saein Barkat Ali Sarkar, Hafiz Muhammad Abdullah, Sayeed Lala Badshah and Naikk Alam Shah.[28]

This relationship with *sufis* explains why the more violent versions of Islam have not taken root in this region until very recently. Even today, the main cultural festivals in the region are the annual *urs* (anniversary) at shrines, attracting followers from afar.

Language

Mirpur's culture, traditions and language share similarities with the Punjab districts such as Gujrat, Jhelum and Rawalpindi. Pahari, Punjabi, Pot-

hohari, Gojari, and Kashmiri are the most widely spoken languages in Mirpur. The local language of the area is a blend of Pothohari, Pahari and Punjabi. A variety of dialects can be heard in routine conversations. The people of this region take pride in its history of great poets, scholars, writers, and *sufis* who have turned this region into a land of literature and spiritualism.

Food and Dress Code

Wheat bread is the staple food, and is usually consumed with vegetables, grains, meat, butter or yogurt. Corn and millet bread with spinach are also part of the daily diet in villages. Despite Mirpur's proximity to Mangla Dam, fish is expensive and not very common.

S*halwar kameez* (long shirt and baggy trousers) is the most common dress but western dresses have also become acceptable because of expatriates' influence. Male villagers wear *kurta* (long shirt) with a *tehmand* (long drape worn as a loincloth), whereas women wear *shalwar kurtas* and cover their head.

Sports Facilities

Football, volleyball, bull race, dog fights, traditional wrestling (*beeny*), spear fighting, hockey, and cricket are the popular sports in Mirpur. The main sports arena is Quaid-e- Azam Stadium.

Journalism

All major national daily newspapers have readership in Mirpur. The only daily newspaper published from Mirpur is *'Jazba',* which concentrates on local news. A few weekly and monthly magazines are also published in the district. As expatriates fund most of these magazines, the activities of British nationals of Mirpuri origin are extensively covered. Mirpur's journalism is known for advocating the residents' point of view regarding plans to expand Mangla Dam.

Economics and Trade

During and after the Dogra rule, trade in Mirpur was dominated by Hindus. Muslims were mostly farmers whereas many used donkeys to transport luggage and crops from one place to another, making up for lack of roads and mechanized transport.[29]

Because of low crop yields, local residents used to go abroad to earn their living. Besides working in brick kilns, road construction and menial labor, they also worked as porters at warehouses and railway stations. Away from their own country, some joined merchant shipping and also reached countries like Britain, Australia and the United States. During World War II, the British army also recruited from its colonies. Pakistan's founding father Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah had also urged Muslims to join the army. As many as 60,402 young men were recruited from Poonch and Mirpur districts of Jammu and Kashmir State in undivided India. After Pakistan's independence from British rule, many people from Mirpur migrated to Britain when Mangla Dam was constructed. They gave up their properties in exchange for passports to travel and settle abroad as compensation. That led to a positive change in Mirpur's economy.[30]

While working abroad, expatriates from Mirpur have been catering to the needs of their families in their native towns and striving for the prosperity of these towns and indeed their native country. With their earnings abroad, they have transformed Mirpur into a major business hub. Magnificent mansions, skyscrapers, business centers, spacious three- and four-star hotels and restaurants testify their contribution.

Equipped with better education, the residents of Mirpur have joined various government institutions including the judiciary and the security forces. Women of the area have also joined government jobs. The private sector employs many people in construction firms, factories, private hospitals, educational institutions and non-governmental organizations (NGOs).[31]

Mirpur Industrial Area

Mirpur has been declared an industrial estate and hundreds of industrial units are working in this area, earning a large amount of foreign exchange. These factories' products include silk and other cloth, wool, garments, cement and chemicals, cooking oil, sugar, biscuits, herbal medicines, soap, cigarettes, soft drinks, electrical appliances, scooters and rickshaws, vehicle parts, tyres and rubber, ammunition, steel products, optical instruments, furniture, matches and shoes. Dozens of factories are located in Mirpur city's Dhok Bhago area, covering 7,500 kanals of land. This area's industrial development started in 1988 and it now has around 40 factories.

Politics

Political Structure

Mirpur district is the center of political activities in AJK. Politics of this region revolves around clans, religious sectarianism and personalities, even affecting British-Pakistanis. People of various castes and clans live here and, with clan an important factor in local politics; the Jatt clan has gained prominence.

Mirpur is an increasingly politically aware district of AJK. Most of the population is educated and keenly observes national and international developments. All the political and religious parties of AJK have offices and representatives in Mirpur.

The political and religious leaders in Mirpur are financially sound compared to other AJK districts, due largely to their connections with the British-Pakistani community. Some immigrants come here from Britain to take part in politics.

Important Political Parties[32]

Some of the important political parties of the region are:

1. Pakistan People's Party, Azad Kashmir

A wing of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP), its city president is Chaudhry Abdul Majid. PPP had a massive vote bank in Mirpur but lost significant support after Barrister Sultan Mahmood Chaudhry left the party. However, the party still retains substantial support in the district.[33]

2. All Jammu Kashmir Muslim Conference

Sardar Attiq Ahmed Khan heads the party in AJK and Naveed Goga is the president of its Mirpur district chapter.

3. People's Muslim League

Barrister Sultan Mahmood and his supporters founded this party after quitting the PPP, Azad Kashmir, in 2005.

4. Jammu Kashmir Liberation League

KH Khursheed (late) was the founder of this party. Its president is Justice (retired) Abdul Majeed Malik, a resident of Mirpur.

5. Muttahida Qaumi Movement

The Muttahida Qaumi Movement has emerged in Azad Kashmir after the October 2005 earthquake. Tahir Khokhar, a former member of the National Assembly, is its organizer in Mirpur.

6. Jammu Kashmir People's Party

Sardar Ibrahim Khan is the founder of this party which is a breakaway faction of the PPP, Azad Kashmir. This party has little influence in Mirpur.

Nationalist Parties

Apart from these political parties, some nationalist parties also have a presence in Mirpur district. They have been calling for an undivided Kashmir, independent of Pakistani or Indian rule. These parties cannot participate in elections because they do not adhere to the constitutional requirement regarding affiliation to Pakistan and, therefore, are ineligible. However, they wield significant influence and play an active role amongst immigrants. Public support for these parties lies in their raising a voice for the rights of Mirpur. "Besides Kashmir, people are passionately attached to Mirpur also and this attachment can be observed in Britain as well," said Saeed Ahmed Assad, a social welfare officer in Mirpur, in an interview with PIPS.

Nationalist parties represented in Mirpur are as follows:

1. Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front

Amanullah Khan is the founder of this party while its chairman is Sardar Saghir Ahmed. Abdul Majid Butt represents the party in Mirpur.

2. National Liberation Front

Its chairman is Shaukat Maqbool Butt, a son of Maqbool Butt, who was hanged by the Indian authorities. The party is very popular in Mirpur and is seen as championing the cause of Kashmir's freedom.

3. Jammu Kashmir People's National Party

Two splinter groups of this party are working in Mirpur district. One is led by Advocate Ejaz Nazir, and the other by Advocate Zulfiqar Raja.

These groups consist of former members of the leftist National Students Federation.

Religious Parties

Some religious parties have influence in Mirpur district. However, a majority of voters do not support them as they are committed to other major parties and leaders. The religious parties working in Mirpur are:

1. Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA)

Following the Pakistani religious parties' alliance, the MMA was also formed in AJK but badly lost in the 2002 elections. The alliance no longer exists in Mirpur.

