

Pakistan's Counter-Terrorism Narrative and Non-Traditional (Holistic) Security Paradigm with Civic Engagement

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Abstract:

The woes of terrorism and extremism pose a threat to the stability, economic development and human growth of nations. It, therefore, remains a serious concern for the state to rethink its strategies towards bringing stability. This paper, on deploying content analysis technique, explores the traditional security paradigm as a state-centric approach under the diverse concept of security. The non-traditional approaches; Buzan's holistic perspective of a national security complex, Mehbub-ul-Haq's human security notion and Mohammed Ayoob's concept of weak state, are scrutinized to study the actual and potential role of civic engagement towards constructing an effective counter-terrorism narrative of Pakistan. It is established that due civic engagement has the potential to counter the extreme dogmas through collaborative efforts at home. It can also address the wrong perception about Pakistan's inefficient counter-terror measures at the regional and global level.

Keywords: Terrorism and extremism, traditional security paradigm, civic engagement

1. INTRODUCTION

There are several historical, geographical and political factors that have contributed to creating a favourable environment for the import of terrorism and extremism in the region in general and in Pakistan, in

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particular. Such factors are already widely discussed and documented, both nationally and internationally, likewise the political, cultural, constitutional, religious and economic reasons behind them [see, Weiss (1986); Ahmed and Jinnah; (1997); Jalal (1994); Wolpert (1984); Schamiloglu (2002); Ganguly and Haqqani (2005); Siddiqa (2007); Sardar (2007); Murphy and Malik (2009), Jackson, *et al.* (2009); Rashid (2010)]. Pakistan's response towards extremism as a traditional state-centric security referent is also widely documented [see, Rana (2003); Shahzad (2012)]. There exist also vast literature that projects realistic sketch of the Pakistan's identity [Cohen, (2004)]. In the same way, the non-monetary costs due to terrorism incidents are studied intensively over the decades [Musharraf (2006); Rashid (2010); Abbas (2010b); Underhill (2014)]. There remains no doubt that the terrorism and extremism wave blew across Pakistan from north to south (*see, Fig. 1*), backed after 9/11. Against the set problem, Pakistan has struggled to solve the terrorism problem through a democratic process and signed several pacts. It was only to avoid conflict situation, however, often misunderstood by terrorists and extremists [Khayyam (2016)]. Yet, the deconstruction of Pakistan's narrative and mistaken practical response to terrorism and extremism is widespread, importantly, if gauged through the lens of western perception. Whereas, at home, the counter-terrorism strategy reflects a state-oriented construction.

The security discourse of Pakistan remains partially, if not wholly a state-centric narrative. Pakistan's counter-terrorism narrative in relation to the role of civil society has not been completely worked-out. It means, the counter-terrorism narrative communicated so far is not reflecting the due share of input from those individuals of Pakistan's society, who are affected psychologically and socially by the acts of terrorism and extremism. Thus, the due role and engagement of these individuals to make a counter-terrorism narrative of Pakistan remains indispensable. Therefore, this paper attempts to evaluate the theoretical underpinnings of traditional approach to counter-extremism narrative and counter-terrorism strategy that can be applied in Pakistan's security doctrine scenario. So far, Pakistan's counter-terrorism and extremism narrative is considered here as a 'traditional' in nature. This paper further explores non-traditional security paradigm along with holistic models

that requires inclusion of all the citizens in building national level counter-terrorism narrative. Thus, this way, this study tries to fill the vacuum on bringing-in the ignored role of the civil society in the discussion, which is needed to enhance the peace-building process in the country in the long run. Based on the different dynamics, state-of-the-art of the research problem and research gap (as mentioned above) this theoretical research seeks to focus on the following questions:

- a) What is theoretical (non-) traditional counter-terrorism narrative?
- b) What are different holistic security models for civic engagement?
- c) What is the status of Pakistan's conception of national security and way-out?

Figure 1: Terrorism Affected Areas of Pakistan



Source: Nations Online Project (2017).

This research is descriptive/qualitative in nature that revolves around the basic and broad-based concept of security and counter-terrorism strategy, whether it is state or non-state centric. Additionally, it will deal with ingredients of the concept. However, the non-state centric or non-traditional counter-terrorism narrative is further linked with the holistic applied strategies. For this purpose, data from books, periodicals, reports and journal articles is analyzed under the 'Content Analysis' Technique-CAT [Lowry (1971)].

Content Analysis Technique (CAT).

