

Gender Mainstreaming in Policymaking: A Case Study of Pakistan's National Internal Security Policies



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(CIPS)
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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
MS Peace and Conflict Studies

Thesis Supervisor:

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ISLAMABAD

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ABSTRACT

This research takes a critical view of gender representation and equality in Pakistan's efforts to deal with the challenges of internal security through two of its famous national policies. When the external insecurity, along with other important factors, generated internal threats, Pakistan responded with reactive measures such as creation of National Internal Security Policies in 2014 and 2018. This study identifies the weak links in these policies towards gender debate and suggests reasons for why these weak links need to be ratified. With the help of scholarly literature and an in-depth conceptual framework consisting of Women, Peace and Security Agenda (WPS), UNSCR 1325 and UNSCR 2242, the research calls for gender mainstreaming in policy making in Pakistan to increase the efficacy of counter terrorism and preventing and counter extension initiatives. Based on feminist policy analysis framework, this exploratory study conducted a content analysis of the NISP to gauge gender representation and impacts. Through a series of questions under the mentioned framework, the study finds that these two security policies are more gender neutral and does not equally represent women in the making, structure, formation and implementation areas of the policies. The research then proposes that the UN policy agendas on WPS and PCVE can be adopted and adapted into the National Internal Security Policies in Pakistani context, to increase the efficiency of existing programs and by extension generate a gender-inclusive policy responses.

Keywords: Gender Mainstreaming, National Security Policies, Counter Terrorism, Preventing and Countering Extremism, NISP

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ABSTRACT

This research takes a critical view of gender representation and equality in Pakistan's efforts to deal with the challenges of internal security through national internal policy framework (s). When external insecurity and other important factors generated internal threats, Pakistan responded with reactive measures such as creating National Internal Security Policies in 2014 and 2018. This study approaches the internal policies from a gender perspective and suggests factors that need to be considered to visualize the role of women in effective counter-violent extremism related strategies. With the help of scholarly literature and an in-depth conceptual framework consisting of Women, Peace and Security Agenda (WPS), UNSCR 1325 and UNSCR 2242, the research calls for gender mainstreaming in policy making in Pakistan to increase the efficacy of counterterrorism and preventing and countering violent extremism initiatives. Based on the feminist policy analysis framework, this exploratory study conducted a content analysis of the NISP to gauge gender representation and impacts. Through a series of questions under the mentioned framework, the study finds that these two security policies (i.e., NISP I & II) lack women representation in the making, structure, formation and implementation of the policies. The research then proposes that the UN policy agendas on WPS and P/CVE can be adopted and adapted into the National Internal Security Policies in the Pakistani context, to increase the efficiency of existing programs and, by extension, generate gender-inclusive policy responses.

Keywords: *Gender Mainstreaming, National Security Policies, Counter Terrorism, Preventing and Countering Extremism, NISP*

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my Abu and Ami whose prayers, faith and support helped me achieve this feat.

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GLOSSARY OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

CT	Counter-Terrorism
ISIS	Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
LEA	Law Enforcement Agencies
NACTA	National Counter Terrorism Authority
NAP	National Action Plan
NISP	National Internal Security Policy
P/CVE	Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism
TTP	Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan
UN	United Nations
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution
USA	United States of America
WPS	Women, Peace, and Security

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1. INTRODUCTION

In his maiden interview with an American Journalist, Bourke-White, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah prophetically asserted: “Pakistan is the pivot of the world, placed on the frontier on which the future position of the world revolves” (Sayed, 2019). Pakistan is located in a region of politico-strategic importance; in a region where many significant historical events have taken place, attracting the attention and involvement of major world powers for their own vested interests. However, Pakistan could not capitalize on its geographical position, and it became more of a curse and liability rather than an asset. Due to this geographical contiguity, Pakistan could not save itself from the effects of the conflicts that emerged due to the great power involvement and had to deal with numerous external and internal security challenges. Pakistan and its citizens have been confronted with threats from both external and internal actors ever since its inception.

From both the perspectives of traditional (realist) and non-traditional (Barry Buzan’s theory of securitization)¹ security, Pakistan has remained under threat. Despite this, a comprehensive consensus-based national security policy has never been implemented in the country. The security priorities of Pakistan were influenced by global strategic constraints like the Cold War politics where Pakistan entered into various defense pacts like Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) and Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) to gain economic and military aid by extending support to the capitalist ideology (Jabeen & Mazhar, 2011). This era resulted in domination of external security while internal threats remained unnoticed in Pakistan’s policy network (Khan, Jaspal & Yasmin, 2017). The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan further heavily affected the strategic culture of Pakistan. When the Soviets withdrew from this region, the United States’ interest was also reduced, and it left Pakistan in hot waters until 9/11 struck, and America again needed Pakistan’s help to curb terrorism. The US did not pay heed to the repercussions of its acts in this region creating a messed-up security structure for this South Asian state. On a more regional level, the rivalry with India and civil wars within Afghanistan also posed great challenges

¹ To read more about this, see *Securitisation Theory: An Introduction* by Clara Eroukmanoff. <https://www.e-ir.info/2018/01/14/securitisation-theory-an-introduction/>

to Pakistan's security. Pakistan was forced to develop its security sector under the influence of power politics; hence it could not design a doable doctrine for itself. It took an extreme internal insecure environment for Pakistan to realize the utmost importance of designing policies that will not only protect the state and its subjects from the external threats but also from internal ones.

These internal threats emerged due to reasons that lie on global, regional and national levels. As mentioned above, the global and regional security paradigm had spiral effects on Pakistan but what caused major damage was the domestic strategic constraints. Starting from Bhutto, who oscillated between socialist rhetoric and Islamism, an alliance between the state and religious extremists was established to confront the pro- India and communist regime of Daud in the neighboring country (Shams, 2016). Further fuel was added by General Zia ul Haq, whose legacy of jihadist policy aggravated the insecurity by dividing the society through institutionalization of the role of religious seminaries into the political system (Cook, 2005). This fueled militant wings of political parties and groups like Dar-ul-Uloom Haqqania, Ganj Madressah and Jamia Binoria emerged on-screen and are said to be the main source of militancy in the country (Khan, 2015). Pakistan's security structure was further damaged by the legacy of President Pervez Musharraf in the form of emergencies, several referenda, weakening of political institutions, and attacks on the independence of judiciary, leaving him no time to formulate a sound national internal security policy for Pakistan (Khan, Jaspal & Yasmin, 2017). The dearth of sincere leadership and pseudo democratic environment are a few other factors that constrained formulating a feasible security doctrine.

A state level security policy identifies the threats to a country and its population and suggests strategies to combat these threats. Such a policy guides the actions of the national institutions in order to achieve desired peace outcomes. The steps in the development of a policy include identifying the threats, prioritizing them, proposing an approach to reduce or eliminate them and formulating guidelines for making major decisions about these threats. Many actors contribute to the formation of these policies, including the executive, parliament, local bodies, and some non-state actors even. These policies precisely put together tactics and techniques to structure the security sector to deal with the threats a country face (Albrecht & Barnes, 2008). With the rise in terrorism and intra-state conflicts over the last two decades, states have been producing new security policies and forming counter-terrorism (CT) structures to ensure safety from these internal

threats. Global War on Terror led the USA to formulate a 4D (Defeat, Deny, Diminish, and Defend) strategy, followed by the United Kingdom who came up with a 4P (Pursue, Prevent, Protect, and Prepare) strategy (Thrall & Goepner, 2017; Qurashi, 2018). In 2008, former Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gillani came up with a 3D (Dialogue, Development, and Deterrence) counter-terrorism policy for Pakistan, which was a major step, yet it largely remained ineffective (Farooq, 2019). This was followed by the government's 14 guidelines for the National Counter-Terrorism Policy. Even the organizations like NACTA (National Counter-Terrorism Authority) remained slow in action until in 2014, when the Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz's government (PMLN) presented an extensive and detailed strategy in the form of National Internal Security Policy (NSIP). This new policy identified the major threats to the country and formulated ways in which they had to be dealt with. Similarly, the NISP 2018-2023 took the agenda further and added more dimensions in the form of non-traditional security threats. Given how much burden these policies hold on its shoulders, they are expected to result in highly effective outcomes. For this purpose, different dimensions and lenses of analysis are required to see, point, and suggest the shortcomings of these policies, not to criticize but to help in identifying the weak links for future versions.

On the global level, various attempts have been made to increase the effectiveness of state security policies to counter-terrorism and extremism. In this regard, the United Nations passed various resolutions that connect women and security/conflicts. Since women are equally affected by the violence and conflicts as well as makes up half of the society, they cannot (and should not) be ignored in the security debates. Security Council resolutions like 1325 and 2242 affirmed the importance of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts. Given how the discussion on women in peace and security sectors is being conducted on international platforms, attempts of mainstreaming gender by certain states, inherent traits of women to negotiate better, women actively participating in terrorist activities, women's unique way of seeing the conflicts and women being disproportionately affected by the conflicts, gender dimension should be included in the national internal policies of Pakistan as well. This attempt might explore new avenues for achieving better results.

1.1. Pakistan’s Counter-Terrorism/Extremism Policy Initiatives

Counterterrorism laws in Pakistan have evolved over time and space to shape to the existing present-day laws. An overview of the laws that dealt with measures to combat terrorism and fast track the procedure is as follows:

Table 1.1

a.	The Arms Act	1878	2
b.	Explosive Act	1884	3
c.	The Telegraph Act	1885	4
d.	Pakistan Penal Code (PPC)	1890	5
f.	Railways Act	1890	6
g.	Criminal Procedure Code	1898	7
h.	The Explosive Substance Act	1908	8
i.	The Defence of Pakistan Ordinance (XXIII)	1965	9
j.	Defence of Pakistan Rules	1965	10
k.	Pakistan Arms Ordinance	1965	11
l.	Defence of Pakistan Ordinance (XXX)	1971	12
m.	Criminal Law Amendment (Special Courts) Act	1976	13
n.	Special Courts for Speedy Trails Ordinance	1991	14
o.	The Anti-Terrorist Act	1997	15
p.	Anti-Money Laundering Act	2010	16
q.	Counter Insurgency (In Aid of Civil Power) Regulation	2011	17
r.	The Investigation of Fair Trail Act	2013	18
s.	Anti- Terrorism (Amendment) Ordinance, VIII	2013	19
t.	Protection of Pakistan Ordinance	2013	20
u.	Protection of Pakistan (Amendment) Ordinance	2014	21

For more information on these laws, acts and ordinances visit:

² <https://nacta.gov.pk/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/Arms-Act-1878.pdf>

³ <http://punjablaws.gov.pk/laws/7a.html>

⁴ <https://www.ma-law.org.pk/pdflaw/Telegraph%20Act.pdf>

⁵ <https://www.ilo.org/dyn/natlex/docs/ELECTRONIC/64050/88951/F1412088581/PAK64050%202017.pdf>

⁶ <http://www.railways.gov.pk/Sitelimage/Misc/files/railway%20act%201890.pdf>

⁷ https://www.fmu.gov.pk/docs/laws/Code_of_criminal_procedure_1898.pdf

⁸ <https://balochistan.gov.pk/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/THE-EXPLOSIVE-SUBSTANCES-ACT-1908.doc.pdf>

⁹ <http://nasirlawsite.com/laws/defencep.htm>

¹⁰ <https://pakistanlaw.pk/statutes/2185/defence-of-pakistan-rules-1965>

¹¹ https://www.fmu.gov.pk/docs/laws/pakistan_arms_ordinance_1965.pdf

¹² http://www.na.gov.pk/uploads/documents/1491542092_967.pdf

¹³ http://www.na.gov.pk/uploads/documents/1493182900_167.pdf

¹⁴ http://www.na.gov.pk/uploads/documents/1334289799_812.pdf

¹⁵ <https://www.molaw.gov.pk/molaw/userfiles1/file/Anti-Terrorism%20Act.pdf>

¹⁶ <https://www.fmu.gov.pk/docs/Anti-Money-Laundering-Act-2010-amended-upto-Sep.%202020.pdf>