2. Jamaat-e-Islami

Sardar Ejaz Afzal Khan heads the AJK Jamaat-e-Islami (JI), a chapter of JI Pakistan. The Hizbul Mujahideen is its jihadi wing. The party has a strong presence in Mirpur. Major (retired) Iftikhar Hashmi heads the party in Mirpur.

3. Jamiat Ulema-e- Islam (JUI)

Qari Muhammad Gulzar is the JUI Mirpur district president. The party has backing in mosques and madrassas (seminaries) but lacks popular support.

4. Jamiat Ulema-e-Jammu Kashmir

Sahibzada Attiq Rehman Faizpuri, a resident of Mirpur, heads this party. Many expatriates from Mirpur also consider his elders their spiritual guides. The party is in an alliance with the Muslim Conference.

5. Jamaat ud-Da'awa[34]

Shaikh Muhammad Fahim is the head of Jamaat ud-Da'awa in Mirpur. The party lacks influence in the region but is constantly working on different projects in Mirpur, including private schools and welfare organizations. This party has been propagating its views and ideology amongst the visiting British-Pakistani youth and inciting them for jihad. The Lashkar-e-Taiba is its jihadi wing.

6. Jamaat-e-Ahle Hadith

The party is working in Mirpur district but has a very limited membership. Sadiq Ameer heads the party's Mirpur chapter.

7. Pakistani Awami Tehreek

The Pakistani Awami Tehreek of Dr Tahirul Qadri and its educational wing, the Minhaj ul-Quran, work in Mirpur, where Tahir Iqbal heads it. The party runs a number of schools.

8. Jammu Kashmir Islami Tehreek

This party claims to work for the interests of the Shia sect. Mirpur district has a large Shia community, but the party has no influence among other regions and sects.

Madrassas in Mirpur

There are around 40 religious madrassas working in the district, representing different schools of thought and religious sects. These madrassas give education of *Hifz* (Quranic memorization), *Nazra* (reading), *Qirat* (recitation) and Islamic studies. Mainly people from the lower middle class send their children to these madrassas while the rich prefer mainstream schools for formal education of their children.

These madrassas are working under the supervision of different schools of thought. A religious centre of the Dukhtraan-e-Islam (daughters of Islam) is also working in Mirpur. Likewise, the Jamaat ud-Da'awa and Jamaat-ul-Islam Model Islamic School are imparting Islamic education along with computer education. Different mosques and madrassas are imparting Quranic education.

The sect/party-wise breakdown of madrassas in Mirpur district is as under:[35]

Barelvi	=20
Deobandi	=12
Jamaat-e-Islami	=03
Ahle-Hadith	=03

One madrassa is being run by the AJK Auqaf Department.

Jihadi Organizations in Mirpur

Many jihadi organizations have opened offices in Mirpur and receive substantial support from affluent people of the area. Being close to the fa-

mous jihadi district of Kotli, Mirpur has also been influenced by jihadi activities. A list of organizations with offices in Mirpur is as follows:

1. Jaish-e-Muhammad
2. Harkat ul-Mujahideen
3. Lashkar-e-Taiba
4. Sunni Jihad Council (Al Barq)
5. Ansar ul-Islam
6. Tehreek-e-Jihad
7. Hizb ul-Momineen
8. Hizb ul-Mujahideen
9. Hizb-e-Islami

NGOs[36]

More than 100 NGOs are operating in Mirpur. About 90% of them depend upon donations from Kashmiri expatriates. Some of these organizations have been set up by people who have returned from the UK. These NGOs have provided employment to many people and also provide humanitarian services.

Part-II: Understanding the British-Pakistani Community

The British-Pakistani community is the second largest expatriate community in Britain after Indians. According to the 2001 Census, 747,285 Pakistani immigrants were living in Britain, while unofficial sources claim the number has now risen to one million. Divided on regional, ethnic, and political lines, Pakistani immigrants form 1.3% of Britain's population.[37] Although precise figures are not available, it is estimated that there are currently over 300,000 natives of Mirpur living and working in Britain. In cities such as Bradford and Birmingham, up to 90% of Pakistanis trace their roots to Mirpur.[38]

Socio-cultural Evolution

Britain was a new world for many immigrants from backward areas of rural Pakistan, lacking even the basic amenities of life. A large number of Pakistanis arrived in Britain between 1962 and 1966.[39] Their first priority was to ensure financial stability and prosperity. Initially they lodged with friends or relatives, and managed to get community support in a new so-

ciety. Pakistani immigrants buying a new house in any locality attracted other Pakistani friends and relatives to form a new community there. This practice increased the population of Pakistani migrants in British cities. Pakistanis already living there were very helpful to the newcomers, even providing food, shelter and other necessities to the latter.[40] Even today many well-off Pakistanis settled in Britain keenly help new immigrants.

Immigrants deemed forming a community inevitable for economic, social and religious survival in a multicultural British society.

The people of Mirpur led the way for such Pakistani immigrants' settlements and communal evolution. Haji Hassan Muhammad from Mirpur's Dadyaal sub-divisions got a job on a ship in 1914. On reaching London in 1918, he left the ship and went to Newcastle and worked as a door-to-door salesman for some time before setting up a warehouse. He was the first Asian to establish a warehouse in Newcastle. He recruited a large number of women to stitch ready-made garments. One of his sons, Haji Abdul Rehman, is settled near Birmingham now.[41]

Since settling in Britain, British-Pakistanis have been trying to adapt themselves to British culture, with some psychological resistance that varies from person to person. The first generation of immigrants from Pakistan tried hard to safeguard and propagate their cultural values but their children, who were brought up in British society, are fed up with their ancestral traditions.[42]

"With the passage of time things kept changing, adding to social problems. Poverty and unemployment was the basic problem. Much of our time was spent in the upbringing of our families and retaining our tradition and culture, while other people, focused on setting up industries, and became a better nation. As we were new to the country, my father advised me to wear western clothes while going out and seek help from the English in case of getting lost. Now we have lost our status. The double standards have driven the new generation away from their homes. The inner cities' system of Britain is good but we neither gained anything from it nor accepted it and remained backward," said a British-Pakistani from Mirpur.[43]

A considerable number of respondents attributed this non-acceptance to British culture not conforming to their native culture. Some said they had adopted those British values which were in harmony with their own culture. Only a few respondents were of the view that they were British citi-

zens, therefore they embraced British culture except a few things, which they said were against the religion and *Shariah.*

Besides their native socio-cultural traditions and religion, the clan and caste system of immigrants also influenced their social evolution in Britain. Reluctant to adopt British culture, they arranged marriages of their children with their relatives or within the clan in their native areas. This ensured the British-Pakistani community's increased isolation from the host society. According to a research in 2005, 55% of British-Pakistanis were married to their first cousins.[44] PIPS also observed during its fieldwork that parents' non-acceptance of their children adopting 'modern' British culture played a key role in such marriages. Some British-Pakistanis suggested that such marriages were not natural because of crucial differences between the cultures where the spouses grew up. However, most of the respondents observed that they had seen a sense of adaptability in a majority of cases, though in some cases such marriages had failed as well.

In order to maintain their religious identity and to retain a respectable position in their respective caste, the parents even resorted to extreme measures to get their children, especially girls, married to boys of their own sect and caste. Many incidents have been recorded of British-Pakistani parents bringing their daughters to Pakistan and getting them forcibly married. Such forced marriages are not confined to Pakistani families but are also found among other Asian communities. The British government has established rescue centers on different airports to avoid such situations.[45]

Lack of education was another major factor that hindered the British-Pakistani community's integration with the host community and kept them lagging behind other Asian communities. Instead of improving their education, the new generations of British-Pakistanis fell far behind the host society and even their parents who had somehow managed to get education in their native lands. The British-Pakistanis interviewed by the PIPS team were from different educational background. Education was not a criterion for their selection, but even so PIPS found that 90% of the respondents had an educational qualification between matriculation and postgraduate and only 10% were below matriculation or illiterate (see Table 1). All of them belonged to the early generations of immigrants, many from the first generation of British-Pakistanis.

