



THINK TANK CIVIL SOCIETIES AND PEACE-BUILDING OF ETHNIC CONFLICTS: AN ANALYSIS OF THE ROLE OF PAKISTAN INSTITUTE OF PEACE STUDIES

Muhammad Ejaz (Corresponding Author)
Assistant Professor
Government Postgraduate College
Mansehra - Pakistan
meaabbasi85@gmail.com

Riaz Hussain
Professor
Government Postgraduate College
Mansehra - Pakistan
rzhussain73@gmail.com

Tauqeer Iqbal
Lecturer
Government Postgraduate College
Mansehra - Pakistan
tauqeeriqbal1990@gmail.com

Abstract

Intra-regional Ethnic conflicts have become the effective challenge to the peace and national security of Pakistan. As these conflicts are intractable and deep-rooted, therefore, the employment of formal diplomacy has failed to resolve them. It created space for the civil society's engagement. Currently, hundreds of civil societies are involved in the process of peace-building. Some of them are think tanks that produce peace-building knowledge for policy suggestion. This study is an attempt to explore the peace-building role of think tanks. The main aims of the research are to understand the approaches, initiatives, functions and challenges of think tanks in peace. The research is qualitative and case study method has been adopted for the thorough and contextual analysis. The Islamabad-based think tank Pakistan Institute of Peace Studies has been chosen as case. The data is collected from personal observation, interviews and the documents. Twelve (12) civil society activists were interviewed while ten (10) activities of the civil societies including the case study have been observed in Islamabad, Lahore, Peshawar, Abbottabad and Mansehra. It is argued



that think tanks are potential to affect the policy and peace-building with their academic and research-based initiatives. It is claimed that like field organization, think tanks face fewer and non-potent challenges during the course of peace-building.

Key words: Ethnic conflicts, Pakistan, civil society, think tanks, peace-building

Introduction

The number of intra-state conflicts has sharply arisen since 1990, and currently one third of the world's countries are affected by societal warfare (Gawerc, 2006). These conflicts are often called as ethnic conflicts, because issue and focus of these conflicts is the right of the communal groups (Darby & Mac Ginty, 2000; Lederach, 1997). Cordell and Wolff (2011) described them as situation, where groups are competing for incompatible communal goals. The causes may be many but groups feel that discrimination and violence against them is because of their distinct identity. Kaldor (1999) called the ethnic conflicts as new wars. These conflicts are also termed as identity conflicts (Orjuela, 2008; Lederach, 1997). Burton (1987) called them deep-rooted conflicts. He remarked that these conflicts are based on non-negotiable human needs such as recognition and identity. Likewise, these conflicts cannot be suppressed and contained with traditional means. The utilization of state actors and formal diplomacy has failed to resolve the ethnic conflicts because these conflicts are not among armies rather among the local communal factions (Oberschall, 2007). This change shifted the attentions of the academicians and policy-makers from traditional to innovative approaches. The innovative approaches involve the local actors such as civil societies. Rupesinghe (1995) mentioned, civil societies are better option because they are owners and principal parties of the conflicts. Aly et.al (2015) argued that as they have local trust, therefore, their actions are considered as legitimate in community. Thus, with legitimacy, ownership and legitimacy civil society gives constructive repose to ethnic conflicts.

Think tanks are assumed as the organizations that generate the policy advice on domestic or international issues (Rich et.al 2011). They are also termed as organizations that seek to influence the policy making with research, analysis and advocacy (Bennett et.al, 2011). The earlier think tanks were created by state or the profit seeking private establishments. Currently, there are many non-profit, non-partisan, autonomous think tanks that work like an NGO and are catalyst of ideas, innovation and action. Many of them conduct the empirical researches like educational institutes; therefore, sometimes they are described as the "universities without students (Bennett et.al, 2011; Rich et.al 2011). They are different from other organizations on the bases of their autonomy, independent research



and analysis, strong policy orientation and degree of expertise. The think tanks today are the major parts of civil society organizations. They by research, advocacy, discourse development and dissemination are highly instrumental in building the sustainable peace initiatives (Malik, 2008).