¹⁷ <http://www.isi.org.pk/the-actions-in-aid-of-civil-power-regulation-2011/>

¹⁸ http://www.na.gov.pk/uploads/documents/1361943916_947.pdf

¹⁹ http://www.na.gov.pk/uploads/documents/1398151087_395.pdf

²⁰ http://www.na.gov.pk/uploads/documents/1404714927_922.pdf

²¹ http://www.na.gov.pk/uploads/documents/1391322775_795.pdf

As established, Pakistan focused more on external security challenges and did not acknowledge the internal instability and insecurity as a major threat for a very long time. However, the state did create numerous laws and passed ordinances (Table 1.1) throughout its history to tackle the internal instability, yet it was never a priority. But the post 9/11 changed dynamics forced the state to prioritize different security-centric actions to protect Pakistan from internal elements. From 2002 to 2014, at least 19,886 civilians died as a result of terrorism, along with an estimated loss of \$78 billion to the national economy (Fatalities in Terrorist Violence, n.d.; Khan, 2014). Hence, along with these laws, there have been a number of attempts to reform and establish different bodies to deal with the menace of terrorism. In 2003, Pakistan assigned the counter terrorism role to the Federal Investigation Agency (FIA) and created a Special Investigation Group (SIG)- later renamed as Counter Terrorism Wing (2014). Constitutionally, law enforcement is a police job and police are a provincial subject (Gulati, 2014). Each province maintains its own police force, with the federal capital having its own agency (FIA). A RAND study by Jones (2008) provides evidence that effective police and intelligence work deliver better counterterrorism results than the use of military force because there is no battlefield solution to defeating terrorists.

However, the complex situation of threats spiraling down from systemic to regional and then to the national level- with religious flavor- required more effort than relying on the ill-equipped police to tackle the internal threats in Pakistan. For this purpose, National Counter Terrorism Authority (NACTA) was set up in 2009 as an administrative wing within the Ministry of Interior to unify state's response to countering terrorism. In 2013 NACTA was granted administrative autonomy; however, it remained largely inactive (NACTA, n.d.). Following, the horrific act of terrorism on the Army Public School in Peshawar in December 2014, the National Action Plan (NAP) was developed for countering terrorism (Kaphle, 2014). Pakistan has shown great resilience and extraordinary courage in combatting terrorism with a hybrid mix of both kinetic and non-kinetic measures resulting from these laws or ordinances. However, these acts have failed to protect Pakistan from internal instability.

The multitude of policies and ordinances that have been enacted in such a short history should not have, in the first place, let extremism or terrorism have ever taken such strong hold over the internal security of the country. Yet, the reality on the ground tells a different story. Hence to achieve the desired outcomes and improve overall efficiency, policymakers, for the first time in 2014,

introduced a comprehensive policy addressing the overall aspects of the internal security paradigm. As strategic documents, security policies are critically important in framing the state's response to threats. This first of its kind strategy document that dealt with terrorism and extremism came in the form of National Internal Security Policy (NISP 2014-2018)²² and was followed by a broader version that was released in 2018²³. In between these two broader policies, a more specific policy document was released as National Counter Extremism Policy Guidelines in January 2018²⁴. These policies identify the national threats, address security concerns, and propose strategies to reduce and eliminate them (Rumi, 2015). These policies talk about the traditional and non-traditional threats and propose measures to counter them. The NISP sees security as a sole instrument to achieve sustainable peace and stability in the country. In such circumstances where internal security threats have increased threefold in the last two decades, the security policies are broadening their dimensions further to achieve their goal of bringing sustainable peace.

1.2. The Problem

As established, terrorism/extremism is the most significant threat to the peace and security of a country and its citizens. Traditional security approaches have always prioritized international and external threats. But this is now eclipsed by the dangers posed by violent extremist groups operating in the world. When the world is shifting towards a more globalized system and technology is bringing a revolution, the urgency of preventing violent extremism in Pakistan has never been higher. Despite such a long list of extensive policy documents (Table 1.1), the security situation is not yet completely stable, let alone sustainable. The National Internal Security Policies have failed to achieve a balance between the security of the state and the security of the citizens. Local ownership of the efforts listed in these policies is missing. Pakistan's response to the outright threats to its security has mostly been reactive in nature, with a little focus on the structural elements and incorporation of all sectors of the society to combat this societal menace. These policies focus more on the macro-political concerns rather than individual groups within the

²² For more information on NISP: <https://nacta.gov.pk/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/National-Internal-Security-Policy-2014.pdf>

²³ <file:///C:/Users/kainat/AppData/Local/Temp/NationalInternalSecurityPolicy2018-2023.pdf>

²⁴ <https://nacta.gov.pk/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/NCEP-Guidlines.pdf>

society. As Makki and Yamin (2021) acknowledged, there is a need to recognize more diverse dimensions regarding counterterrorism and counter violent extremism initiatives in Pakistan.

In view of the above, shortcomings of these policies can be analyzed, and proposals can be made through numerous lenses to improve their effectiveness. One such distinct lens has been used by the researcher in this thesis. This research draws inspiration from Women, Peace and Security Agenda (WPS) and attempts to see if these policies are gender sound and how gender justice in policies can impact Pakistan's security situation. Numerous studies have established the importance of women in preventing and countering violent extremism (P/CVE) (discussed in later chapters). However, gender assumptions from the Pakistani state and policymakers continue to ignore and turn blind-deaf towards the capabilities of women as violent actors (active and passive) in terrorism; likewise, their roles as peacebuilders also remains unexplored. The focus always remains on addressing women as victims of terrorism. Even this acknowledgment is restricted to words, and there is a lack of practical efforts to treat these victims separately. This is one of the major hindrances in the effectiveness of CT and P/CVE programs. It is important to understand the prospects of developing strategies that are inclusive of gender perspectives. Existing approaches to P/CVE initiatives seems insufficient in incorporating the challenges faced and posed by women. A much more holistic understanding of women's diverse experiences is required so P/CVE initiatives can engage women at all stages, including design, implementation, operation, evaluation, and engagement.

To promote this balance and combat discrimination, gender mainstreaming comes with a view that the preparation, design, and implementation, of policies shall consider a gender perspective. It even proposes to monitor and evaluate policies through a gender lens. Grounded in feminist frameworks that have inspired the UNSCR 1325 and 2242, gender mainstreaming results from women activists' efforts to ensure that their gender would be included in and benefit from the initiatives and policies that directly or indirectly affect their lives. The concept of gender mainstreaming was defined by the ECOSOC (United Nations, 1997) E/1997/L.30, 14 July 1997, as:

... the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programs, in any area and at all levels. It is a strategy for making the concerns and experiences of women as well as of men an

integral part of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programs in all political, economic and societal spheres, so that women and men benefit equally, and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal of mainstreaming is to achieve gender equality.

However, this research sees gender mainstreaming of policies not as a tool to achieve gender equality as an end but as a means to achieve peace and security in Pakistan by countering terrorism and violent extremism more effectively.

1.3. Purpose and Research Questions

The purpose of the research is to see the existence, prospects and impact of gender mainstreaming in policymaking, specifically in Pakistan's National Internal Security Policies.

1. How gender-inclusive are the National Internal Security Policies of Pakistan?
2. Why is the inclusion of gender debate important in countering terrorism/extremism?
3. How can the integration of gender dimension into CT and P/CVE debate problematize the existing security policy framework in Pakistan?

1.4. Research Objectives

- To understand the existing internal security policies of Pakistan in light of gender inclusion.
- To highlight the importance of gender mainstreaming in security policymaking.
- To problematize existing policy framework to explore benefits, opportunities, and impacts of integrating gender issues into national-level security policymaking.

1.5. Methodology

This research will take a qualitative approach in exploring gender representation in security policy making in Pakistan. The exploratory approach will help see the impact of gender inclusion on the effectiveness of CT and P/CVE initiatives. The research relied on the extensive desk study of the existing literature that draws a nexus between gender and security to determine the framework for analyzing Pakistan's security policies. These sources include but are not limited to various international resolutions like the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 and 2242,

feminist state policies, National Action Plans of countries that are in line with the Women, Peace and Security Agenda, books, journals, articles, blogs and gender statistics.

The selection of the National Internal Security Policies of 2014 and 2018 was due to the importance assigned to them by the state and expectations of the people affected by violent conflicts in Pakistan. As already established, the 2014's policy was the first of its kind, and 2018's is an extension of it. These policies are supposed to combat terrorism and extremism from various angles and through both kinetic and non-kinetic measures. Both the documents will serve as the primary data for content analysis. This analysis will be complimented by Beverly A. McPhail's Feminist Policy Analysis Framework.

Most policy analysis models approach documents in a gender-neutral manner. This research looks at the National Internal Security Policies through a gendered lens. A set of questions will be formulated through which the documents will be analyzed. This feminist policy analysis framework regards genders as a special and separate entity (McPhail, 2003). Since every policy affects women, whether related to poverty, mental health, substance abuse, or more generic policies like economic, foreign or national, every issue and policy has distinct relevance for women. With this in mind, this analysis method is used to examine the security policies. The framework uses a list of questions to analyze gender perspective in a policy. These questions are formulated after an extensive review of existing literature and draw inspiration from the conceptual framework. The goal of these questions will be to gauge the representation, participation, protection and acknowledgement (of diverse roles) of women in the policies.

Furthermore, this framework will try to highlight the ramifications for women to develop a better and peaceful world. The analysis will proceed by identifying, defining and refining the issues faced as well as generated by women. As Karger and Stoesz (1998) put it, "the purpose of a policy framework is to provide the analyst with a model- a set of questions- for systematically analyzing a policy". This will be followed by defining desired and anticipated outcomes. These anticipations will be based on the framework established to see how such outcomes can not only be gender-just but also affect the security situation. After that, some options will be analyzed, and recommendations will be made, again based on the existing literature and practices of gender perspectives and gender-just policies.

1.6. Significance of the Research

Gender-based analysis is integral to the development of policies inclusive of gender issues and remains in line with the UNSCR 1325 and 2242. The field of countering terrorism is a recent phenomenon, and the combination of gender representation in this new phenomenon is a less trodden road. It is crucial to counter the narrative of traditional security by shaping new national narratives, the focus of which shall remain on the role of women in society. There is a need to analyze the inclusion of gender debate into NISP to highlight the benefits and opportunities of integrating gender issues and equality into national-level security policymaking and their potential impact. Problematizing the gender debate in security policymaking will enable the policymakers to ensure that the legislative work is of higher quality and can more effectively address the needs of the society as a whole- both men and women. Women can be the victim of conflicts, preparators and also peacebuilders. The situation of female participation as decision-makers also needs to be explored, and attention to gender justice in security policymaking in Pakistan needs to be drawn. Currently, the security policies of Pakistan have not been analyzed through gender lenses, and this gap in literature requires to be addressed better to understand the nature of extremism and terrorism viz-a-viz women and formulate policies that are more gender-sensitive. Even when CT and P/CVE strategies outlines the importance of women's participation and draws attention to the gender debate, there are no details on the implementation tactics.

This thesis will attempt to reveal existing gaps in the strategies, initiatives and literature on gender mainstreaming in internal security policymaking in Pakistan for future research. The researcher plans on advancing the finding from this research to help shift the focus on the inclusion of women into future policies by both addressing their concerns and allowing them to play their roles to build sustainable peace in Pakistan. The research aims to develop closer ties between academics, practitioners and policymakers and to approach the policymakers with the findings of the research and equip them with knowledge and tools that might strengthen their ability to develop more effective policies, which can be done through gender inclusiveness. Furthermore, the research holds significance for the use of a unique methodology that has not been applied to public policies in Pakistan.