Table 1 :Levels of education of respondent British-Pakistanis from Mirpur

Total respondents	Matriculate	Intermediate	Graduate	Post-graduate	Below matriculation
50	12 (24%)	10 (20%)	10 (20%)	13 (26%)	5 (10%)

Even though education is compulsory for everyone in Britain, most children of British-Pakistanis remain unqualified even after regularly going to school for the stipulated period. Those lucky enough to complete their GCSE are unable to complete their higher studies.[46]

GCSE is considered basic education in Britain and 78% boys and 63% girls from the British-Pakistani community cannot complete even this first level of education. Consequently they find it difficult to get employment. Only 7% boys get a university degree. Almost 40% females and 27% males are illiterate.[47]

The percentage of the students passing GCSE, according to the 2001 Census in Britain, is given in Table 2.

Table 2: Percentage of students passing GCSE

Indian girls	66%
English girls	55%
Indian boys	54%
African girls	46%
English boys	45%
Pakistani/ Bengali girls	37%
Pakistani boys	22%

Barriers to Social Interaction

All four Muslim members of the British parliament are of Pakistan origin. British-Pakistanis own many major businesses in Britain. There are more than 100 multi-millionaire Pakistanis in Britain. But there are hurdles that still bar British-Pakistanis from sufficient social interaction and playing a more active role in British society. Regarding the attitude of British Muslims towards the host society and vice versa, renowned British psycholo-

gist and scholar Dr Thomas Reynold observes, "British Muslims, especially Pakistanis remain aloof from others and do not make any efforts to integrate with the values and customs of British society. British Muslims have set up their own societies. Those Muslims, who have been living in Britain for the last fifty years and above, have yet been unable to get comfortably mixed with the native Britain".[48]

Language

Urdu is the main language spoken by Pakistanis. Regional languages, such as Punjabi, Sindhi, Balochi and Pashto, are also spoken. Observations suggest that many British-Pakistani families are more at ease speaking their mother tongue at home rather than the language of their adopted country.

When the first generation of migrants brought their families to Britain for availing allowances and financial support from the government, they were also hindered by illiteracy and lack of English proficiency.

A very high proportion of wives who arrived in Britain from Bangladesh (which was part of Pakistan until 1971) and Pakistan through arranged marriages were not conversant in English.[49] That was why their social interaction remained limited to the people living in their neighborhood which included Pakistani, Indian and Bengali families. In Bradford, poor language skills of a large number of British women of Pakistani descent are on display. Ann Cryer, the MP for Keighley in West Yorkshire, has been raising the issue since the 2001 riots in Oldham, Burnley and Bradford -- which were blamed on race segregation -- concerned about Muslim women who cannot speak English. She claimed that many young women who were brought to Bradford as wives from the immigrants' native countries and were deliberately discouraged from learning English by their in-laws. Children were consequently starting school with no awareness of the English language.[50]

Education

Lack of education is also a major barrier to social interaction of British-Pakistanis in Britain. This keeps them confined to their private businesses. They are less inclined towards employment in fields like medicine, engineering or law. The main reason for that lack of interest is the poor educational background of those immigrants who came to Britain to seek better employment opportunities for which most of them did not qualify. They

also did not encourage or guide their children to acquire modern professional education. Moreover, many preferred to send their children to British Muslim seminaries. As a result, economic prospects of a considerable majority of the new generation of British-Pakistanis were limited to following their parents into the family's private business for economic survival.

Religion

Religion has also been cited as a major hurdle in social interaction of British-Pakistanis. The conservative approach of Muslim clerics did not let Muslims intermingle with the British people. They apparently apprehended that such interaction could somehow dilute or threaten their religious faith. On the other hand, the recent wave of global terrorism has also been sending wrong signals to the British about British-Pakistanis. Since 9/11, many Pakistanis have faced increased racial attacks and profiling, especially young men, who are now more likely to be stopped and searched than any other ethnic minority group. This has a bearing on how young British-Pakistanis see themselves and their place in British society and may also affect their employment prospects and social life.

Formations of Identity and Mindset

So where do British-Pakistanis stand in British society? Who are we referring to when we use the term 'British-Pakistani' in relation to modern Britain? Do the people referred to as British-Pakistanis describe themselves the same way? Have they kept a distinct identity while socialization in Britain or have they let that go? What is the basis of their identity?

Already reluctant to being completely absorbed into British society due to a range of factors, British-Pakistanis are now becoming more unyielding in their views. They reject terrorism and the so-called 'war on terror' because both are affecting them. About 32% of British-Pakistanis interviewed by PIPS said they favored the war on terror (more than 70% of the respondents favoring the anti-terror war did so because they believed terrorism was portraying Muslims in a negative light, leading to stereotyping and creating problems for them in their host country), 44% condemned it (they said the 'war' was biased), 30% said it was creating more terrorists, whereas 22% chose not to answer the question. Similarly their opinion was almost equally divided on British foreign policy with special reference to the war on terror -- as many as 34% favored and 30% renounced it, whereas 36% chose not to respond (see Table 3 & 4). It was

also observed that their concern about the war on terror was mostly influenced by negative portrayal of their image and identity as Muslims living in Britain. Most of them could not help their identity being established through a social prism which stereotypically identified them as an extremist entity. This has pushed them even closer to their already formed socio-cultural and religious mindset, which has been forcing them to remain aloof, to varying degrees, from mainstream British culture and society.

Table 3: Stance on war on terror (WoT)

Total respondents	Favored	Renounced	Did not reply
50	17 (34%)	22 (44%)	11 (22%)

Table 4: Stance on British foreign policy with reference to WoT

Total respondents	Favored	Rejected	Did not reply
50	17 (34%)	15 (30%)	18 (36%)

Resultantly, "an unprecedented perception of 'collective identity' has occurred to British Muslims' with much greater frequency in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks. After going through similar treatment on account of sharing a common religious faith, they have developed a will to get a collective identity that is getting stronger than regional and racial identities. A big majority of British-Pakistanis has come very close to their religion and are coming even closer. They have abandoned the cultural norms that they had adopted while living in their religious sphere. They have firmly embraced their religious beliefs, responding negatively to the expectations of this logical world." [51]

The PIPS study of British-Pakistanis hailing from Mirpur supports the findings of Yunis Alam and Charles Husband[52] that Islam was an important facet of these immigrants' spiritual, moral and political life. They had gathered insights, experiences and narratives from 25 men aged 16-38 that shed light on being a Bradford man of Pakistani and Muslim heritage. However, PIPS has also found that besides religion, their socio-cultural background in their native lands, barriers to social interaction, lack of education and economic opportunities, political isolation and absence of a proper assimilation mechanism played a key role in evolving their socio-cultural mindset in their host society. And recently, the ongoing global

war on terror has consolidated their identity formations; though its impact varies from individual to individual. Another research project titled 'Employment and Social Change Amongst British Asians', which began in 2003, has sought to explore how labor market positions influence identity formations amongst the different elements making up the grouping. It also gives importance to religious, class and spatial differences amongst the 'Asian' grouping where settlers of differing backgrounds are following varied and often sharply contrasting social trajectories.[53]

a. Socio-cultural & Psychological Perspective

During this study, the PIPS research team learned that most British-Pakistanis like British laws. They are also aware that they cannot grow and prosper in British society without adopting British culture. But young Muslims in Britain continue to be stereotypically associated with a range of social problems. British-Pakistani male youth have been identified as consistently underperforming in both the education sector and the labor market.[54]

Regarding any socio-cultural constraints faced by these British-Pakistanis, 36% of the respondents said they faced no such problem, 38% said they had to cope with some social constraints in Britain while 26% did not reply (see Table 5). However, a majority of the respondents said their social problems might not be attributable to British social norms, but were mainly subjective -- stemming from their socio-cultural mindset and their guarded interaction with British society (see Table 6).[55]

Table 5: Do you face any socio-cultural constraints in Britain?