CAT technique is a widely-accepted and broadly-deployed technique in qualitative social and humanities research. It has been used as a method for analyzing newspaper and magazine articles and other documents since the 19th century [Harwood and Garry (2003)]. This technique further gives a chance to interpret meaningful analysis from secondary sources, following a realistic paradigm [Hsieh and Shannon (2005)]. Content analysis technique also enables examiners to study and evaluate a wide range and variety of data volume in a relatively easy and systematic way. This technique no-doubt benefits the research to systematically and explicitly compress wide-range of text into fewer content sets or groups.

This technique is, however, not narrowed to any domain of textual analysis. Rather, it can be applied to broader domain of social-science research, including communication, journalism, sociology, psychology, and business, which is also due its quality of the objectivity or objective analysis – an important matter in any qualitative data analysis and results generalization [Sitton (2004); Casabonne (2004); King, *et al.* (2006)].

2. CONCEPT OF SECURITY & TRADITIONAL TERRORISM NARRATIVE

The debate of defining security and its implications in the international politics is extending continuously. Nationally, its domain is contested between positivists/ traditionalists and post-positivists/non-traditionalists. For the former;

“Realism/neo-realism, peace studies, policy-oriented studies and some forms of feminism are empirically based and these specify the referent of security in the analysis”. In contrast, *“Post-Positivist perspectives represent post-positivist feminism, post-modernism, critical theory, constructivism and emphasize methodology over the empirical*

identification of the specific referent to be secured”
[Terriff (1999, p. 170)].

Hence, due to a variety of approaches towards security, both at the micro- and macro-levels, the academic parameters are further stretched to encompass all the aspects of inquiry about security as a universal concept. Therefore, ‘traditionalist or positivist’ perspective remains the state-centric for territorial sovereignty and external threats. Whereas, in the debate, the commonly used perspective is ‘Realism’ and the focal point is ‘state’. The state acts like a ‘unit’. Although there is no single theory to test realism and proves its confirmation or rejection, yet, realism is a general phenomenon. It is based on many assumptions such as survival of the states in the international system of security landscape. It is the development of offensive capabilities for the acknowledgment of the state’s role at the world stage. Here, several theories are discussed that were presented over the past decades, which have tried to focus on states’ hegemony, for example, ‘Balance of Power (BoP) Theory’ (Kenneth Waltz), ‘Balance of Threat Theory’ (Stephen Walt), ‘Democratic Peace Theory’ (Micheal Doyle and Bruce Russett), ‘Complex Interdependence’ (Keohane and Naye) and ‘Collective Security’ (Charles and Clifford Kupchan).

The BoP theory exclusively proposes that:

“States seek to balance the power—the preponderance of power in the hands of a single state (i.e., the United States) will stimulate the rise of new great powers, and possible coalition of powers, determined to balance the dominant state” [Waltz (1993, p. 75)]. In the same line, Christopher Layne evaluated the progress as; *“In uni-polar systems, states do indeed balance the power against the hegemon’s unchecked power.”* [Layne (1993, p. 13)], and for Stephen Walt, *“Power and threat overlap, but are not identical ... Geographic proximity, offensive capability, and aggressive intentions are also relevant considerations ... States*

that are viewed as aggressive are likely to provoke others to balance against them” [Walt (1991, p. 75)].

Contradictory comments came from Micheal Mastanduno that existing evidence neither refutes nor supports the theories of both Waltz and Walt, but they remind reviewers that ‘statecraft matters’. It shows that traditionalist/positivist approaches are state-centric, as Mearsheimer says,

“Security competition among states always continues with war... cooperation can does occur between the states, but has its limits” [Mearsheimer (1994, p. 5)].

On security referent, the positivists further divide security into bounded and unbounded ones. Bounded security is state-centric and perceived as a threat from another state militarily, e.g., external aggression that the state has to counter. Neoliberal positivists suggest enhancing the capacity of state institutions to counter the outcomes of international politics. Barry Buzan argues that ‘the threats to the state are not always external and can also be internal or both’. A state can be under threat if the environment, internal groups, or individuals themselves are the threat factor(s) to state’s security. The discussion, “Clash of Civilization” by Samuel Huntington, proposes that;

“International politics will be more pressurized by rival civilizations than by issues between states”, hence less state-centric in scope. It is because; “civilizations can be just as ruthless in pursuing their survival as sovereign states, even if their physical boundaries are less precise” [Huntington (1999, p. 281)]