1.7. Thesis Outline

First, the study attempts to lay the pitch for the study to be built upon. This groundwork consists of understanding the concepts within Women, Peace and Security Agenda and talks about how two of the United Nations Security Council Resolutions are of particular importance in this study. It touches upon the theories of Feminist IR and Empowerment in the context of counter terrorism strategies. The research proceeds by drawing a nexus between gender and security based on the framework established and mention the importance of gender debate in CT and P/CVE strategies. It also highlights the varied role of women in both violence and countering violence. The research then uses the Feminist Policy Analysis Framework under the ambit of content analysis to see the representation, effects and impact of the policies on women. And then analyzes this data to see how inclusion of women and gender debate can yield effective results. Through a feminist lens, the study focuses on how norms and ideas about women's rights to participate are adapted, negotiated, contested, translated, or resisted in the discourses on P/CVE. These rights are a reflection of the WPS agenda.

2. FRAMEWORK

An important element of a credible analysis is the use of a framework which is a combination of one or more theories and/or concepts. These frameworks come together to help the researcher in identifying and interpreting the relationship between variables that are relevant to the issue under observation. There are two types of frameworks: theoretical and conceptual. Where a theoretical framework is a “broad and established set of rules, truths, or principles to analyze events, processes and actions”, e.g., Maslow’s hierarchy of needs, the conceptual framework includes “abstract ideas that arise out of perception and experience” (Savin-Baden & Major, 2012; Diane, 2016). It explores a specific aspect of the theoretical framework, or it can emerge from literature review. A conceptual framework is used to arrive at a hypothesis. A researcher can use multiple frameworks of similar type or a combination of both types in their study. This research builds on the Women, Peace and Security Agenda and the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 and 2242 to draw a connection between gender and countering violence strategies. It will also touch upon the theories which frames and shapes the WPS agenda and UNSC resolutions.

2.1. Women, Peace and Security Agenda

Women, Peace and Security Agenda is often described as a ‘norm bundle’ or a ‘normative framework’. It consists of a number of adjacent norms related to women’s participation, protection and prevention in post-conflict and peacebuilding setting (True & Wiener, 2019). In last two to three decades, the global understanding of conflict and peacebuilding has seen an inclusion of gendered perspective. Where on one hand, conflicts and violence have different impacts on women than on men, on the other hand, the roles women play in both conflict/violence and peacebuilding are varied. The WPS agenda explore these impacts and roles and gives them acknowledgement in the security paradigm.

The United Nations Security Council has adopted ten resolutions in respect to Women, Peace and Security which together forms the WPS Agenda. These resolutions are as follows:

SCR 1325	2000	It recognizes women as peacebuilders and promotes their inclusion in decision making processes
SCR 1820	2008	Recognizes sexual violence as a tactic of war and a matter of international peace and security that necessitates a security response.
SCR 1888	2009	Strengthens efforts to end sexual violence in conflict by establishing a Special Representative of the Secretary-General (SG) and team of experts on the rule of law and improving coordination among stakeholders on sexual violence in conflict.
SCR 1889	2009	Stresses the need to strengthen implementation and establishes indicators for monitoring SCR 1325; calls for the SG to submit a report to the Security Council on women's participation and inclusion in peacebuilding.
SCR 1960	2010	Establishes a monitoring and reporting mechanism on sexual violence in conflict.
SCR 2106	2013	Focuses on accountability for perpetrators of sexual violence in conflict and stresses women's political and economic empowerment.
SCR 2122	2013	Addresses persistent gaps in implementing the WPS agenda.
SCR 2242	2015	Calls for greater integration by Member States and the United Nations of their agendas on women, peace and security, counterterrorism and countering violent extremism.
SCR 2467	2019	Stresses justice and accountability, calls for support for women's civil society organizations.
SCR 2493	2019	Calls for the implementation of the previous nine resolutions and incorporates the WPS Commitments in SG Action for Peacekeeping initiative.

Table 2.1

Source: PeaceWomen (<http://www.peacewomen.org/why-WPS/solutions/resolutions>)

WPS agenda far exceeds the formal articulation captured in these ten resolutions. It incorporates the essentials for greater protection and participation of women and girls during and after a conflict. The agenda further emphasizes the need for inclusion of women in the peace processes and integration of gender equality in the post-conflict rehabilitation and reconstruction by the acknowledgment of women's varied roles. The four "pillars" or priority areas of the WPS agenda are:

- **Participation** calls for women to participate equally with men in peace, political and security decision-making processes at national, local, regional and international levels.
- **Protection** seeks to ensure that women and girls' rights are protected and promoted in conflict-affected situations.

2.2. UNSC Resolution 1325

Although all these resolutions (Table 2.1) form the groundwork for this agenda, yet two of the resolutions are of particular importance in this study. In October 2000, the United Nations Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution 1325, which is the foundational stone of the WPS agenda (United Nations, 2000). This landmark resolution was for the first time that the Security Council directly addressed the connection between women and armed conflict. Previously, in UNSCR history, a few passing references were made to women by addressing them as victims or as a vulnerable group. But this resolution not only recognizes that women are disproportionately victimized in wars; it also recognizes women's right to participate as decision-makers in conflict prevention, conflict resolution, and peace-building processes. Since women have remained largely absent or shown limited presence on the decision-making tables and security processes, this resolution helps in understanding the need for including women in these sectors. It even calls for a better representation of women throughout the UN structure and hierarchy itself. Further, it calls upon all parties to the armed conflict to respect women's rights, protect them from gender-based violence and urges all actors in peace negotiations to adopt a gender perspective (Resolution 1325, 2000). In this context, inclusion of gender perspectives means to be attentive to the special needs of women and girls during disarmament, demobilization, repatriation, resettlement, rehabilitation, reintegration and post-conflict reconstruction.

This resolution was inspired by the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women (1993), which was the first text to identify women's rights as basic human rights and promoted gender mainstreaming (Declaration on the Elimination, 1993). By urging the inclusion of a gender perspective in policies, the 1995 Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action provided further inspiration to the recognition that violent extremism has a gendered dimension too (Tryggestad, 2009, P. 545). For anti-war feminists, to influence the Security Council and obtain a resolution, is a fresh, daring, and ambitious tactic. Feminists have long tried to shape the UN agenda in areas such as development and human rights, but their main target has been the General Assembly or the Commissions of the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). The Security Council represented a more potent venue for action since it is primarily responsible for international peace and security. The strategy through which feminists involved the most powerful global governance institution has consumed tremendous amounts of energies and resources.

2.3. UNSC Resolution 2242

On the fifteenth anniversary of the landmark UNSCR 1325, a high-level debate was conducted that led to formulation of UNSCR 2242 (Coomaraswamy, 2015). This follow-up resolution drew an international alignment between WPS and CT and P/CVE. It includes three operative paragraphs related to the integration of efforts of the CT and P/CVE with WPS work (Resolution 2242, 2015). The first paragraph calls for attention to the gendered dynamics and gendered effects of the CT and P/CVE initiatives by referring to gender as a “cross-cutting issue”. Next, the resolution suggests that through gender sensitive data on both radicalization and impacts of violence on women, the knowledge base should be strengthened on issues of women in conflict. Lastly, it urges the incorporation of women and their social organizations in the developing strategies to counter terrorism and violent extremism. The aim of this resolution is to ensure that the violent extremism preventive measures become more inclusive of women’s needs and better reflect their agency and leadership. Together with the previous resolution, it draws attention to the gendered impacts of conflict-related violence and advocates for the full participation of women at all stages of peace processes. UN policy agendas on Women, Peace and Security (WPS) and Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism can be (and should be) translated in discourses on P/CVE in Pakistan.

2.4. Supporting Theories

Most wars since 1945 have been intra-state wars, yet mainstream International Relations theorists considers security solely in terms of state security. These theorists argues that due to anarchic international system a state is the most vulnerable, and it is the state that protects itself and its subjects for the external threats (Tickner and Sjoberg 2010, p.203). Cynthia Enloe (2004) counters this thought by saying that “all kinds of health professionals, all kinds of educators and environmentalists, climate change, sea level rise experts and so on—and they are providing security” (Schouten & Dunham 2012, p.10). Her words echo feminists’ definition of security wherein they incorporate all forms of violence, including domestic violence, rape, poverty, gender subordination, economic, and ecological destruction, in security paradigm (Tickner and Sjoberg 2010, p.203-204). Certain definitions of security have gain legitimization while others remain largely under shadows (Tickner and Sjoberg 2010, p.205). IR feminists further exposes how state

security can directly affect the security of a more vulnerable group of the society. This feminist definition of security provides us with a different view of the world and the effects of security policies. One criticism of these studies, where one looks directly at women's issues, is that they are domestic issues that do not fall within the realm of international politics. Feminists', however, believe that there is no difference between the levels, and they are inextricably linked, provides a counterattack to such criticism. They further argue that this separation is harmful because it can generate a public/private dichotomy that will allow abuses to continue without intervention (Blanchard 2003, p.1296).

Feminist literature argues that the world is made up of gendered dichotomies. These dichotomies associate characteristics like rational, strong, militarized, etc., with masculinity and characteristics like emotional, weak, peaceful, subordinate, etc., with femininity. However, there are two different schools of thought within feminism: the essentialist and the constructionist. The first believes that the differences between men and women are biological in nature and "gender identities and differences are perceived as the result of stable underlying factors" (Skjelsbæk 2001, p.49). Skjelbaek (2001, p.49) says, "The essentialist claim is that women will, if given power, naturally seek peaceful solutions to conflicts because this is seen to be part of women's essential nature". However, women have played active roles in terrorism, with motivations including both political and ideological. Women have contributed to the war effort by playing both active, like participating in combat themselves, and passive roles, like raising the children of the fighters, providing support to the male family members and many other under-acknowledged ways. The second school of thought is skeptical to describe things in terms of being natural or given. Quoting Hare-Mustin and Marecek: "Whereas positivism asks what are the facts, constructionism asks what are the assumptions; whereas positivism asks what are the answers, constructionism asks what are the questions" (Skjelsbæk 2001, p.50). These two theories of essentialism and constructionism both choose to view the world in a certain unique way. None of these theories can be completely disproven.

It is not necessary that men are naturally predisposed towards conflict and women towards peace but rather the language that is considered masculine and feminine shows such characteristics. Based on this, Caprioli (2005, p. 162) establishes that the chances of internal conflicts reduce when gender equality rises. She claims that society can be made intolerant to violence through use of

gendered language and stereotypes. Salla (2001, p.71-72) explains that feminist theorists have called for reconceptualization of power from what has been labelled the traditional sense of ‘power over’ or ‘power as dominance’. The uniqueness of gender approach is that it uncovers phenomenon through sources such as personal experiences, that gives us more in-depth knowledge of any given theme. The worldview(s) of women and other oppressed people are fundamentally different from those of the people in power. The feminist groundwork to the research aims to “develop versions of reality that more accurately reflect the experience of women, versions that affirm women's strengths and value and can transform society itself” (Davis, 1999, p. 65). Feminist approaches to peacebuilding argues that women’s day to day exposure and struggles helps them formulate a unique perspective on peacebuilding. Their approach is different from the dominant male discourse on conflict and peacebuilding (Adeogun & Muthuki, 2018). Along with these theories there is another theory whose reflection can be in the WPS agenda and the UNSC resolutions called the Empowerment theory.

Empowerment is an intentional, ongoing process centered in the local community, involving mutual respect, critical reflection, caring, and group participation, through which people lacking an equal share of valued resources gain greater access to and control over those resources (Cornell Empowerment Group, 1989.)