Total respondents	Yes	No	Did not reply
50	19 (38%)	18 (36%)	13 (26%)

Table 6: Who is responsible for such constraints?

Total respondents	British society	Self-imposed limitations	Did not reply
50	12 (24%)	27 (54%)	11 (26%)

1. Roots in Native Land/ Culture

The socio-cultural mindset and psychological identity of British-Pakistanis are determined by their roots in the native land, and their religious identity. They have maintained a strong relationship with their native cities over time by actively participating in their economic, social, religious and political activities. All these spheres of life in Mirpur are greatly influenced by these British-Pakistanis. Almost every British-Pakistani from the area has a luxurious house in Mirpur, which is either vacant or inhabited by relatives [see detail in Part-I: Profile of Mirpur). They maintain a link with Mirpur irrespective of regular visits or not. See Table 7 and 8 for the frequency of their visits to Mirpur and duration of stay there.

Table 7: How often do you visit Mirpur?

Total respondents	Once a year	Twice a year	After 2-3 years	Rarely	Settled back in Mirpur	Did not reply
50	14 (28%)	5 (10%)	11 (22%)	10 (20%)	5 (10%)	5 (10%)

Table 8: How long do you stay here?

Total respondents	More than 2 months	1-2 months	1-2 weeks	Less than a week	Did not reply
50	8 (16%)	20 (40%)	14 (28%)	6 (12%)	2 (4%)

2. Generation Gap

The respondents say the old British-Pakistani generations deemed the new generation was deviating to varying degrees from their ancestors' socio-cultural norms and values. As many as 48% of British-Pakistanis from Mirpur were not happy over their children adopting British socio-cultural norms whereas 18% said it was natural for them. A big percentage of these British-Pakistanis (34%) did not answer this question (see Table 9). An almost identical numbers of respondents (32%) avoided answering when asked if they had retained their socio-cultural norms and

values themselves. This may refer to an ambiguity or psychological conflict regarding the two sets of norms and values. Fifty-six percent respondents said they had retained their norms while 12% said they had not been able to (see Table 10). No one said that he did not want to retain his native socio-cultural norms or adopted British culture willingly.

Table 9: The old generation's acceptance of the new generation adopting British socio-cultural norms.

Total respondents	Accept	Do not accept	Did not reply
50	9 (18%)	24 (48%)	17 (34%)

Table 10: The old generation's retention of native socio-cultural norms.

Total respondents	Retained	Could not retain	Did not reply
50	28 (56%)	6 (12%)	16 (32%)

The new generation's thoughts have been polarized by two key social paradigms i.e. the British social setup and pressure from their ancestors. They see the British people, and other Asians who are well-established due to their hard work and conformity with British social values, enjoying a luxurious life. This has caused a grave mental conflict between the new and old generation of British-Pakistanis. They are divided between home, school, mosque and peer groups. Today in Britain, both parents and children are growing worried. Parents advising their children to study, or shun bad company is useful, but the children growing up in British society, face British cultural reflections all the time. TV, satellite, and movies drag them towards British culture, whereas their ancestral culture and religion is trying to keep them away from adopting western culture.[56]

3. Discrimination

According to PIPS findings, British-Pakistanis did not consider racial discrimination a major disturbing element. The majority (54%) said there was no racial discrimination in British society, 34% confirmed racial discrimination whereas 12% did not reply (see Table 11).

Table 11: Do British-Pakistanis feel any racial discrimination in Britain?

Total respondents	Yes	No	Did not reply
50	17 (34%)	27 (54%)	6 (12%)

However, some British-Pakistanis argued that the trend of social seclusion among Muslims was increasing due to their 'treatment as second-rated citizens '. They felt compelled to live in certain specific areas and send their children to their community schools. They were trying to save their identity.

"If our children burn the British flag on Birmingham roads or march with Pakistani flags, it obviously provokes hatred but it is basically because this society contains a lot of racial discrimination and our youngsters are not treated equally; they do not get the same facilities. When a Muslim and a British graduate together, the Muslim graduate has to appear in five more interviews to get a job as compared to the British graduate and even then they do not get jobs and are asked to improve their qualification. In such circumstances, parents persuade their sons to drive taxies. Our PhD boys are driving cabs on the roads of Bradford and Birmingham," narrates Khursheed Ahmed, a British-Pakistani.

Some respondents also observed that "when elder male children do not get jobs, their younger siblings lose interest in education, with many drifting towards terrorist activities and drug trafficking". Muhammad Tariq,[57] a brother of British House of Lords member Lord Nazir Ahmed, said that racial discrimination had grown in Britain particularly after the 9/11 and 7/7 terror attacks. "I have had to face contemptuous conduct many times on account of having a beard," he said.

4. Role of Media

The print media in Great Britain has also noticed the discrimination, which Britain Muslims are subjected to these days. Some writers have also started highlighting the issue through their writing, for instance, an article published in Guardian newspaper on February 2, 2007, said that the Muslims in UK are facing the same discrimination and difficulties faced by the Jew immigrants many years ago.

Some people also see the British media as discriminating against Muslims. Dr Thomas Reynold says when the British-Pakistani Muslims face any

intriguing situation they cannot express their views through the media. This gives many journalists a chance to fabricate stories about them. Such fake Muslim stance reaching the native British fuels a negative perception about them.[58]

b. Religious Perspective

Religious Trend among British-Pakistanis

Almost 70% inhabitants of Mirpur are settled abroad, mostly in Britain.[59] Natives visiting Mirpur from Britain profess great love for Islam and want their children to follow the 'Islamic path'. They revere and have a strong faith in *sufis* and saints. But some of them told PIPS that they could not compel their children to follow traditional religious practices while living in British society. They also complain that the new generation is less inclined towards religion. Some respondents were of the view that if the new generation was not properly guided it would become weary of British culture and may be inclined towards the pro-violence Islamic sects.[60]

A Policy Exchange report has found evidence of young Muslims in Britain adopting more radical beliefs on key social and political issues.[61] Hizbul Tehreer and al-Muhajiroon are the most popular Islamist radical groups among Muslim youth in Britain. These groups are held responsible for unrest among the unemployed British-Pakistani youth, most of whom are from Mirpur. It is pertinent to mention that six key British-Pakistanis leaders of Hizbul Tehreer are from Mirpur district.[62]

However, according to a Congressional Research Service (CRS) report,[63] the vast majority of Muslims in Europe are not involved in radical activities, though vocal fringe communities that advocate terrorism exist. This vast majority of moderate Muslims can be very helpful in ameliorating a situation worsened by extremists and religious clerics. In mid-July 2005, then British prime minister Tony Blair met moderate British Muslim leaders and agreed to set up a taskforce to take measures against extremism.[64]

The PIPS research study supports the CRS report as its interviews during field research found that 64% of British-Pakistanis from Mirpur have moderate religious trends; only 16% showed radical tendencies and 20% did not respond (see Table 12). But even those holding moderate views confirmed that a new breed of radical clerics was sowing the seeds of radicalization among the British-Pakistani youth.