Similarly, according to Democratic Peace Theory, the democracy is the way to peace, both in and between democracies. The idea came under intense discussion by theorist like, Steve Chan, Zeev Maoz and Nasrin Abdal – opposing the theory, even on presenting historical

reviews in showing democracies as prone elements to severe conflicts [Moaz and Abdolali (1989)]. Non-traditionalists maintain the argument that the traditional way of looking at national security does no longer cover the changes that are taking place, as for John Baylis;

“The result of this fracture of statehood has been a movement away from conflicts between the great powers to new forms of insecurity caused by nationalistic, ethnic, and religious rivalries within states, and across boundaries” [Fayyaz (2012, p. 49)].

Thus, the idea of security so far remains as state-centric. It ignores other factors (e.g., society, individuals, and environment). But security paradigm is an umbrella, it ensures the protection of all citizens of a state so that they can live their lives peacefully, and preserve their identities in a free and secure environment.

3. NON-TRADITIONAL TERRORISM NARRATIVE

Non-traditional/Post-positivists counter-terrorism narrative and perspectives connect state, society, and institutions through societal values. This idea views nature of knowledge of the security paradigm objectively. Though it poses challenging in-sight in the new hegemonic discourse, yet introducing more interpretations of the global security problems. Likewise, this idea, as a ‘communication discourse’, takes the course that proposes harmony among diversified actors than in the realism. As Peter Haas (1992), introduced the role of ‘epistemic communities’ in the internal and external. It is to address non-military/state issues – long ignored due to the traditional approaches. Finally, the focus remains on the role of community as:

“A network of professionals with recognized expertise and competence in a particular domain and an authoritative claim to policy-relevant knowledge within that domain or issue area. Although an epistemic community may consist of professionals

from a variety of disciplines and backgrounds, they have a shared set of normative and principled beliefs...shared causal beliefs... shared notions of validity... and a common policy enterprise” [Haas (1992, p. 3)].

Furthermore, Haas analyzed that the agents of policy implementation; policymakers, during uncertain and crisis situations, seek information and recommendations from other sources e.g., society. For an understanding of the policy decisions, the network of relationships among the policymakers, and an epistemic community at different levels of crafting and applying needs to be taken into consideration. One way to do is ‘*contribution principle*’.

For Colin Hay (2002);

“...Post-positivism or post-modernism’s principal contribution is to challenge the stated and, above all, unstated assumptions of conventional international relations theory (realist, idealist or constructivist)” [Hay (2002, p. 22)].

However, as a realist challenge and (often interpreted) the arbitrary and unending discourse, it has no constants and final structures. It maintains the realist interpretation based on the knowable-world [Mearsheimer (1994)]. Likewise, a cluster of theories e.g., critical theory etc. views international politics as an expression composed of mostly social aspects rather any material understanding of international security. It can be enhanced to a better extent by changing the way of thinking about international relations [Wendt (1992)]. That for a theorist like Alexander Wendt;

“...Security dilemmas and wars are the results of self-fulfilling prophecies... policies of reassurance can also help to bring about a structure of shared knowledge, which can help to move states towards a

more peaceful and secured community” [Wendt (1992, p. 500)].

All in all, the post-positivist idea relies on an inclusive approach. It is to involve all the stakeholders in all aspects of the security spectrum. However, since the end of the cold-war, perspectives of approaching the conceptualization of security changed. The perception of threat to the state and its interest is not less necessary, but new topics regarding the threats construction, actor and process are also being developed in this journey [Krause and Williams (1997)]. Consequently, the scholars are calling for a more comprehensive approach to security. It is perceived to be beyond the scope of the state [Buzan (2008); Gray (1982); Kolodziej (1992); Krause and Williams (1997)]. The debate ends with a focus on the non-traditional approach of security; the dire need to study applied strategies or a holistic perspective on the security paradigm of a state, like Pakistan, that even deploys the theoretical summary.

3.1 Holistic Perspective of Security

Holistic security perspectives, under the inclusive approach of security policy, are inspired by the work of Barry Buzan – *‘regional security complex theory’* Mehbub-ul-Haq – *‘human security notion’* and Mohammed Ayoob – *‘concept of weak state’*.