Rappaport (1987) points out that empowerment means to be able to control one’s own life and enhance the possibilities for other people to do so. Kabeer (2005) calls it the ability to choose. These definitions suggest that empowerment is a process in which efforts to gain and exert control are the main objectives. The theory of empowerment acts as important brick in the framework because women, as a group of society, are highly affected by insecurity in an area or a country, yet they are not given the right to change, control or choose the future direction of their lives. At organizational and community level, this framework includes enhancement of member participation, improving effectiveness for goal achievement, and collective action (Rappaport and Seidman, 2000). At individual level of analysis Rappaport and Seidman (2000), refers to empowerment as Psychological Empowerment (PE) which includes critical awareness of one’s socio-political environment and belief about oneself. Each level of analysis whether individual, organizational or communal are inherently connected and mutually interdependent. Berger and Neuhas (1977) suggests that to help decrease sense of powerlessness and withdrawal, opportunities to be involved in community should be increased. Furthermore, personal empowerment can be

increased by participating in decision-making and problem solving in one's environment. This theoretical framework forms the base of the United Nations Security Council Resolutions and the Women, Peace and Security Agenda, and together they form the groundwork on which this research rests.

3. GENDER MAINSTREAMING IN SECURITY POLICY MAKING

3.1. Terrorism- Extremism

People who say, “Beauty lies in the eyes of the beholder” has definitely not come across the wide range of definitions of ‘terrorism’. The definitional debate is inherently controversial and usually disagrees on determining the use of violence by whom, at whom, and for what ends. Although the United Nations Member States still do not have a single comprehensive definition, the UN General Assembly Resolution 49/60, 1994 (Perera, n.d.) defines terrorism as,

Criminal acts intended or calculated to provoke a state of terror in the general public, group of persons or particular persons for political purposes are in any circumstances unjustifiable, or whatever the consideration of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious or any other nature that may be invoked to justify them

While the UN Security Council Resolution 1566 (2004) defines it as:

Criminal acts, including against civilians, committed with the intent to cause death or serious bodily injury, or taking of hostages, with the purpose to provoke a state of terror in the general public or in a group of persons or particular persons, intimidate a population or compel a government or an international organization to do or to abstain from doing any act

The Arab Convention for the Suppression of Terrorism (1998) gives the definition:

Any act or threat of violence, whatever its motives or purposes, that occurs in the advancement of an individual or collective criminal agenda and seeking to sow panic among people, causing fear by harming them, or placing their lives, liberty or security in danger, or seeking to cause damage to the environment or to public or private installations or property or to occupying or seizing them, or seeking to jeopardize national resources

In the Framework Decision on Combatting Terrorism (2002) by the European Union, terrorist offences are defined as:

Given their nature or context, may seriously damage a country or an international organization where committed with the aim of: seriously intimidating a population; or unduly compelling a government or international organization to perform or abstain from performing any act; or seriously destabilizing or destroying the

fundamental political, constitutional, economic or social structures of a country or an international organization

In simpler words, terrorism is an act that lacks legitimacy and morality, and generates fear and terror among masses through use of violence, to promote certain interests of varied nature and achieve given objectives. A somewhat related concept to terrorism is that of extremism, where an individual or a group of people holds an extreme ideology and acts violently motivated by that belief (Botticher, 2017). It is often associated with religious ideology; however, it can include any belief system. In the past one hundred years, different motivations and mechanisms led Rapoport (1999) to divide the era of modern terrorism into four trends, referred to as *waves* by him. According to Rapoport (1999), the fourth or current wave has been marked by religious characteristics. During this wave the rise of violent extremism and their attempts to use terrorist tactics rose, making both terrorism and violent extremism major concerns for states around the world. In political discourse, both these terms (i.e., terrorism and extremism) have in many ways converged replicating same frame of reference (Kirkpatrick & Onursal, 2019).

In past few decades, winds of terrorism, militancy and extremism have swept all across the globe leaving no region or people free from terror. Today, terrorist organizations have metamorphosed from being groups committing violence driven by some distinct motivations into whole corporate enterprises, sometimes jokingly called McDaesh (Ghani, 2019). Organizations like Irish Republican Army (IRA), Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA), or Liberation Tigers of the Tamil Eelam (LTTE) have been very much different than the modern organizations like the Daesh or Al-Qaida. The recent groups have franchises across the globe that works under one overarching ideology along with local modified flavors as well. Their reach is unlimited, their use of technology is unmatched, and their recruitment is diverse. Some countries have seen the worst terrorist attacks and have been surrounded by nothing but war, destruction, violence and mayhem. These events that are either motivated by religious or sectarian motives, politico-religious or sub-national agenda, or maybe leftist or rightist ideologies have challenged both state security and human security. Today, terrorism is a global threat.

3.2. Terrorism/Extremism in Pakistan

Evolution of terrorism can be divided into three phases in Pakistan (Ghani, 2019). The first phase can be drawn back to a few years before and after partition, with highlighted events like the 1943 attack on Quaid-e-Azam, assassination of Liaquat Ali Khan, upheaval in East Pakistan, and sub-nationalist movements in Baluchistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (From the Past Pages, 2018; Zaidi, 2010). This phase was marked by the existence and rise of intolerance in Pakistan. The second phase began as a result of choices made by statemen. When Pakistan decided to help the West against the Soviets in Afghanistan, it led to socio-economic problems and exposure to power tug-of-war. The third and most dangerous phase began after the 9/11, when the US/NATO military action in Afghanistan started. Pakistan, being the Eastern neighbor with highly porous borders and host to millions of Afghan refugees, came under increasing pressure from militants and terrorist organizations like the Al-Qaeda and Taliban (Behuria, 2007). Pakistan's highly flawed law and order situation in Federally Administrated Tribal Areas (FATA) adjacent to Afghan border, helped the terrorist organizations to develop their hubs and expand their network deep into the whole country. Pakistan's internal sectarian dynamics also played a crucial role in giving rise to certain violent non-state actors within the two major sect: Shia- Tehrik-e-Jaffria, Sipah-e-Mohammad, etc., and Sunni- Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan, Lashkar-e-Jhangvi, etc., (Khan, 2005, p. 16-18).

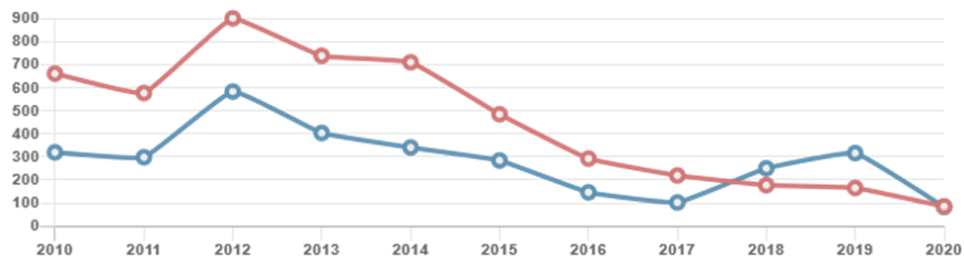
These three phases created lasting rifts and developed extremist mindsets within Pakistani society. Pakistan is one of the few countries which has seen multi forms of terrorism ranging from Ethnic, and Sectarian to Nationalist and Jihadi Terrorism in such a short period of existence (Javaid, 2007). There are many different factors involved in motivating people to join these groups. Some join them because of regional and geopolitical developments, while others are motivated by issues of corruption and governance along with individual motivations (Local approaches, n.d.). Pakistan requires time, effort and resources to reverse the polarization, intolerance and extremism.

Figure 3.1



Source: ACLED Data

Figure 3.2



Source: ACLED Data

Blue: Violence against civilians: Abduction- forced disappearance, Attack, Sexual Violence

Red: Remote Violence- Air Done Strike, Grenade, Chemical Weapon, Remote Explosive/Landmines/IED, Shelling/Artillery/Missile Attack, Suicide

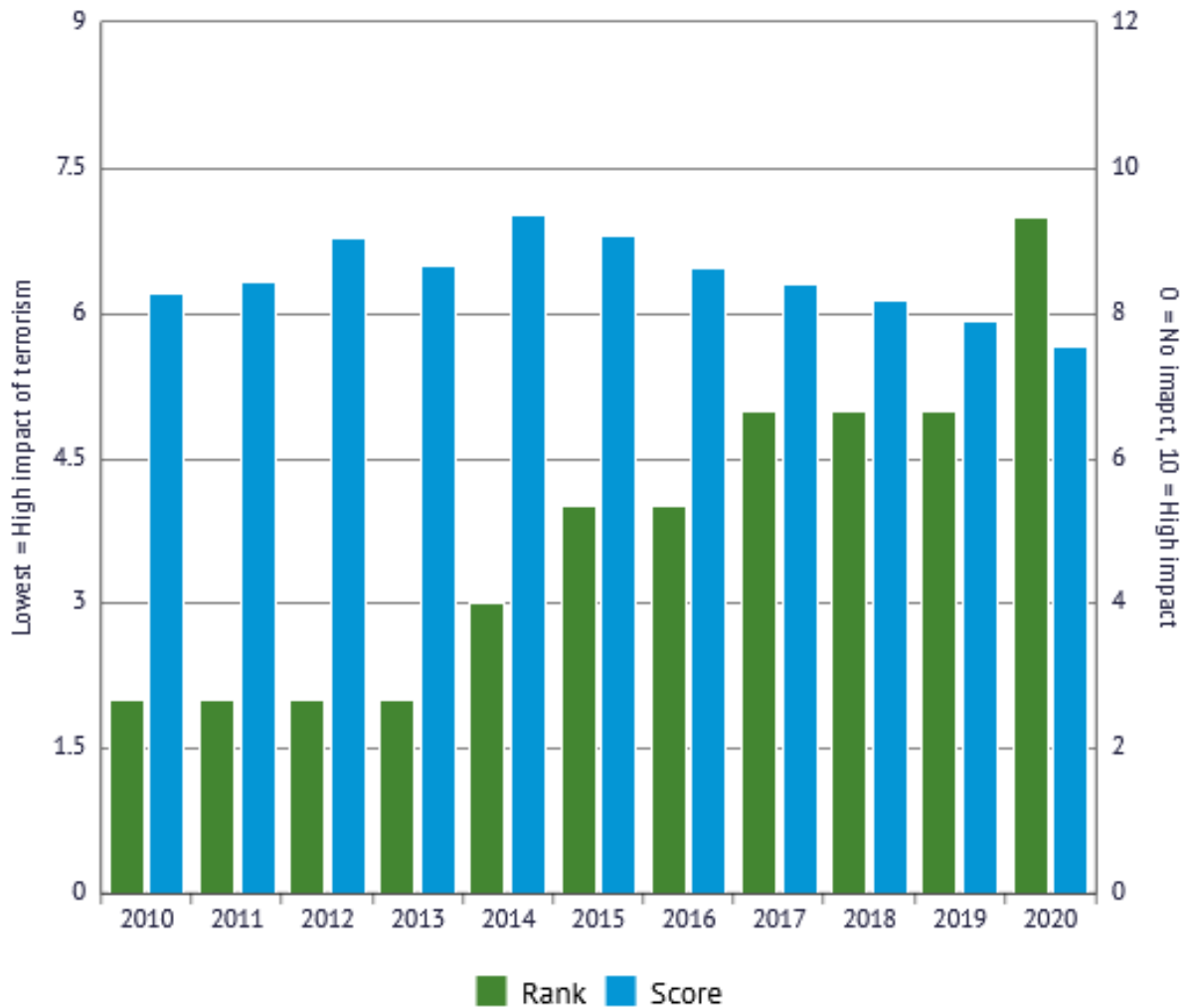
Figure 3.1 and 3.2 shows an overview of total violent (remote violence and violence against civilians) events that occurred in ten years period from 2010 to 2020.