Table 12: Religious Trends among British-Pakistanis

Total respondents	Moderate trends	Radical trends	Did not reply
50	32 (64%)	8 (16%)	10 (20%)

1. Role of Clergy

Many experts say that some European Muslim youth, many of whom are second or third generation Europeans, feel disenfranchised in a society that does not fully accept them; they appear to turn to Islam as a badge of cultural identity and are then radicalized by extremist Muslim clerics.[65]

Most of the clerics controlling mosques in Britain come from Muslim countries. Pakistani clergy control almost 1,500 mosques in Britain, and have *imams* (prayer-leaders) and *khateebs* (the person delivering the sermon) from the Deobandi and Barelvi schools of thought. In a TV interview, Lord Nazir Ahmad pointed out that Muslim leaders from Pakistan visit Britain and give Friday prayer sermons usually in Urdu or Punjabi. The younger British-Pakistani generation does not understand their sermons. Outside mosques, they are at home when they come across eloquent Muslim activists (from Hizbul Tehreer and al-Muhajiroon) who speak in English. These activists distribute literature among youngsters and ask them to visit their offices. And the youngsters showing interest in their ideology become a part of these organizations.[66]

"Actually our *ulema* (clerics) lack education. They can only teach the oral text of Quran. Had they been educated and fluent in English, our children would have learnt more. The brainwashing of young generations regarding radicalization has not been restrained. In this regard the British government should call on and arrange lectures by some of the liberal and enlightened Muslim scholars in the UK," observed a British-Pakistani, Sufi Muhammad Bashir, during his interview with PIPS.

Another British-Pakistani, Chaudhry Parvez Akhtar, told PIPS: "Some scholars of the Ahle-Hadith school of thought from Saudi Arabia visited Greenland Mosque in Small Heath, Birmingham once and provoked worshippers to damage British society while living there. For instance, a *fatwa* (decree) declared a young British Muslim, who was in the British army

and had died while serving in Afghanistan, non-Muslim because he fought against Muslims. The decree said that anyone who died of shots fired by a Muslim was not a Muslim. The Arab Muslim scholars also announced death sentence for homosexuals. They also compelled men to persuade women in their family to wear veil, forcibly if the women did not comply. The new generation is more attracted to Saudi-trained clerics who visit mosques in Britain and deliver lectures in English."

However, Imran Hussain Chaudhry believed that Britain was the only western country that gave Muslims so much religious freedom. But, he noted, that "some of our imprudent and unwise *mullahs* had exploited this freedom. I have observed that Barelvi *ulema* are not involved in any terrorist or extremist activity but the *ulema* belonging to the Deobandi and Ahle-Hadith schools of thought preach extremism and hatred in their speeches. They are linked to extremist and jihadi organizations in Pakistan."

2. Islamophobia

The seriousness of Islamophobia in modern Britain was first brought to public attention through a report issued by the Runnymede Trust in 1997.[67] The subject needs to be discussed in greater depth to outline the legislative, social and cultural changes required in British society if British Muslims are to feel that they truly belong to British society and their contributions are genuinely recognized.

British-Pakistanis have also seen the recent debate on women wearing the veil in the context of Islamophobia. Nationally, internationally and in Bradford, young women wearing the veil are perceived by the majority ethnic communities as making a particularly strong ethnic statement of identity, which some observers choose to interpret as rejection of 'British' values.[68]

Their (British-Pakistanis') relation to Islam is varied, but seldom non-committal. Just as patriarchy formed the condition and the substantive issues that shaped twentieth century feminism, so, too, Islamophobia has in a real way generated an Islamic sensibility within this cohort of young men that would not have been present in their grandfathers' generations. The legitimacy of this perspective is something they collectively take for granted. Hoping to swamp it within some revitalized English discourse of social cohesion is naïve. At the same time, and to varying degrees, Islam feeds into the day to day at spiritual, political and practical levels. Cou-

pled with this, the loosening of family authority and the progressive disengagements from 'homeland' obligations and cultures is creating a British space in which a wide variety of personal engagements with Islam are thriving. Islam is a normative part of British life.[69]

3. Roots of Jihad

The roots of jihad in Britain can be traced back to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan when the US, Britain and other European countries backed the Mujahideen fighting the former USSR. Their all out support provided a golden opportunity for Pakistani pro-jihad religious groups to establish a support base for the Afghan jihad in America and European countries, mainly Britain, to collect funds. With the Afghan jihad at its peak in the 1980s, Afghan and Pakistani jihadi groups established their presence in Britain to promote jihad. By the end of 1995, major Afghan and Pakistani jihad groups were running their network in order to raise funds and recruit people in Britain for jihad. Jihadi literature and publications were easily available in Muslim areas of Britain.[70]

No comprehensive data about jihadi groups or the involvement of British-Pakistani youth in those groups is available but a few clues, found in the jihadi media publications, indicate that the Muslim community's overall response to the call for jihad was encouraging. The Harkat ul-Jihad-e-Islami (HUJI), once the biggest jihadi group in Pakistan, claimed in 1989 that it was honored to have six martyrs from Britain among its ranks.[71]

Maulana Yusaf Shah, a pro-jihad cleric and secretary of the Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (Sami group), claimed that a lot of British Muslims were fighting in the Afghan jihad but most of them were associated with Arab groups and very few with Pakistani organizations.[72] Harkat ul-Mujahideen (HM), a Deobandi jihadi organization also claimed having dozens of British Muslim in its ranks. British Mujahideen had attended the annual HM congregation at Jamia Ashrafia, Lahore in 1987 and Maulana Fazal ur-Rehman Khaleel, head of the organization, praised their jihadi services.[73]

Jihadi leaders were also regular visitors to Britain and accounts of their visits can be found in jihadi publications. Religious parties with links to Pakistan had played an important role to promote their activities in Britain.

But the current scenario seems entirely different where most British-Pakistanis do not feel any attachment to or need for active participation in

jihad. As many as 96% of British-Pakistanis interviewed by PIPS said they were not affiliated with any jihadi organization and had never donated money for jihad. Only a small proportion (4%) acknowledged some affiliation with jihadi groups and financial support for jihad (see Table 13 and 14).

Table 13: Respondents' affiliation with jihadi organization(s)

Total respondents	Yes	No
50	2 (4%)	48 (96%)

Table 14: Funding for jihad

Total respondents	Yes	No
50	2 (4%)	48 (96%)

4. Role of Religious Parties/Radical Groups

Though not backing jihad, these British-Pakistanis have not completely detached themselves from religious groups/organizations. Thirty percent of the respondents had affiliation with one or the other religious group or organization (see Table 15).

Table 15: Affiliation with a religious group/organization

Total respondents	Yes	No
50	15 (30%)	35 (70%)

A number of religious parties/groups are active in Pakistan and also have networks in Britain with the same agenda and views, causing a spread of their ideologies among the British-Pakistani community. Eight major Pakistani religious parties have their network in Britain and operate a number of subsidiary organizations, charities and religious schools. These parties have links with international Islamic groups and charities, which share a common agenda. Around 150 religious parties and charities are

active in Britain, which were established by the British-Pakistani community.[74]

Deobandi politico-religious parties are very active in Britain and British-Pakistanis are a major source of funding for their political, sectarian, jihadi and charity activities. Pakistani *Salafi* movements are also growing rapidly in Britain and have established links with other international groups in Britain like the Muslim Brotherhood. The Markazi Jamiat Ahle-Hadith and its subsidiary groups are mostly active in London and Birmingham.[75]

Although Barelvi Islam is the most popular among the British-Pakistani community, its followers are divided further into 70 groups. Their differences are creating space for radical groups, especially among the youth. Some Barelvi groups support Kashmir-based jihadi groups and collect funds to financially support them.