3.1.1. Holistic Vision of Security

Buzan represents a broader and holistic perspective of security by showing the integration of state and individuals and international perspectives, as desired by the non-traditionalists. To develop an in-depth understanding of the subject matter, all the three dimensions are considered not distinct but inter-connected. Buzan divides the state security concept further into five sub-parts, i.e., economic, political, ecological, societal, and military. For him, sometimes, military-threat aspect supersedes others. It is because of violent actions or political threats from external revolutionary forces. Whereas, societal threats mostly arise due to the inability of the state to bring cohesion in the society, where political and societal threats overlap due to ambitions of religiously motivated or ethnically inspired groups to acquire power. Economic threats are due to the weak economic system. Ecological

threats are related to the environmental stability and strength of the state institutions to handle environmental problems [Buzan (2008)]. Thus, Buzan's concept creates a link between the local security concerns and the national security aspect from an economic, political, ecological, societal and military point of view [Buzan (2008)]. The initial focus remains on security concept at the regional level;

“Regional security concept is become more autonomous and prominent in international politics, and that the ending of the Cold War accelerated this process ... Without superpower rivalry intruding obsessively into all regions, local powers have more room for maneuver” [Buzan and Waever (2003, p. 3 and p. 124)].

It helped in highlighting the importance of regional security to be included in the security policies of regional states. As Buzan and Weaver maintain that;

“Security complexes may well be extensively penetrated by the global powers, but their regional dynamics nonetheless have a substantial degree of autonomy from the patterns set by the global powers... One needs to understand both of these levels independently, as well as the interaction between them” [Buzan and Weaver (2003, p. 4 and p.5)].

3.1.2. Human Security Concept

Mehbub-ul Haq's dimension of human security remains important in highlighting the disconnect between citizens and state towards anti-terror policy. This concept relies on people's power as a referent of security. It is to provide security and safety against all societal insecurities. It is deeply emphasized that;

“The concept of security has far too long been interpreted narrowly, as a security of territory from external aggression, or as protection of national interests in foreign policy or as global security from the threat of nuclear holocaust. It has related more to nation-states than to people... Forgotten were the legitimate concerns of ordinary people who sought security in their daily lives. For many of them, security symbolized protection from the threat of disease, hunger, unemployment, crime, social conflict, political repression and environmental hazards” [Fayyaz (2012, p. 64 and p. 65)].

Whereas, human concerns about security is similar across the global societies and irrespective of nationalities. Likewise, social and economic concerns are related to everyone; no matter they live in war or peace. So, individuals are ‘rights-bearing entities, members of the society and transcendent global community (humanity). This concept challenges the concept of state sovereignty, as held by “neo-realists” [Keith, (n.d. pp. 44–45)]. Hence, it is observed that,

“State security cannot be achieved without ensuring the security of people ... Without human security, territorial security becomes ineffective and ultimately self-defeating ... National security is still paramount, but its attainment is linked more and more with human security. It is widely recognized that national security cannot be achieved in a situation where people starve but arms accumulate; where social expenditure falls and military expenditure rises” [Fayyaz (2012, p. 66)].

This clearly underlines that so-far national security is undermined, because of the imbalance of people’s participation and state security system. Kanti Bajpai explaining the notion people involvement adeptly takes the debate further;

“There are threats to individual security that go beyond the capacity of the state to manage. These threats may be transnational or internal. Thus, the state may be safe from other states, but may be gradually ‘hollowed out’ from within as individual security declines. Transnational forces or actors may so threaten individuals that the state gradually weakens from within” [Bajpai (2000, p. 25)].

The state is placed responsible for a more inclusive approach. It is also to invest in the progress of its inhabitants and human development to effectively address the causal factors of terrorism. Negligence of this aspect leads to vulnerability of the society that undermines the credibility of the state. Ultimately, consensus-building efforts are undermined. Thus, adding up human security perspective to the holistic view of security narrative helps in highlighting the susceptibilities of the society. This aspect is perceived to be long ignored by the policy makers, often leading to undermining the credibility of the state and its counter terrorism narrative.

3.1.3. Subaltern Realism

Mohammed Ayooob claims that the perception of the unitary nature of a state, as perceived in the global North, is merely applicable in other regions. It is because of the multi-layered and multi-dimensional security situations in the developed societies. The global South is still in the making and seeking answers to the questions of state legitimacy and state writ. As for Mohammed Ayooob;

“Substantial differences define the state in the developing world such as “search of legitimacy” for itself and what is defined as “national security” may be the perception of the regime in power than the people of the state as a whole” [Fayyaz (2012, p. 61)].