Figure 3.3

Indicator	Units	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
Rank	Lowest = High impact of terrorism	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	4.00	5.00	5.00	5.00	7.00
Score	0 = No impact, 10 = High impact	8.29	8.44	9.05	8.67	9.37	9.07	8.61	8.40	8.18	7.89	7.54

Source: Institute for Economics and Peace

Figure 3.4



Source: Institute for Economics and Peace

Figure 3.3 and 3.4 shows Pakistan's position on Global Terrorism Index in the period of ten years from 2010 to 2020, along with the impact rate of terrorism on the country.

3.3. Women in Violent Conflict; A Gender- Security Nexus

Women in violent conflicts have diverse roles to play. From the examples around the world, one can see that women have not just been victims of terrorism or extremism but also perpetrators in conflict. Women's roles are often projected as secondary, and they are confined to play the role of mothers, wives and daughters. However, their roles in violence are not static, they evolve with new challenges even though their rate of potential violent behavior is lower than men's (Lahoud, 2017). With the rise of ISIS around 2014, women took up the role of suicide bombers to help build an "Islamic Caliphate", as opposed to the previous Islamic terrorist groups who excluded women from combat roles (Lahoud, 2017). Women previously were more visible in secular context (Cook, 2005). During Afghan Jihad in the 1980s, the women provided logistic and financial support to the mujahideen. These women were previously confined to private spheres (Noor & Hussain, 2005). With the formation of Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan, the TTP Emir Mullah Fazlullah diversified women's roles through his radio show to generate a more active support base by urging them to sell their jewelry to fund the organization (Ali, 2013). But women did not stop with fundings, they became informants for the organization and made suicide jackets. Other groups like the Jamaat-ud-Dawa did not encourage women to engage in violence. These groups relied on guerilla warfare, with smaller cells and no hold on any piece of territory. This made them unsuitable for inclusion of women in state-building processes as opposed to state-building jihadi organizations that sought to build a state and needed women for the longevity of the group (Khelghat-Doost, 2018). Despite such drastic change in the actions of women, their combatant roles are still perceived as a complete anomaly by the security agencies (Mahmood, 2019).

In Pakistan, TTP was the first organization to enlist female suicide bombers (Yasmeen, 2016). The first case was reported in 2010, in Khar City of the erstwhile Federally Administrated Tribal Areas (FATA) where a female suicide bomber killed 45 people by detonating bombs near World Food Program (WFP), (Women suicide bomber, 2010). In September 2017, TTP released *Sunnat-e-Khula*, its first English magazine for women readers, urging them to get trained and in return train their children and also distribute the group's propaganda (Jadoon & Mahmood, 2018). Studies shows that female suicide bombers garner more media attention giving more publicity to 'any' cause (Speckhard, 2008). In 2015, Bushra Cheema received special attention when she traveled with her four children from Pakistan to join ISIS in Syria. Her voice note to her husband, where

she says, “I want to die a martyr’s death...if you can’t join us then pray your wife and children die in jihad” garnered further attention (Shah & Mohyidin, 2016). Noreen Leghari was recruited by local cells to conduct a suicide bombing, but she was caught before she could carry the attack on her target (Mahmood, 2017). She later claimed to have been influenced by the ISIS propaganda (Al-Tamimi, 2019). It is unlikely that male members of the terrorist organizations that operate in Pakistan, with all the religious flavor and cultural restrictions, will permit women to join them in the battlefields, however exceptions are becoming more common and acceptable (Lahoud, 2014). Furthermore, women dressed in burqas give these organizations strategic benefits and they can perpetrate weapons and bombs with a relative ease. Their recruitment is also used as a matter of shame for the men and attract them to take part in violence.

Mainstream media and policymakers undermine women’s individual motivations to join these terrorist organizations and claims that while men join terrorist groups for political reasons; like defending an ideology, women are more driven by personal reasons; like taking revenge, finding a spouse, protecting her children, or are victimized into recruitment (Gowrinatham, 2014; Nacos, 2005; Margolin, 2018). It might be true in some cases like Leghari’s, where she married one of the ISIS members who recruited her and was planning to attack alongside him (Mahmood, 2017). But Cheema made a decision that was driven by politics and religion (Shah & Mohyidin, 2016). Brigitte L. Nacos (2005) argues that the identification of female and male terrorists shows similar patterns to that of politicians where “female politicians are more likely to be identified based on their marital status in comparison to male politicians”. The argument that women plays only a passive role in terrorism is flawed because women do showcase the potential to independently engage in violent extremism as well (Countering Violent Extremism, 2017). Whether these choices are independent, or as feminist’s point out in their understanding of relational autonomy that human choices are never entirely free, the focus here remains on the roles women has taken and can undertake in conflicts (Sjoberg and Gentry, 2007).

Contemporary violent extremist groups like Da’esh have developed advanced efforts to recruit women into their organization and serve as key propagandists, fundraisers, recruiters, and enforcers of strict penal codes (The Islamic State, 2015). Such organizations have strategically manipulated and exploited gender norms and stereotypes to achieve their aims. Terrorist groups today have evolved in their recruitment methods and strategies. They employ women in a wide

variety of roles, ranging from static and passive, to more broader and fluid active role. Despite such examples and increasing role of women in terrorist activities, this gender continues to be underrepresented in the space of CT and P/CVE. Counter policies by state actors need to be evolved accordingly, and women's diverse roles have to be understood and acknowledged in order to address the push and pull factors that drive them towards violent extremism. It is important that more gender-nuanced initiatives into state-run holistic P/CVE programs be considered and the presumption that women are naturally non-violent be abandoned. The idea that women naturally are inclined towards peace and only resort to violence when they are coerced by male-counterparts, has been a major problem in the identification and mitigation of threat from female terrorists and eventual development of effective policy response. Men engage in violence as fighters and saviors of women and children while women are expected to assume roles of the "heroic housewife" and "sacrificial mother", and be protected by "naturally violence-oriented" men (Elshtain, 1987; Ortobals, & Poloni-Staudinger, 2018). Women are concerned to be the lifesavers as opposed to life-takers. Women are often subscribed to auxiliary roles, where they are classified as victims as opposed to initiators or perpetrators (Elshtain, 1987).

Thania Paffenholz (2015) points out that research from a variety of field shows that women are more likely to be trusted as a member of society by her fellow citizens. She further says that women draw more emphasis on social responsibilities as compared to men (Dollar, Fisman, & Gatti, 2001). The roles women have played in the society as half of the population holds great importance. Research has found that women also play crucial roles in the space of CVE, already. Even though this role remains largely unnoticed, argument has been built that woman may be able to strengthen the ability of a family to reject terrorist recruitment and violent extremist influence (Safi, 2016). They can hinder the terrorist mentality growth, by detecting early warning signs of extremist mindsets and narratives. Their intervention can save many from being radicalized (Schlaffer & Kropiunigg, 2015). Women's place in the society is built in a such a way that they can spot early indicators of radicalization in family members. They even hold the power to convince their children to denounce mental tilt towards violent extremism. Examples include the working of Amn-o-Nisa and PAIMAN Alumni Trust in Pakistan. These civil society initiatives are geared towards peacebuilding and P/CVE. The former empowers and educates women in their communities while the other focuses on training mothers to deradicalize young boys and men and reintegrating them back into the society (O' Reilly, 2015). This may be true in some circumstances

but in certain cases and cultural settings this capability is severely hindered. For example, in Afghanistan, the women of the house are not aware of the actions of their husbands outside the walls of the house. They remain largely unaware of their association with terrorist groups because Pashtun tribal women's decision-making authority is confined to private spheres only (Ahmadi and Lakhani, 2016). Yet their abilities to do so still exists and can be effectively used by the CT and P/CVE strategies.

Gender terms are not absolute, they are overwhelmingly contextual; masculinity and femininity may vary across cultures, societies, and time (Kimmel, 2010). Gender here is understood as a dichotomy between the sexes of men and women and gender mainstreaming is a strategy towards realizing equality between the two. The agencies and statesmen continue to leverage an androcentric approach to respond to the insecurity of a state. Unlike other approaches to security which favors traditional counterterrorism paradigms, the beauty of the UN's P/CVE agenda is that it focusses on combining a traditional security response with 'soft' preventive policies. It further calls for efforts to include women as part of such a soft response (Ucko, 2018). It was not until 2015, when formal connection between the WPS and P/CVE agendas was established. On the 9th of September 2015, the UNSC Counter-Terrorism Committee's opened brief on the role of women in countering-terrorism and violent extremism (Aolain, 2015). This was closely followed by the adoption of UNSCR 2242 on 13th of October, that formalized the linkage of the two agendas at the global platform. It was during this time that specific terminologies on violent extremism entered international debates. Although the development of global discourses on CT and P/CVE, and the WPS agenda developed in parallel, the integration was made at the time when female suicide bombers in Boko Haram and TTP, and foreign fighters in ISIS were highly publicized.

Today, many different actors have welcomed the recognition of women as important agents in the counter violent extremism. Research shows that women's participation in CVE activities results in increased gender equality in both society as well as politics (Nwangwu & Ezeibe, 2019). UNSCR 2242 treats women's participation as a tool to fight terrorism (Heathcote, 2018). Women who commit political violence are represented in the literature on gender as mothers, monsters and whores (Sjoberg and Gentry, 2007). Scholars are now increasingly considering women as supporters of or participants in violent extremism (Jacques & Taylor, 2009). Analysis of the representation of women as peacemakers led Jenny Lorentzen (2021) to term women as 'new

security' actors. She explains that women can assist or even replace traditional security actors in the CT and P/CVE activities because they are equipped by their gendered roles with the capabilities and contexts to outperform other actors. One interesting outcome of her 65 interviews conducting in Mali, was that many respondents believed that involving women in the fight against violent extremism in Mali makes that fight more effective and promotes peace (Lorentzen, 2021). Despite such extensive connection drawn, the point of concern still remains that the representations of women as perpetrators are still limited in UN discourses on WPS and/or P/CVE (Rothermel, 2020). Women representation in UN discourses, policies and practice is dichotomous, showing them either as victims of violence or as peacemakers (Megan Mackenzie, 2015). In order to better develop the connection, their role as victims, peacebuilders as well as perpetrators should be clearly stated in the policy discourses.

3.4. Importance of Gender Mainstreaming in CT and P/CVE

The new millennium saw international actors focusing on mainstreaming gender across policymaking with the hope of achieving effective results by addressing the issues from a different angle, and promoting participation of the other half of the population in order to be more comprehensive. Yet, when it comes to security coordinating bodies, women and gender issues remain highly missing as a separate category. For example, in the security council body of Nepal that includes personnel from Army; women can be rarely seen in or any other high-ranking office there (Women in Nepali Army, n.d.). Similarly, even though the dynamics are shifting slowly, the USA's security body still has high gender inequality and Pakistan's security sector is equally imbalanced (Robinson and O'Hanlon, 2020; Fatima, 2018). One major reason for the inequality in armed forces is the inequality in political sectors of the country. Both the US and Pakistan focuses on the macro political concerns; they have so much on plate even it comes to national security that distinguishing groups within the society and their equal participation remains in shadows. Although women do participate in leadership roles in Pakistan, many of them occupying Parliamentary positions even, this argument falls weak since majority of these women have strong political background or come from dynasty of elites who ruled Pakistan over the course of its history. This leaves little space for a common woman to rise to power resulting in the existing gender gap in the policy making sector. Similarly, most of the texts that are issued in form of

policies does not pay much attention to women issues or gives proposals for including them in the decision-making, leaving a huge vacuum for debate in the area.