The Hizbul Tehreer (HT) is a political movement based in Europe, the Middle East, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Central Asia and elsewhere. Its ideology is based on the political theory of the 'caliphate' developed in the 1950s by Taqiuddin al-Nabhani, an Islamist ideologue and former Muslim Brotherhood associate. The HT is vigorously opposed in principle to democracy. It is getting popular in Britain despite being banned and kept under strict watch. It is believed that radicalization is one of the major causes of Muslim youth's inclination towards terrorism. The youth, involved in the 7/7 London bombings or other terror plots, do have links with the so-called non-violent Islamic organizations at some level. Connections of the apparently non-violent outfits with Al-Qaeda, Taliban, Hezbollah, Hamas and Kashmiri militant organizations hint at the possibility of terrorism in future.

A range of radical tendencies are growing among the British-Pakistani community. They are not all on the same page in terms of specific ideologies, political aims or methods and forms of organization. They can also differ considerably in sectarian terms, specific political goals, and in religious-theological beliefs.[76] However, the majority of the tendencies mentioned below share some broad themes preached by radical Islamic groups. They include:

1. A 'return' to the *salaf*, which they claim to be the early era of Islam as exemplified by the beliefs and practices of the first generations of Muslims. This typically entails rejecting partially or completely the Islamic historical-legal traditions.

2. A belief in the imposition of *Shariah* upon all Muslims, and the added belief that they know what *Shariah* is, and that their particular version of *Shariah* is the only correct one.

3. A deep sectarianism, especially among the *salafi* tendencies, which often manifests itself in claiming to be able to define who a true Muslim is and who is not.

4. A belief that only clerics can know, define and interpret the will and intention of God.

5. The aim to seriously curtail women's rights, freedoms and liberties, and place women primarily in a domestic and child-rearing role.

6. A deeply conservative and authoritarian view of the family, gender roles and issues of sexuality.

7. An inherently undemocratic worldview, in which minority rights should be diminished or erased.

8. A blinkered belief in jihad, which they primarily define as physical fighting (*qital*), or the use of one's wealth to support physical fighting, in the path of whatever is interpreted to be the way of God.

9. Chauvinism regarding other beliefs, sects and religions.

10. Viewing faith and politics as interlinked and holding that religion is something that should be regularly politicized.

11. The ultimate goal of an Islamic state, enforcing their interpretation of *Sharia*h, as the answer to all problems afflicting humanity in general and Muslims in particular.

5. Kashmir

Many Pakistani migrants to Britain originally came from Kashmir, a predominantly Muslim region that is divided between Pakistan and India. In Indian-held Kashmir, Muslim groups have been fighting a guerrilla war against Indian rule for years.

British-Pakistanis, of Kashmiri origin especially, and from other parts of Pakistan generally, have strong emotional association with the Kashmir issue. According to field research carried out by PIPS, a majority (64%) of British-Pakistanis from Mirpur back an amicable solution of the issue

through dialogue between Pakistan and India, 18% support Pakistan's stance and only 4% favor a solution through jihad (see Table 16).

Table 16: How should the Kashmir dispute be resolved?

Total respondents	Politically	By jihad	Support for Pakistan's stance	Did not reply
50	32 (64%)	2 (4%)	9 (18%)	7 (14%)

c. Political Perspective

The political identity of British-Pakistanis is also divided between their native and host countries. There are two ideological factions of British-Pakistanis in Britain in terms of political beliefs and activities. One favors political participation in state elements, which is marked by their presence in and outstanding contribution to state institutions; whereas the second faction is inclined towards political isolation and feels compelled to lean towards politico-religious parties, religious groups/organizations and clerics, who provoke a radical approach, for a solution of their problems.

Not being a part of mainstream politics, the latter faction is more prone to violent and extremist activities. Peter O'Brien suggests that they (the isolated Muslims) should be given complete civic rights and then asked to adopt liberalism.[77]

Most British Muslims believe that Muslims in Britain are better off compared to Muslims living in the United States. Regarding any political problems that British-Pakistanis faced in Britain, most of the respondents said that there is complete political freedom and no one was barred from taking part in politics. British-Pakistanis also have opportunities to excel and are given high offices in British political parties they are affiliated with if they play a dynamic and vibrant role. One has to spare time to achieve a distinguished place in politics there, the respondents said. Besides British political parties, all Pakistani parties also have their chapters in Britain therefore British-Pakistanis are facing political division and dispersion. [78]

Role of Pakistani Immigrants in British Politics

British-Pakistanis take part in politics from the local to the national level in Britain. They are affiliated with Labour Party, Conservative Party and

Tory Party. Labour Party is more popular among them. British-Pakistani political activists told PIPS that they entered politics to secure rights for their community and to highlight its grievances. They claim they are trying to integrate Pakistani settlers in the host community. They stress the need for active participation of their community in British politics to advance and grow in society. Almost 56% of the respondents said they were affiliated with some political party in Britain (mostly Labour Party), 34% replied negatively, while 10% did not answer the question (see Table 17).

Table 17: Affiliation with a British political party.

Total respondents	Yes	No	Did not reply
50	28 (56%)	17 (34%)	5 (10%)

Muhammad Sarwar, a British-Pakistani, was the first Muslim leader elected to British parliament in 1997 from Glasgow. In the last elections, three Pakistani expatriates, Khalid Mahmood, Shahid Malik and Sadiq Khan, were elected to parliament, while Nazir Ahmad, who hails from Mirpur, has been elected as a life member of the House of Lords. A number of Pakistani expatriates are elected as local council members as well as mayors in areas where the Pakistani population dominates. There are almost a dozen Pakistani and Kashmiri councilors in Bradford's local council. Muhammad Ajayeb, a British-Pakistani, was elected as lord mayor of Bradford in 1985.[79]

A trend of isolation and retreat was witnessed among British-Pakistani political activists after the 9/11 and 7/7 attacks. Mr Muhammad Tariq is affiliated with Labour Party in Britain and participates in its political activities. He says, "I have been quite active in politics but my political interest has waned since 9/11 as Muslims are not trusted after this incident and are viewed with suspicion everywhere. Prior to 9/11, I served in the District Central Committee, Minority Committee, local police, governing body and different other regional committees."

Link with Native Politics

As many as 46% British-Pakistanis from Mirpur said they were affiliated with some political party in Pakistan, 42% said they were not, whereas 12% did not comment on their political affiliation (see Table 18). All the major political parties of Pakistan and Azad Kashmir have their offices in Britain, but are not politically active there. Their activists are more inter-

ested in Pakistani politics. Bradford is the favorite place for Pakistani politicians during their visits to Britain.[80] The politics in Pakistan revolves around castes and clans. For representatives of Pakistani parties in Britain, the clan's chief is more important than the party. Leaders of political parties in Pakistan and Azad Kashmir respect British-Pakistani activists in view of their financial position instead of their performance.[81]

Table 18: British-Pakistanis affiliation with a political party in Pakistan.

Total respondents	Yes	No	Did not reply
50	23 (46%)	21 (42%)	6 (12%)

d. Economic Perspective

A recent study conducted by Ethnic Research Network, a Britain-based institute, shows that people from Pakistani background are more likely to be self-employed than any other ethnic minority group (including white British). In 2001-02, around one-fifth of British-Pakistanis (22%) were self-employed. One out of six men is a driver, working either as a cab driver or a chauffeur.[82] The PIPS study found that 66% of the respondents were self-employed, 24% held private jobs, 6% had government jobs and 4% were retired (see Table 19). A significantly low number of British-Pakistanis in government jobs or at senior positions in private jobs shows they lag behind mainstream British society. This factor has also played a key role in identity formations of these British-Pakistanis.