Subaltern realism portrays that state weakness or strength does not mean the power a state has (or has not), but how stable and strong the state institutions are. More importantly, how coherent are the state's counter-terrorism policies with its society? So, the western or first world states can be considered stronger –having no legitimacy problems. Their state institutions' building process is also completed. But, the global South faces significant conflicts over state authority and they are subject to political challenges [Buzan (2008)]. Contra-wise, it can be said that the concepts of security in the third-world can be defined 'in relation to vulnerabilities' – both internal and external that has the potential to bring down or significantly weaken any state's structure – territorial, institutional and regimes [Fayyaz (2012)].

4. CIVIC ENGAGEMENT, NON-TRADITIONAL THEORY & HOLISTIC MODEL

Civic engagement is citizens' participation in the decision-making process, here civic engagement is participation of the general public in defining the security paradigm to develop an (effective) strategy for countering the terrorism wave in the country. It is because, civil societies prove to boost up the process of accountability of the national governments, e.g., state security provision, to inhabitants through improved policy decisions. In this way, although the concept of civil society is difficult to bind in certain boundaries [Edwards (2011)], yet it contains the elements of diversification and argumentative [Paffenholz (2010)]. It's a sphere of un-coerced human associations and the state, in which people undertake collective actions for normative and substantive purposes, which are relatively independent of the government and the market [Edwards (2011)].

Thus, civil society is a juncture of collective actions around shared values and purposes. Here, interests are non-controversial within the social system. The system functions independently from the state, but interacts closely with the state and the political sphere [Paffenholz and Spurk (2006)]. Whereas, for some other authors; civil society is not a separate sector [Merkel and Lauth (1998)]. It means that some actors working in any specific sector, i.e., politics, economy or private spheres,

perform their duties not only independently, but also perform collective duties in a civil society [Croissant (2003)].

Subsequently, civil society is the main entity in state building [Merkel and Lauth (1998)]. Civil society is a matrix of citizens-government and citizens-citizen relationship having a major stake in the peace building process. It is against the concept of any central authority or supreme power to one actor i.e. state or monarchy. In a centric system, the power center is controlled by law in the political structure [Paffenholz and Spurk (2006)]. However, in an inclusive system, civil society is '*a public room*' that is separate from state and market. It is the domain where 'ideological hegemony is contested' – the Marxist theoretical perspective [Spurk (2006)]. Thus, civil society is believed to be a composition of a wide range of ideologies and organizations, capable of upholding and challenging an existing order of the state, and it can influence the central system [Lewis (2002)].

The role and scope of the civil society expanded with the entry of both formal and informal sectors' e.g., farmers and churches. It often led to influence the central decision making process through social movements, contested political participation – demanding political participation, civilian and human rights movements [Lauth (2003)]. Meanwhile, some features of civic life and civil society also affected the performance and health of both social institutions and democracy [Putnam (2001)]. Civil society has also struggled against military dictatorship across the globe. It is followed by a broad entry of the civil society under the concepts of neo-liberalism, emphasizing deregulation and economic freedom [Brenner, *et al.* (2000)]. This active role of the civil society according to Spurk is;

“Civil society plays different roles in various transition phases. Its success is contingent on a variety of factors, among them its strength and capacity to fulfill the right functions at the right time, the incorporation of democratic procedures in its own structure and organization, especially after immediate system change, the extent of bridging

societal divides by inclusive membership as well as the 'civility' of its actions" [Paffenholz (2006, p. 5)].

It, however, also remains a despondent reality that small urban elites and traditional associations create an environment of participatory exclusive governance system which is stretched back to the colonialism era. Resultantly, non-state actors become visible civil society actors in some societies [Lewis (2002); Herneit-Sievers (2006)]. Whereas, in other parts of the world traditional institutions can be seen as units of civil society [Herneit-Sievers (2006)]. All in all, global civil society is intensively debated in the literature; however, their claim of being representatives of the world's people is questioned [Kaldor (2003); Anderson and Rieff (2004)].