There some specific examples found in form of states policies with great attention to gender equality or acknowledging women's role in peace building. In 2007, Jamaica adopted a National Security Policy but quickly realized that they need a broader view to address the potential threats and make the policy truly effective. They then brought relevant branches of the government and state agencies along with women's groups. This resulted in creation of a master plan that included all segments of the society for the betterment of them all (Albrecht and Barnes, 2008). In the post-conflict Rwandan society, there was a need for equal representation of all people irrespective of gender to minimize the structural violence. They, therefore, included large number of women in peacebuilding processes to achieve sustainable peace (Murungi, 2014). There is enormous research done on the differences in nature of men and women through both essentialist lens and social constructivist lenses. Broadly pointing, women are often considered to be looking at conflicts from grassroot level hence when given a chance they look at it from the same angle unlike men. Women are also seen as trustworthy and less corrupt from their male counterparts resulting in greater chances of reaching a peace deal and its implementation. Bouta, Frerk and Bannon (2005) points out that women have worked so long in household that they have developed certain traits that lets them negotiate harmony within the society. These traits make women the desired group to be given space in security policy making sector to fully utilize these skills to bring sustainable peace.

There has been an increase in the development of multilateral policy framework because international community is shifting towards creation of whole-of-society strategies. This focus is due to the acknowledgment that for preventing and countering violent extremism there is a need to address the underlying conditions that create breeding ground for terrorism recruitment and to empower local partners. These frameworks aim at advancing gender inclusion and integrating women into CT and P/CVE efforts. However, within many states' policy debates and security sector, the inclusion of women and recognition of the roles they play in violent extremism continues to be undervalued. Many researchers like Radhika Coomaraswamy (2015), Mary Caprioli (2000), Mark A. Boyer (Caprioli & Boyer, 2001), and Valerie Hudson (et. al. 2012) documented the important role women play in enhancing the long-term sustainability of conflict prevention and counter terrorism strategies. Despite this, people who lead, shape and support the

peace processes directly do not view women's participation as such valuable. This is due to lack of evidence-based knowledge on the impact of women's participation on the outcome of any peace process. However, Marie O'Reilly (2015; et.al. 2015) claims that there is indeed evidence that shows that when women are present in peace processes, they show behavior of broadening the discussions. They tend to focus more on the structural barriers that contribute to violence and highlight underlying drivers of a conflict. Hudson (et. al. 2012) also points out that there are studies which shows the connection between women's empowerment and gender equality's with more sustainable peace and stability in a society. This idea is further explored in the context of violent extremism by Georgia Holmer (2015), who says that a society is less vulnerable to violent extremism if there is tolerance and inclusivity with a great deal of reflection of gender equality.

With the international recognition of the role of women in CT and P/CVE programs gaining momentum, the practitioners in the fields are also highlighting the importance of women in these initiatives. They acknowledge that for the sustainability of these programs it is crucial that they be inclusive in nature and recognize the broad range of roles women play in these initiatives (United Nations, 2015). The Global Counterterrorism Forum is a multilateral counterterrorism platform, which adopted a good practices document for member states on women and countering violent extremism in September 2015, to further enhance the idea (Good Practices, 2016). The document notes:

As a core part of families and communities, women and girls have vital contributions to make to a more expansive understanding of the local context for CVE, including violent extremism in all its forms and manifestations, and its underlying factors. They can help formulate and deliver tailored CVE responses that are more localized, inclusive, credible, resonant, and therefore sustainable and effective.

Another aspect of importance of women in CT and P/CVE programs is the acknowledgment of diverse roles women play not in these initiatives but as terrorists themselves. Previously, practitioners and policymakers tended to draw the focus only on women being a victim of conflict or a custodian of peace in the society but recently there is a growing recognition of women's potential to serve in violent roles and other diverse avatars they undertake within terrorist movements (Mia, 2011). Experts of terrorism studies points out that one of the reasons for ineffectiveness of the CT efforts is the failure to adequately address gendered differences in

motivations of female perpetrators (Cunningham, 2007). Lack of recognition of women's potential to act as violent perpetrators hinders effective policy development and responses to counter the threat of terrorism or extremism. Masculinity is often militarized and directly linked to violence while studies display femininity as non-violent, supportive and complementary (Enloe, 2004). Furthermore, in societies like Pakistan, the cultural perceptions regarding women dominate their induction in response teams (Mahmood, 2019). By reducing the role of women to domestic spheres in form of mothers, daughters and wives, the effectiveness of counter extremism policies also reduces because gender stereotypes ignore women's potential to commit violence (Winterbotham, 2018). Therefore, the CT and P/CVE responses tend to become more gender biased or gender neutral and forgoes women's abilities and contributions.

4. EXPLORING A GENDER AWARE APPROACH FOR INTERNAL SECURITY SECTOR IN PAKISTAN

Under the overarching mechanism of content analysis (a research technique used to make replicable and valid inferences by interpreting and coding textual material), this research uses Beverly A. McPhail's feminist policy analysis framework to see the gender representation in the textual documents of National Internal Security Policy 2014-2018 and National Internal Security Policy 2018-2023.

Goal of the Feminist Policy Analysis Framework

The goal of this model is to ultimately make women visible in the national internal security policies. This model stands on the framework developed in chapter 2 which makes the ultimate goal of this analysis to use gender equality as a means to reach the end of developing more effective CT and P/CVE programs to achieve peace and stability in Pakistan.

Values of the Feminist Policy Analysis Framework

In Brandwein's (1986) words feminist values includes elimination of false dichotomies, the reconceptualization of power, and redefining reality consistent with women's reality. These core values lie under the feminist policy analysis framework.

4.1. Formulation of Questions

The questions which deemed perfect to meet the objectives of this study were taken from within Beverly's extensive list. Other questions were formulated by an in-depth study of the existing literature that draws a nexus between gender and security, inspiration was drawn from feminist theories and the empowerment theory, and from conceptual framework previously created like the Women, Peace and Security Agenda, UNSC Resolution 1325 and 2242. Saulnier (1996) identifies many different forms of feminism namely: liberal feminism, radical feminism, socialist feminism, lesbian feminist theory, cultural and ecofeminism, womanism, postmodern feminist theory and

global feminism. All these perspectives may share commonalities like having gender as a unit of analysis but stands at different vantage points. All types of feminism, both the “difference” and “equality” feminism, have questions to be asked within this policy framework. This research does include questions from all types of feminist thoughts because, as Baer (1999) puts it, that “women can have it both ways. Law can treat men and women alike where they are alike and differently where they are different”. These questions will bring women into the picture and the researcher will then analyze the impacts it can have on the security situation in Pakistan.

“The list of questions is not complete and can never be complete” – Beverly A. McPhail

Note: For convenience, National Internal Security Policy 2014-2018 will be hereon referred to as NISP (A) and National Internal Security Policy 2018-2023 will be addressed as NISP (B).

4.2. Questions

✂ Equality

Q How many times are the words ‘gender’, ‘female’ and ‘women’ used in both the NISP (A) & (B)? And in what context?

Gender	Women	Female
NISP (A) – 2	NISP (A) – 7	NISP (A) – 0
	NISP (B) – 25	NISP (B) – 5
NISP (B) – 11		

In the contours on NISP (A) on page 10, first reference to women is made while mentioning that, “all victims of terrorism especially vulnerable groups like women shall be rehabilitated”. This is followed by mentioning them (again) as victims of terrorism on page 26, under threat perceptions and then on page 28, under the same heading when mentioning the faults in education system and how “less than half of the women have never attended school”. The fourth reference is made in the context of vaguely recognizing women as perpetrators of

violence, when the documents notes that after the “Jamia Hafsa incident... madrassas for women (came) under the microscope of security analysts.”

On page 37, under the heading of “National Internal Security Framework” the clause 53 mentions both the given words together in the idea presented.

Inclusiveness, integration, human rights and **gender mainstreaming** are core themes of NISP under political oversight. It is imperative to reiterate that respect for life, liberty and dignity of all human beings is enshrined in the article 9 and article 14 of the constitution of Pakistan and Government of Pakistan is committed to implement these highest principles in all its policies. Similarly, without participation of **women** and young people, any policy in Pakistan cannot succeed. They are the future of Pakistan and vision of NISP can only be realized with the participation of present and future leadership of the country.

Further reference to both the words was made on page 38. Women are referred to while devising a deradicalization framework and the word gender is again used in the context of victimized group. Lastly, this policy document paid tribute to both men and women from the Government of Pakistan who were martyred while serving in the front lines against threats.

In contrast to the first version of NISP, the second version refers to women and uses the word gender more times and in more diverse terms. Firstly, on page 24 while framing the drivers of insecurity, it says that “the growth of exclusionary identity discourses around gender.... has also contributed to the rise of extremism and militancy in Pakistan”. The next time the word gender is used while referring to Quaid-e-Azam’s vision of a just and tolerant society in Pakistan, that the policy says should be revived, where all citizens irrespective of gender are considered equal. The next reference quotes the constitution of Pakistan that guarantees “fundamental human rights to all citizens irrespective of their castes, religion or gender”. The policy further makes a passing claim that for Pakistan Vision 2025 to be a reality, gender equality and women development, among other matters, is an important step. The policy on page 47 also talks about making textbooks free of gender stereotypes and on page 53 it aims towards building a safe environment for women to increase female participation in labor force. Another reference to the word female is made when the policy talks about posting female prosecutors in districts of female involvement. Women are also referred to as marginalized group and points out that attention should be drawn to their inclusion in educational institutions

and workforces. This extensive document also refers to various bills like the Anti Honor Killing Act, Anti Rape Bill and Acid and Burn Crime Bill to be enforced to curb gender-based violence. Protection of Women Act shall be passed to make public places more friendly to women. And a few more times the words asked were used in a meaningful way like this:

“The (NISP) implementation committee will constitute an advisory committee.... (and that) may include.... **women**”

Q Does the policy have gender equality? Or is it gender neutral?

The overall policy reflects gender neutrality, along with mention of women at various points however, they are not specifically aimed at either men and women in most of their language and context. It also uses a more traditional definition of security and threats. There is no particular mention of the contribution of women either directly or indirectly towards promoting terrorism/extremism or peace in the society. Nor does these two policies mentions any of the UNSC Resolutions that promotes the Women, Peace and Security Agenda. The policy does not seem to treat men and women differently in order to treat them equally well, instead it generalizes most of the strategies without drawing attention to the individual needs of both the genders.

Q Is there a balance of rights and responsibility for women and men in this policy?

The policy documents do not segregate the sexes or assign roles to them according to the social expectation of rights and responsibilities in a culturally driven society like Pakistan's.

✧ **Sensitivity**

Q Whether gender sensitivity was considered while framing the policies?

The policy documents on different occasions refers to women as ‘marginalized’ yet nowhere in their primary objectives have they identified women issues that arises due to such conflicts, as national issues. The objectives of NISP (A) are:

- To establish the writ of the state and protect the people from all internal threats
- To protect the life, property and fundamental rights of the citizens of Pakistan
- To promote pluralism, freedom, democracy and a culture of tolerance

- To prevent, deter and contain threats to internal security in a transparent, accountable and just manner
- To resolve and manage disputes with hostile elements peacefully without compromising the rule of law

None of these objectives uses words or phrases that can reassure women that their issues will be treated separately and that is on the agenda of the state. Similarly, in NISP (B) when an overview of security landscape is drawn, many different sectors and aspects of society are mentioned, like the youth, madrassas, urban setting, rural setting, cyber space, etc., but women are missing from this landscape. In a society like Pakistan's where women and men are treated in total contrast, such a missing link shows gender insensitivity.

✧ **Special Treatment/Protection**

Q Does the policy acknowledge women as separate citizens with separate needs?

The vision of the NISP (A) is documented as:

Create a safe environment where life, property, civil liberties and socio-economic rights of the **citizens** are protected, and the **people** of Pakistan are able to live and prosper in harmony, freedom, respect and dignity as enshrined in the Constitution of Pakistan.

This vision is gender neutral. There is no doubt that women and men together constitutes and makes up the population of Pakistan and that both the genders are in fact the 'people of Pakistan', such gender-neutral terms in the vision of such strategically important documents hinders the recognition of women issues and demotes gender equality later in the policy document as well as during the implementation phase.