Table 19: Professions of British-Pakistanis.

Total respondents	Self-employed	Private jobs	Government jobs	Retired
50	33 (66%)	12 (24%)	3 (6%)	2 (4%)

Despite this trend of self employment among the Pakistani community, recent statistics from the Department for Work and Pension show that Pakistani communities in Britain are severally affected by poverty and unemployment. British-Pakistanis along with Bengalis, top the list of low income communities in Britain, with 60 percent living with low income.[83]

In the early years of their presence in Britain, Pakistani manual workers fulfilled the labor shortage that resulted from World War II.[84] Then with the passage of time most of them started businesses requiring small investments, such as garments shops, taxi driving, video shops dealing in Indian and Pakistani movies, restaurants serving Pakistani food and property dealing. Due to their low income, British-Pakistanis heavily depend on Social Security benefits from the British government.[85]

Conclusion

British-Pakistanis are lagging far behind mainstream British society in almost all aspects of life. Secondly, they have maintained strong links with the socio-cultural, religious and political norms and values of their native lands. These two factors have played a key role in formations of their socio-cultural identities. Their new generations are also facing a grave conflict evolving out of different social mirrors like home, peer group, mosque and school. Lack of opportunities due to their poor education and professional skills is also adding to their confusion. Young generations of British-Pakistanis are suffering from social dichotomy, political seclusion and generation gap. At the same time they are getting more radical than their parents, probably in search of an identity.

The visiting British Pakistanis expressed dissatisfaction with the clerics sent from Pakistan and thought that *imams* and *khateebs* more suited to British-Pakistani social environment should be chosen. Combating Islamophobia does not, of course, mean that all aspects of Islam are beyond criticism. All religious views, as also all non-religious views, need to be discussed and debated, and disagreements need to be aired. It is important, however, that disagreements should be respectful and informed. The majority of British-Pakistanis are moderate Muslims and the situation can greatly improve if attention is paid to their problems.

There are some radical elements amongst Muslims also, some of whom might support violent actions where such actions have no place, or worse, engage in the glorification of death. There has to be a concerted effort to study the situational determinants of radicalized behavior of young Muslims as well to contain this phenomenon. There is a need to adopt a realistic and proactive approach to integrate these British-Pakistanis into British society's mainstream, removing the root causes of radicalization and extremism instead of merely exposing and highlighting them.

References:

---

[1] I want to express my deepest gratitude to Mr. Mujtaba Rathore (a PIPS researcher), Miss Fatima Talib (an ex-member of PIPS team) and Mr. Nawaz Kharal whose office and field works have been so precious in conducting this research.

[2] Nizami Yaqoob, "Pakistan se Inglistan tak" (Urdu), Nigarishat Publishers, Lahore, third edition, 2006, p. 79.

[3] http://www.birmingham.gov.uk/GenerateContent?CONTENT_ITEM_ID=23121&CONTENT_ITEM_TYPE=0&MENU_ID=260

[4] Ethnic Research Network, http://www.mrs.org.uk/networking/ern/nl/2/facts.htm

[5] Ibid.

[6 6] Irna Imran and Tim Smith, *Home from Home*, *British Pakistanis in Mirpur*, Introduction, p. 6

[7] Population Census 1998, Government of Pakistan.

[8] Assad Muhammad Saeed, "Jammu Kashmir: Book of Knowledge", new edition, National Institute of Kashmir Studies, Mirpur, p. 188.

[9] Ibid

[10] Ibid.

[11] Assad, p. 186.

[12] Ibid, p. 188.

[13] Nizami, p. 271.

[14] Assad, pp. 42-51.

[15] Ibid, pp. 45-47.

[16] Ali Sultan, p. 35.

[17] Ibid, p. 38.

[18] Ibid, p. 37.

[19] Ibid, p .94.

[20] Irna Imran, p. 6.

[21] Nizami, p. 270.

[22] Chaudhry Parvez Akhtar, community leader from Birmingham, interview in Mirpur, February 2007.

[23] ibid

[24] Ayub Muslim, Jamaat-e-Islami leader from Mirpur, interview, February 2007

[25] Nizami, p. 267.

[26] Ibid, p. 262.

[27] Ibid, p. 268.

[28] Iqbal Khizar, Chapter 5; Ali Sultan, p. 79.

[29] Nizami, p. 269.

[30] Ali Sultan, pp. 63, 68.

[31] PIPS field research.

[32] PIPS Database.
[33] PIPS interview with Sahibzada Zulfiqar Ahmed, president People's Youth Organization.
[34] Jamaat ud-Da'awa does not contest elections but is emerging on the political front as a religious party advocating the revival of the Islamic caliphate.
[35] PIPS Database on madrassas.
[36] PIPS field research.
[37] Ethnic Research Network, http://www.mrs.org.uk/networking/ern/nl/2/facts.htm
[38] Irna Imran, p. 6.
[39] Irna Imran, p. 8.
[40] Nizami, p. 213.
[41] Ibid, p. 169.
[42] Ibid, p. 393.
[43] PIPS interview with Chaudhry Parvez Akhtar, a British-Pakistani from Mirpur.
[44] The Telegraph, November 16, 2005.
[45] Nizami, pp. 317-352.
[46] Ibid, pp.387-388
[47] Ibid.
[48] Weekly *Azam*, 18-24 February 2007
[49] Sir Cyril Taylor, chairman of the Specialist Schools and Academies Trust, "Muslim mums told to speak English at home," Telegraph, January 14, 2007.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Interview with a British-Pakistani, Kareem Sajjad, monthly *Mashriq-o-Maghrib*, March 2007.
[52] The research took place between January 2004 and September 2005. The 25 participants were aged between 16 and 38. All were living and working in various neighborhoods across Bradford. After spending considerable time establishing connections and trust, the researcher formally interviewed the men using unstructured and semi-structured techniques.
http://www.jrf.org.uk/KNOWLEDGE/findings/socialpolicy/1960.asp
[53] http://www.socresonline.org.uk/10/4/ramji.html.
[54] Modood et al 1997; Brown, 2000; Dale, 2002; PIU, 2002.
http://www.socresonline.org.uk/10/4/ramji.html#brown2000#brown2000
[55] To quote some, Haji Hukam Daad Said, "There is no social problem in Britain. We are to blame for whatever problems there are. No doubt, there are problems as far as marriages of children are concerned but the British government is not liable for that." Chaudhry Saeed Akhtar said though the liberal environment had spoilt their children yet they did not have any social problem there. Mr Tariq pointed out that the main problem being faced by

Muslim women in the UK was the veil issue. "The veil issue tops the social problems in the UK. Just as there is a freedom to not cover one's face, there should also be freedom to veil one's face. The right of women to cover their faces, if they so desire, should be recognized but is being denied."

[56] PIPS interviews with British-Pakistanis.

[57] PIPS interview with Muhammad Tariq.

[58] Weekly *Azm*, 18-24 February 2007.

[59] Assad, p. 186.

[60] Interviews with British-Pakistani community leaders, compiled by PIPS.

[61]http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/main.jhtml?xml=/news/2007/01/29/nmuslims29.xml&DCMP=EMC-new_29012007

[62] Amir Rana, *Jihad Aur Jihadi*, Mashal, Lahore, 2003.

[63] CRS report for Congress, July 29, 2005.

[64] Dodd Vikram, The Guardian, July 20, 2005.

[65] "Al Qaeda Today: The New Face of the Global Jihad", *Frontline*, January 25, 2005, available at (http://www.pbs.org); Sebastian Rotella, "Europe's Boys of Jihad," Los Angeles Times, April 2, 2005.