5. SUMMARY & CONCLUSION

The traditionalist/positivist approaches place Pakistan's case as state-centric composition – having state as a 'unit'. Yet, the historical events place Pakistan at the heart of debate and comprehensive counter-terrorism strategy proves that Pakistani state and society is under several threats, both internal and external. It can be concluded that under the bounded-security referent, the security scenario of Pakistan comes primarily under threat from the external factors e.g., external aggression etc. Thus, the so-far counter-terrorism strategy of Pakistan operates initially (directly or indirectly) under the shadow of post-cold war scenario and then in-response to ever changing regional politics. It is mostly coupled with the regional threats, in the debate of 'the rise of Asia' [Betts (1993); Friedberg (1993)]. Consequently, Pakistan's state-centric counter-terrorism narrative is based on a wide-set of extortions from outside. It explicitly exposes the structures of oppression by arguing the flow of knowledge from interests. Hence, defining security patterns and counter-terrorism behaviour of Pakistan. The knowledge of interests and counter-measures naturally fits for any state-centric approach – giving the sense of a state-centric narrative. It can also be established that the state-centric security narrative of Pakistan (see, Table 1), from the traditional perspective, is based on decades-long regional instability and associated (often) direct external and

conventional security threats – threats at the doorstep. Thus, so-far territorial/external security aspect remains a struggle for the legitimization of State's rules for state and regional control and domination.

Table 1. An Overview of Pakistan's Conception of National Security (A Theoretical Integrated Framework to Understand Pakistan's Response to Counter Terrorism)

Philosopher	Model Presented	Pakistan's Position/Response
Barry Buzan	Holistic perception of security <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Inclusive security – Multi-dimensional-social, political, economic, social and ecological. – Levels of security—global, regional, state and individual. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Used holistic strategy i.e., political, military, social through media and economic in the last operation. – The divide was obvious between people's needs and state actions, i.e., state and regional level approach dominated rather the individual one.
Buzan & Weaver	Regional Security Complex Theory <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – The relevance of security. – Securitization of security for specific reasons 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Domination of an authoritarian regimes and to a certain extent the democratic governments. – Threat of terrorism was securitized the whole time.
Mehboob ul Haq	Human Centric security <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – People as reference of security – Diversified areas of human security 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – The state was continuously given central priority as a referent. – Negligence of human security as a referent breded more terrorism.
Muhammed Ayooob	Subaltern Realism <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Weak state and incomplete state making. – The legitimacy of the state and political contest. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Pursuit of legitimization of the rules and state's dominated the actions. – Survival of the governments in the changing regional scenario.

Source: Author's own analysis.

The perception of threats to Pakistani state and its interest are no less necessary, but new topics of threats' construction, player and procedure keep on changing. So, the state-centric strategy, although fits

external threats; however, the volumes of both internal challenges and support from the locality have been broadening.

The due role of civic engagement remains indispensable, also because (quite often) the range of threats are beyond the scope of Pakistani state to tackle alone or without gaining due support from home. Whereas, Pakistan's civil society is a composition of a wide-range of ideologies, beliefs, and dogmata that can not only uphold state's counter-terrorism narrative, but it has the potential to sabotage Pakistan's central identity. So, if Pakistan is taken as an actor then from the 'Post-Positivist/Non-Traditional' perspective, the often unrecognized aspect is its social identity, which is most important than judging only its material outlook.

From the whole debate, it is further proven that all the discussed perspectives of security complex, e.g., holistic perception of security, human centric security, regional security complex theory and subaltern realism, support Pakistan to look forward with the lens of 'inhabitants inclusive or a holistic approach' – *a non-material outlook*. It can only be achieved through incorporating social, economic and human security concepts into its strategy. It is the time for Pakistan to skillfully incorporate the local beliefs, ideas, and values, which are shared in this society into its strategy. It can then influence social or political acts – *a normative structure*, to re-define the security paradigm of Pakistan. It can lead Pakistan to construct an effective strategy, which is both external and internal oriented in the normative structure, while considering local populace as important 'actors' – the psychologically and socially affected units of the Pakistani state. This intangible viewpoint under 'critical and constructivist model' can declare Pakistan as an inherently social actor with socially constructed entities.

It is also demonstrated that State is a by-product of inter-subjective social structures that needs to be reconsidered to tackle internal and external security challenges of Pakistan. So, from the debate above, particularly from the non-traditionalist's perspective, it can be ascertained that Pakistani state has to play the leading role to bring cohesion in the society and remove disconnect between the local populace and the state towards constructing an anti-terror policy. Simultaneously, State has to ensure direct investment in human develop-

ment to enhance level of understanding of civic participation in war against terror, which otherwise weakens the State's credibility at the popular level. Thus, a comprehensive counter-terrorism narrative of Pakistan desires enhanced civic engagement to construct an effective counter-terrorism strategy. It is not only to counter extreme dogma in the society, but also address Pakistan's false impression, if any, about counter-terror measures.

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