Similarly, the vision of the NISP (B) states:

"NISP envisions a peaceful, democratic and **inclusive** society by establishing rule of law and promoting shared prosperity, tolerance and respect for diversity"

This vision does not specify the extent and elements of inclusion. Furthermore, women are referred to as a marginalized group at various points in the document (for references see the answer to the above question).

Q Does the document identify that the security situation affects women and girls differently?

Inspection of the document does not show any evidence where the difference in the impact of security situation on women and girls is indicated. Rather there is little attention drawn towards this gender as a separate affected victim, with separate needs in the National Internal Security Strategy of NISP (B).

✧ Data

Q Is the data in the policies sex-disaggregated data?

The data collected and referred to in both the documents does not separate the genders nor analyzes any data separately on males and females. There are two only two graphs provided in the NISP (B) and none of them shows any gender aspect.

Figure 1: Decline in Incidence of Terrorism in Pakistan

Figure 2: Number of Sectarian Violence

Similarly, the NISP (A) also does not provide any sex-disaggregated data. For example, while explaining the capacity of the national internal security apparatus (NISA), the document provides a ratio between number of police officers assigned for population in rural and urban areas but does not provide details according to gender. Whether these constables are females assigned to female population or by ‘population’ they mean just men, is a mystery unsolved. From Annex A to Z, including AA and BB, none of the graphs, charts or table provide any kind of data related to women.

✧ Context

Q Are women clearly visible in the policy? Does the policy consider the historical, legal, social, cultural and political contexts of women’s lives and lived experiences both now and in the past?

In the twenty-points priority list provided by the second document, not even one point mentions gender aspects or gives a gender perspective of an issue. For example, point number 11 states,

“De-radicalization and rehabilitation programs will be incorporated to enable former militants to join mainstream”, this point indicates how invisible women, and their issues are in these policies. There is no reference being made to the distinctive programs required for women given that the cultural barriers do apply to all women, no matter if they are terrorist even.

Q Do the policy documents include gender debate in security challenges?

NISP (B) enlists vital domains to effectively deal with the security challenges that Pakistan faces as it aims to adopt a “whole of nation” approach. These domains namely, Administrative/Governance, Ideational, Federal-Province and Socio-economic gives gender a complete miss. It would have been expected that the document mention women’s ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors under the Socio-economic debate where it mentions how youth is compelled towards extremism, but this portion of the document remains silent on the inclusion of gender.

✧ **Language**

Q Does the language infer male dominance or female invisibility?

Compared to NISP (A), the NISP (B) is a bit more inclusive and incorporates woman and the word gender on a number of different occasions and in different contexts. None of the documents shows a sign of male dominance but are loaded with female invisibility. The text and words used are excessively gender neutral. For example, in the *way forward* of NISP (A), the document reads that “government will create a necessary capacity to develop an integrated and unified response to terrorism and extremism”. Yet it does not mention if this integration and unification will include women representation/perception too.

Q Are gendered expectations and language encoded in the policy?

As mentioned previously, women remain largely absent from the policy strategies. They are not expected to do anything; no attempts are made to include them in any strategies; their gender is expected to be provided for instead of utilizing their uniqueness. In NISP (B), women at different points (for example, page 53) are mentioned as a marginalized group for which the state has to provide relaxation.

✧ Funds

Q Are there separate provisions for funding for women?

The policy document talks about fund allocation for education sector, for setting up libraries at mosques, economically uplifting aggrieved provinces like Baluchistan, to public university in order to invite scholars working on Pakistani and South Asian history, development of FATA, promotion of social sciences, research and increasing intelligence gathering capacity of Police and CTDs, but clearly gives a miss to allocation of funds towards anything related specifically to women.

✧ Roles

Q Does the policy text clearly define the diverse role of women in terrorism and violent extremism?

The NISP (A) identify the roles of women in two categories.

- Victims:

Rehabilitate all victims of terrorism especially vulnerable groups like women...

The terrorists have indiscriminately targeted children, women...

- Perpetrators:

... Jamia Hafsa incident has brought madrassas for women also under the microscope for security analysis

...purging out radical ideas from the minds of terrorists, juveniles and women.

NISP (B) does mention that women can play a role in uplifting the society but remains mum on the 'how'. Other roles such as peacebuilders, decision-makers, front line fighters, etc., are missing though slight references are made to the need of collaboration of the society as whole in implementing the policies but it is not stressed enough.

Q Do the policy documents recognize women's association with the terrorists and extremists' group?

As already established, these policy documents do not mention any further details about how and why women get radicalized or which terrorist/extremist groups recruits women and how.

Q Does the document involve women in the country's peace negotiations and in what capacity?

Both the policies draw reference towards the importance of negotiations with the anti-state and non-state actors but do not specify the framework for these negotiations. It mentions that hostile organizations like the Baluchistan Liberation Army (BLA) and terrorist organization like the TTP keep dialogue as an option to settle their disputes however, the policy remains silent on the inclusion of different sectors of the society on the negotiation tables, if these dialogues are ever initiated.

Q What scope is there for including women's views?

The NISP (B) enlists sources from which the policy document draws inspiration. These sources include Quaid-e-Azam's statements, one of which is of particular importance to this study:

I have always maintained that no nation can ever be worthy of its existence that cannot take its women along with the men. No struggle can ever success without **women** participating side by side with men. (Speech at Islamia College for Women March 25, 1940)

Including such statements in NISP (B) shows that the makers of this policy did think of incorporating women into the process at one stage or another. Such references or 'inspirations' are missing from the NISP (A). NISP (B) seems to be showing the tilt towards recognition of female gender. The policy aims for a *pluralistic society that celebrates diversity; where everyone is guaranteed a dignified life*. With such strong usage of words, the scope for including views of a section which constitute half of the society, can be made.

✧ Power Analysis

Q Are women involved in making, shaping and implementation of the policy?

The representation of women seems to be unequal in the making, shaping and implementation of both these documents. In the acknowledgment section of the NISP 2018-2023 the names of individuals who helped in the formulation of the policies have a ratio of 8:1.

- The Minister of Interior Prof. Ahsan Iqbal
- Secretary Interior Mr. Arshad Mirza
- Special Secretary Mr. Rizwan malik
- Additional Secretary 1 Mr. Siddique Sheikh
- Additional Secretary 2 **Mrs. Farah Hamid Khan**
- Additional Secretary 3 Mr. Imran Ahmad
- Technical Lead Dr. Adnan Rafiq
- National Security Advisor Lt. General (r) Nasir Khan Jangua
- National Coordinator NACTA

Q Were the policy makers gender balanced?

As mentioned above, the ratio of men to women in the names mentioned is 8:1. However, the policy documents do mention at some point that women along with many other groups played a role in formulation of the security policies- which seems more of a consolation rather than an acknowledgement.

✧ Inspiration

Q What are the problems of women that are denied the status of problem by the policy?

The policy documents remain surprising silent on even acknowledging the problems faced by women as a result of conflicts or even in the peace building processes. The policies do not even identify what women thinks as major issues. On page 80 of NISP (A), the Annex Y provides a graph of the survey conducting by CDRSP that shows youth's identification of major issues in which it specifies that youth does identify terrorism and law and order as major issues.

(In the same graph, Youth thinks women rights only constitutes 7% of the major issues of the country)

Q Does the policy document mention Women, Peace and Security Agenda or any other women related agenda, documents or policies?

Annex U of the NISP (A) on page 69 provides a list of International Cooperation: Agreements/MoUs and Declarations. This list contains names of countries with whom Pakistan has signed cooperative agreements and also provides the essence of these cooperative measures. Nowhere in the list does the document mentions anything about women or anything related to women. Next in the Annex V, the policy refers to Global Counter Terrorism Models, where again there is no reference to women. The NISP (B) provides a list of documents in its bibliography with a reference to two documents that are gender specific, namely:

- 25: *Mainstreaming Gender in Security (USIP)*
- 28: *Role of Women in Pakistan's Peace and Security*

Yet it fails to mention or draw inspiration from the Women, Peace and Security Agenda and/or UNSCR 1325 or 2242.

✧ Forces

Q Are women equally involved in planning and implementing protection programs?

NISP (B) mentions that there is a need to further enhance the capacity of both military and civilian Law Enforcement Agency's capacity to deal with threats. Many terrorist groups around the world use women to gather intelligence data because they remain less suspicious, however, these policies remain silent on inclusion of women in its section H1.2. Intelligence Gathering and Sharing. The detailed list of reforms suggested for the Police and LEAs on page 38, 39 and 40, completely excludes the reservations and need of women. It even stay silent on firstly, the recruitment of more female officers and secondly, establishment of branches dedicated to this gender, only. For example, it does not talk about the much-needed women's police stations, specialized units for gender-based violence, gender training, etc. Moreover, both the policies are silent on measures to attract more female recruitment and the need for doing so.

The NISP (A) mentions that the policy aims at developing a Police force that is more "service oriented and people friendly" but fails to mention that how will that be possible without gender

representation within the force. Furthermore, the policy claims that it “rests on bottom-up approach in intelligence gathering, starting from local level”. Yet it fails to point out that to start from local level it is crucial to take the women of local community into confidence. Alongside, it even fails to point out gender representation, participation, issues and need in the units like the National Internal Security Operations Centre (NISOC), Operation Planning Centre (OPC), Counter Intelligence Team (CIT), Rapid Response Force (RRF), Air Wing (AW), etc.

Q What traditional or non-traditional services (e.g., women’s help lines) are available to women that facilitate their reporting of crimes?

The clause 10.b of subsection H1.3. Criminal Justice System Reforms of the NISP (B) states:

Public complaints shall be facilitated through measures such as online complaint registration; police helpline and the use of SMS for routing complaints. Public Facilitation Centres shall be established to address public queries.

It fails to mention the problems women may face during complaint registration and how the reforms plan on addressing those.

Q Are there separate police holding cells for women? Have feminine hygiene needs been addressed where women are kept in holding cells? Are women detainees supervised and searched by women officers and staff?

While the NISP (A) remains silent on the issue, the NISP (B) briefly touches upon the establishing women prisons at divisional level for the prosecution of women convicts. No other information has been provided in the document about cell facilities.

✧ Organizations

Q Are there partnerships with women’s organizations, women’s media networks, or national women’s machinery, to integrate gender messaging into the counter violent extremism?

The texts of NISP (A) and (B) do not mention any such affiliation with any women organization which will integrate gender messaging. Instead, the policy documents do not

divide the genders when attempting to talk about reaching all population. For example, in NISP (A), the policy states:

Success of NISP will depend on how **people** of Pakistan will respond to this framework and come forward to play an active role for saving present and future generations from the menace of terrorism, extremism, militancy and sectarianism. This is the key to winning the war against extremism and terrorism..... construct positive public opinion through **integrated** efforts. However, this is only possible if all key pillars of the state are prepared to develop a **unified** narrative and **support** each other for building a better future for the People of Pakistan.

This point does not take into consideration the gender perspective nor talks about integrating gender organizations, media networks or machinery to meet its goal of gaining public support. Both the policies do not mention any women led or women organizations in their text. There are numerous organizations like the PAIMAN or Amn o Nisa which fails to get a mention in the document. However, the policy does mention that without the participation of women, no policy can succeed in Pakistan but fails to make them particulate in the formation or mention in the framework or strategies for implementation.