[66] Interview with ARY TV channel, February 1, 2007.

[67] PIPS Database.

[68] M.Y Alam and Charles Husband, "British Pakistani men from Bradford", Joseph Rowntree Foundation, p. 17.

[69] Ibid, p. 54.

[70] Interview with Maulana Shah Yusaf, pro-jihad cleric and secretary of the Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (Sami group), February 2007.

[71] Monthly *Al-Ershad*, Islamabad, Nov-Dec 1989. The magazine was the mouthpiece of the Harkat ul-Jihad-e-Islami.

[72] Interview, February 2007.

[73] Monthly *Sada-e-Mujahid*, September 1987.

[74] PIPS Database.

[75] Ibid.

[76] Ibid.

[77]Daily Express (Urdu); Sunday Express, July 18, 2004, p. 5.

[78] PIPS field observations.

[79] PIPS Interviews with British-Pakistanis.

[80] Chaudhry Imran, p. 18.

[81] Field research, interviews.

[82] http://www.mrs.org.uk/networking/ern/nl/2/facts.htm

[83] Aims International, Nottingham, January-February, 2005, p. 12.

[84] Nizami, p. 177.

[85] Aims International, Nottingham, January-February, 2005, p. 12.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Muhammad Amir Rana did his masters in geography in 1996 from University of Punjab, Lahore. He worked in different Urdu and English daily newspapers, including Daily Khabrain (Urdu), Lahore, and Daily Times, Lahore, from 1996-2004. He joined Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies, Singapore, in 2004 as a visiting research fellow for 2 years. He was founder member of the Pakistan Institute for Peace Studies (PIPS) in January 2006, and has been working as Director Research at the PIPS since then.

Besides presenting numerous research papers at international fora, he has also authored many books, based on his research work, in Urdu and English including:

1) Jihad-e-Kashmir-o-Afghanistan (Urdu)
2) Gateway to Terrorism
3) A to Z of Jihadi Organizations in Pakistan
4) Al-Qaeda Fights Back: Inside Pakistani Tribal Areas (Co-authored with Rohan Gunaratna)
5) Arabs in Afghan Jihad (Co-authored with Mubasher Bukhari)
6) Northern Areas: Crisis and Prospects (Co-authored with Mujtaba Rathore)

Safdar Sial is a research analyst at the PIPS. After completing his education in marketing research from Lawrence Institute of Management Sciences, Lahore, in 1995, he joined English journalism as investigative reporter. Besides serving in The News, he remained attached with The Nation, Lahore. During his about 2 years engagement with The Nation he contributed more than 20 articles/ reports per month at average, mostly on economic strategic issues. He joined the PIPS in April 2007 and since then has managed two major research projects conducted by the Institute.

At PIPS he focuses on socio-economic conflicts in Pakistan, regional military affairs and Central Asian energy conflicts. He is also a key contributor to the PIPS security reports on Pakistan being prepared on monthly and annual basis. Currently he is part of the PIPS research studies on *Radicalization in Pakistan, Human Rights Reporting Scenarios*, and *Media for Peace and Democracy*. He is also co-author of the PIPS publication, *Balochistan: Conflicts and Players* along with Mr Muhammad Amir Rana, Mubasher Bukhari, Muhammad Azam and Mujtaba Rathore.

Muhammad Azam is a social scientist, pursuing his PhD in international relations and teaches "World Politics" and "Western Political Thought" to MA classes at Department of Politics & International Relations, International Islamic University, Islamabad. His areas of interest include democracy and conflicts in South Asia and Middle East. He has contributed a book chapter "Contributions of Four of the Most Prominent Figures in Islamic Scientific Enterprise," with Hussain Ahmad, in Baharudin Ahmad, *Islamic Science and the Contemporary World,* Kuala Lampur: International Islamic University Malaysia, 2008, pp. 87-105.

He has been preparing monthly reports at PIPS on South Asian conflicts since March 2008. The reports are available at www.san-pips.com. He has experience of working on many research projects at PIPS and International Islamic University, Islamabad. His writings have appeared in national and international dailies, including *Khaleej Times, Dawn, Frontier Post, Jang* and *Pakistan*. He has been hosting a weekly radio programme in English *The Muslim World*, which was broadcasted live on FM Radio 90.6.

Saba Noor completed her M.Sc in Defence and Strategic Studies from Quaid-e-Azam University, Islamabad in January 2008. Her areas of interest include terrorism and counter-terrorism strategies, security complexes in Asia, foreign and defence policies of Pakistan, bi-lateral and strategic relations between Pakistan, China and other regional countries.

She has been preparing weekly security reports on NWFP and FATA since August 2008 in the PIPS. She had experience of working on many research projects at Quaid-e-Azam University, Islamabad in her academic session on the topics of her interest. She is currently working

on research projects in PIPS regarding counter-terrorism and radicalization.

Safiya Aftab has an academic background in Economics and Public Administration. She works as Research Fellow in Strategic and Economic Policy Research, a research and consulting organization.

NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

The PIPS journal "Conflict and Peace Studies" is a research-and-advocacy dissemination by the Institute in its key mandated areas. The research journal is published quarterly, after every three moths, and acts as a forum for those around the world undertaking research and advocacy in the areas of:

- Conflict and development (Inter-state and Intra-state conflicts in South Asia)
- Security and peace
- Radicalization
- Media for peace and democracy
- Political violence and terrorism
- Counter terrorism
- Economic strategic issues
- International relations and foreign policy

Information for Authors

Only submissions not previously published will be accepted and copyright will be assigned to the publisher. Permission to use copyright material in submissions to the *Journal* will be responsibility of the author. Permission to use the copyright material in the *Journal* in other publications will need to be sought from the publisher.

The articles/papers should be approximately 5,000-6,000 words, single spaced, and should be accompanied by an abstract of 200-300 words. Copies should be submitted with contact details attached separately. Before publication, proofs will be sent to authors for correction and must be returned to the publisher by the given deadline.

Submissions

Submissions should be sent to the Editor. The manuscript should be submitted in Microsoft Word. Headings and sub-headings should be ranged left, in lower case, with only the first letter of headings capitalized. Don't use underlining. A short biographical statement (up to maximum 100 words) must also be included.

The Editor is Muhammad Amir Rana. Submissions should be sent by email, with attachments, to:

amir@san-pips.com or mamir.rana@gmail.com

Address for correspondence:

Muhammad Amir Rana
Director Research,
Pak Institute for Peace Studies (PIPS),
406-Millennium Heights, F-11/1, Islamabad, Pakistan.

ABOUT PIPS

Pak Institute for Peace Studies (PIPS) is an independent think tank committed to provide an in-depth understanding and objective analysis of regional and global issues. PIPS provides international strategic thinkers a forum to play an active role in understanding and researching real and perceived threats to regional and global peace and security. The objective is to engage leading regional and international strategic thinkers, academicians and media persons in pursuance and production of knowledge of national, regional and global security issues and to promote awareness about the importance of peace and democracy. The goal will be achieved through independent policy analysis, and collection, processing, interpretation and dissemination of information and skills/training.

PIPS carries out and disseminates policy analysis and research studies on the regional and global strategic issues such as conflict and development, political violence, religious extremism, ethnic strife, terrorism - including state terrorism, economics, governance and democracy, foreign relations, and cultural learning of policy-making processes. It also conducts dialogues, trainings and other educational programs for strengthening partnerships and resolving inter-state conflicts, and clashes between the government and the public - including various sections of the public within the framework of civil society. At the national level, the institute is dedicated to building the knowledge base for peace and enlightenment of the society. PIPS is building one of the largest database on peace and security issues at the regional level.