4.3. Analysis

Asking the right questions while analyzing a policy is the first step towards finding desired results. In this case, formulation of pertinent questions was important to highlight the elements that have certain implication for women and for the society as a whole. For instance, once the number of women involved in policy making is gauged, more women must then be brought as policy makers and analysts to balance the equation. Such extensive list of questions forces recognition of the changes that has to be brought to make the policy suitable for all the sectors of the society. The questions for this study were formulated in such a way that the collected data will help the researcher meet the primary objectives of this study. The answers helped in understanding the existing internal security policy documents in light of gender inclusion. The data collected shows the problem of gender inequality in the system, highlights the importance of the gender mainstreaming and how without taking measures in this direction, Pakistan cannot free itself from the menace of terrorism and violent extremism. While the kinetic measures to defeat terrorism and extremism has been successful, a lot needs to be done in the realm of deradicalization through soft

measures/non-kinetic measures. It is important to ensure women's participation in peace processes, decision making related to peace and security and in all levels of national policies like the ones under study. Without the application of gender lens to post conflict redevelopment and reconstruction, the attempts to create effective strategies and policies are futile.

The national internal security policies of Pakistan does not seem to problematize the framework according to the latest developments in the international system, reference to which has been made in earlier in the study. The data collected surely reflects the gender gap and the gender neutrality of the policy documents. In a society like Pakistan's, the patriarchal norms and structural inequalities restricts women to the margins of the society. This curb their meaningful participation in the public and political spheres. The cultural barriers and patriarchal norms severely affected the internally displaced women since they did not possess valid registration documents and lost access to relief items. Many families that were left under the authority of women after the 2009 Malakand operation, were left without cash and food due to this reason. Violent extremism has adversely affected women's mobility in KPK. In Swat, the Taliban banned women from working and leaving house unless accompanied by a male member of the family. They have limited access to health facilities. Gender divide in conflict and crisis scenarios is magnified by the existing inequalities, sociocultural differences and disparity in access to rights. The integration of gender issues is the key to operational effectiveness, local ownership, and strengthened oversight. The documents have been analyzed in a way to uncover that women representation in the discourse is gendered by stereotyping their roles, capabilities and contexts.

Firstly, from the data collected it can be observed that the policy documents do not focus on meaningful participation of women in peace, political and security decision-making processes. With men to women ratio of 8:1 who helped in the formulation of NISP 2018-2023, the policy shows how the contributions from this gender were extremely limited. Even though at one point it is mentioned how without gender inclusion the policies cannot be success, but the text does not reflect any mechanism to facilitate this inclusion. As the study has already established the importance of women in decision-making sector, two of the most crucial security policies, on which the future of Pakistan's internal stability relies, clearly ignore the role or acknowledge why women should be included. Despite the distinctive role women can play in decision-making sphere with all their unique qualities, as has been seen in the COVID leadership and references to which

have been made in the previous chapters, the inclusion of women into the making of these policies have many other benefits as well. Women bring to the tables their unique outlook as well as can better connect with the plight of their own gender. The number of faults lies within the policies clearly indicates how, if women were a part of the making process, these issues would have been considered more carefully. For example, in the policies there is no mention of the problems faced by women during a conflict despite numerous studies already establishing that women indiscriminately becomes the victims of a conflict. Even the policies mention that women are victims of conflict but remains silent on the 'how'. The possibility of having a separate section for Gender Based Violence would have been higher if there were women making these policies especially in a society like Pakistan's where men usually consider it a taboo to talk about women issues and are usually oblivious to them. The inclusion of women's problem and their acknowledgement will increase the acceptance of the policy measures in the society, with more women developing a welcoming attitude towards the strategies.

Participation of women is not only limited to the decision-making tables. The WPS agenda and the UN resolutions talks about participation of women in the LEA and forces as well. In order to have better policies, it is important to have a gender balanced force. In a society like Pakistan's where there is a clear distinction between men and women, having female officers in the law enforcement agencies will make it easier to access places which male officers cannot. Furthermore, on the check posts, women usually are given easy access if there are no female officers, and this has over the years facilitated the violent groups. This will be tackled well with a gender balanced force in Pakistan. The policies totally ignore these crucial ground realities while the focus remains only on the development of LEAs.

The second pillar of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda is to ensure that women's rights are protected and promoted in the conflict affected situations. But the policies do not recognize the different effects of conflict on women and girls, both during and after it. During conflict women need different kinds and levels of protection than men. Their dignities are at stake, they are used as human shields, they cannot access health facilities, and many more such issues are faced by women. The policies remain silent on identification of any such issue. Also, in its counter-terrorism strategies, it talks about women just as a marginalized group but proposes no detailed measures to the lift up this group. As IDPs women headed families suffers the most due to their previously

confined roles in the homes. They usually do not have identification documents due to which they are deprived of relief items. This creates further grievances in the society and no policy outcome can be made effective without considering the issues that can give birth to future instability. The WPS agenda also calls for prevention of all forms of violence against women in conflict affected areas. Furthermore, the policies do not have gender segregated data. Without understanding what half of the society is going through or how they perceive things, the policies cannot be effectively implemented. Of all the graphs and tables provided none of the graphs refers to women or addresses their concerns.

5. CONCLUSION

As already established, women's rights were recognized as human rights as late as 1993 in the form of United Nations Vienna Declaration on Human Rights. The gender mainstreaming policy revolution officially started in the 1995 when the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action required incorporating a gender perspective into all programs and policies. These pioneer texts opened avenues for numerous commitments by states and international organizations to mainstream gender analysis across all policies. Some approaches to preventing violent extremism that are gender centric, addresses the different needs and experiences of each gender. Such attempts to highlight the difference can help states revisit their international human rights commitments. It may urge them to provide effective policies and services to its people. Reducing overall gender inequality in the society can help in the prevention of conflict and violent extremism. International and regional organizations, and local stakeholders working to prevent violence and violent extremism in their communities should acknowledge the gender dimensions of violent extremist narratives in order to better understand their activities and mobilization. Advancement of gender-responsive initiatives tailored to local needs will help them develop better counter strategies and create a society that is just and peaceful for all. Although some feminist scholars criticize the merging of CVE initiatives and gender by citing that UN's policy agenda and the connection it draws between Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism (P/CVE) and Women, uses women's participation as a tool to fight terrorism. They argue that instead of promoting gender equality on the basis of human rights, such narratives are using gender equality to make the society peaceful. However, they ignore the fact that women live in the same society and the overall peace would mean peace for them too, since women are the most affected by any conflict. Based on this, the research aimed to find gender representation in the national internal security policies of Pakistan and used feminist policy analysis framework to see whether gender has been included in the policy debate or not. The study reaches a conclusion that with gender representation in identified areas and making the internal security policies of Pakistan in line with the UN policy agendas, more effective outcome can be generated. All that is required from our leadership and policy makers is the acceptance of gender debate in security realm and the will to make national internal security policies more gender balanced.

5.1. Recommendations

Based on the questions and their analysis above the future policy framework should:

- **Acknowledge the diverse roles of women- as peacemakers, victims and perpetrators**

Both the existing national internal security policies of Pakistan slightly touch upon deradicalization of women or how they helped in the Jamia Hafsa incident but do not acknowledge that women play important role in transferring arms and information and due to cultural barriers in Pakistan, they cannot be searched by male police officers and are usually given safe passage. The future policies need to clearly identify how women can and have played important roles in terrorist activities. Apart from this, effective policies cannot be created unless women are acknowledged as separate victims with separate needs. This includes but is not limited to the acknowledgment of existence of norms of being home bound all life and then suddenly living in IDP camps. The researcher's personal interactions with the families from Bannu IDP camps stated that the women had hard time adjusting to sudden exposure of the outer world. They also said that being confined to tents due to *purdah* made it hard to fetch relief items like food for themselves and their families in the absence of male members.²⁵ Policy frameworks should credit women for their distinctive experiences due to conflicts. This will lead to formulation of strategies that will address such concerns. For example, in this case the strategies should explicitly, not generally, include that IDP camps will have female staff for distribution of relief items. Counter-terrorism and P/CVE strategies has to be comprehensive enough to stop the seed for future grievances from germinating. Lastly, the acknowledgment of women as peacemakers based on the statistics available, will eventually make the counter strategies more effective. All the roles' women are supposed to play during or after the conflict needs separate attention in order to fully include them as half of the society in rebuilding the society.

²⁵ These accounts were collected as an informal interaction with these families. The purpose was not to conduct an interview but have a general conversation that led the researcher to gain this information.

- **Consider women as separate or ‘new actors’**

Powerful representation of women as security actors should dominate the discourse on their roles and contributions in the fight against terrorism and violent extremism. Since security actors are usually deployed to respond to a threat and are equipped with specific material/moral capabilities, it is crucial to understand how the categories of threats, time and space are constructed in relation to traditional ideas of security that undermines women’s contribution to it.

- **Increase recruitment of female staff in police, army, and other law enforcement agencies**

State and security institutions shall take measures to attract more women into the law enforcement agencies. Their recruitment will help make the counter-terrorism and preventive and counter-extremism strategies more effective. Furthermore, all the staff in crisis response management units shall be trained to address women specific issues, in health sectors especially. This will reduce the long-term grievances of this gender that can ultimately push them towards extremism. Without considering these measures a representative and effective police service cannot be created.

- **Include women in the negotiation process**

Statistical analysis of large data sets shows that when women are present as negotiators, mediators, witnesses and signatories in any peace agreements; the peace agreement is 35% more likely to last at least 15 years. An analysis of 182 signed deals between 1989 to 2011 backs this claim (O’Reilly, et.al., 2015). Such an in-depth research is a prerequisite for the policymakers in Pakistan so that they consider formulating a national security policy with all the gender dynamics in mind.

- **Collaborate with women organization to respond to the specific needs of women and utilize their abilities to fight off terrorism and extremism**

Local organizations and individuals shape the meanings and trajectories of the norms projected by the WPS agenda (Lorentzen, 2021). In Pakistan, organizations like the PAIMAN Alumni

Trust shall get state backing by promoting and recognizing their work and easing their access to the data. Mossarat Qadeem, the head of the organization, has decades long experience in training more than 655 mothers to deradicalize 1,024 young men and boys. Her organization rehabilitated these boys and reintegrated them back into the society (O'Reilly, 2016). Furthermore, regional organizations like the Women's Regional Network (WRN) works to resolve issues that affects women. This organization is a network of women from Pakistan, Afghanistan and India. Collaboration with such organization will help the state in reaching to the maximum population and it can utilize the experience of the people long affiliated with such organization. These organizations have over the years carried out specific research on this study area and can provide a constructive and comprehensive feedback and recommendations.

- **Use more gender sensitive language**

Language is of great importance when it comes to peacebuilding. It can be used to frame issues in a way that can emphasize commonalities and bring different sections of the society together (Local Approaches, n.d.). To reduce the language gap, future policies should develop terms and definitions that are more welcoming towards all sectors of the society. This can be done as a collective effort by the local practitioners, policymakers and researchers. They should be culturally, religiously and most importantly gender sensitive. Since women in Pakistan have been treated differently (not necessarily bad), gender neutral policies cannot attract their attention nor generate acceptance until the policies specifically address men and women separately. Language is a medium through which we see our world and unless policy makers in Pakistan reconceptualizes it through gender lens, effective results cannot be achieved.

- **Use of appropriate communication strategies**

An extension of the above point, it is highly recommended that proper channels be created to attract women towards peacebuilding processes. TTP used local language and attracted women to fund their organization. Similar tactics can be used by CT and P/CVE strategists to not only stop women from being radicalized but also show them the importance of their participation in reconstruction efforts. This will increase the acceptance of state level policies and its elements and have a better impact on the community.

- **Easy Access**

Develop systems to facilitate easy access to early warning systems. It is important to develop such mechanisms where reporting a crime or a violent activity is easy for women. Given the cultural barriers and lack of ownership of identity cards, the first information reporting is a difficult task. The law enforcing agencies should be equipped with systems, like female staff and privacy, to allow other women to have easy access.

- **Promote overall gender equality**

Increasing women's social, economic and political participation is the only way to increase their participation in the peace building process. To utilize what women brings to the peace building processes, it is crucial that policymakers show serious commitments to work for the reduction of larger gender inequality.

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