Pakistan is facing the challenges of peace and security. The report of Institute of Economic and Peace (2018) ranked Pakistan as 151 out of 163 countries in peace (Institute of Economic and Peace, 2018). The lack of peace has directly and indirectly has relation with ethnic conflicts (Farood Alam, Personal communication, January 05, 2021). The ideological style of politics in Pakistan, as in world over disappeared, following the end of Cold War (Majeed, 2010). It created room for the politicking of ethno-political and ethno-religious identities in Pakistan (Haleem, 2003; Siddiqui, 2012). The fear of lingual and cultural identity because of state policy of single nationalism and political and economic marginalization gave rise to ethno-political groups (Rahman, 1996; Majeed, 2010; Grare, 2013; Levesque, 2013). These are Baloch, Muhajirs, Sindhi, Pashtuns, Sairaiiki and Hazariwals. The state's policy of excessive Islamization and empowerment of religious groups for defusing the power of political identities politicized the religious groups (Haleem, 2003; Waseem, 2011). The major ethno-religious identities are the sectarians and Jihadi militants. The Afghan Jihad (1979-1988), support of Iran and Saudi Arabia, proliferation of seminaries further strengthen their position (Khan, 2005). These ethnic groups are in struggle with state and with one another (Akhtar, 2013). The result is country is facing the issues political instability, economic breakdown and anarchy. State responded with dominance and it made them reactionary (Majeed, 2010; Siddiqui, 2012; Grare, 2013). The failure of the formal diplomacy of the state created space for the civil society in Pakistan (Johnston et.al, 2016). Presently, over 100 civil societies are working for peace-building through viable local knowledge, non-partisan and somehow socially sensitive approaches (Centre for Peace and Development Initiatives (CPDI), 2012; Qazi, 2013). Mirahmadi et.al, (2012) and many activists recognized that civil societies have played substantial role in the implementation of peace-building initiatives in Pakistan. (Usman Khan, personal communication, January 05, 2021; Mossart Qadeem, personal communication, January 28, 2021; Farnood Alam, personal communication, January 05, 2021).

This study is an attempt to investigate the role of think tank in the peace-building in Pakistan. The study is split into four main sections. The first section deals with the objectives and methodology of research. The second sections deals with the thematic and analytical framework of civil society and peace building. The third section discusses introduction, approaches and modes of case study PIPS in peace-building. The fourth



section applies the analytical framework of civil societies role against the case study i.e. PIPS. The last section elaborates the contribution, findings and limitations of research.

Objectives and Methodology

The civil society and peace-building is a new and unexplored area in Pakistan. The concern of this study is to bridge the scholarly gap in the field. The main objectives of the research are to understand the initiatives, functions, approaches of think tank civil societies in peace-building. Likewise, to analyze the challenges that think tank civil society faces in building peace. The main argument of the research is civil societies have the potential to resolve and transform the ethnic conflicts because they possess the local knowledge and understand the local context. The potentials of the civil society can only be explored, if civil societies get proper space and enabling environment. Furthermore, think tanks do not face the serious challenges because they do not have the direct and personal relationship with public.

Methodology is referred to the selection of approaches, the logic behind the selection of these approaches and data collection techniques (Kumar, 2011). As, the objective of this research is to develop theory and opinions, therefore, qualitative methodology with case study method has been adopted. Yin (2009) deliberated the four characteristics of the case studies that are relevant to this research. Case study is appropriate when research asks the “how” and “why” quires. It is suitable when researcher is investigating the “contemporary phenomenon in its real life context.” It is also useful when researcher rely upon the multiple data evidences (Yin, 2009). The main quarries of the research are “how civil societies are performing the peace functions” and “why they are facing the challenges in peace-building.” Likewise, this research reply upon multiple sources i.e. documents, personal observation and interviews. It also deals with the contemporary phenomenon of Pakistani context. A critical question in case study is which case is to be selected. Ragin, (1989) mentioned that cases are selected through proper criterion and normally, cases are selected objectively while setting aside the personal biases. The criterion for this research was the impartiality, compatibility of organization with research objectives and substantial work on peace as think tank. The twenty peace organizations were reviewed and only PIPS fulfilled the criteria. The data is collected from documents, interviews and personal observation. Ten (10) activities of the civil societies including two of PIPS have been observed in Mansehra, Abbottabad, Islamabad, Lahore and Peshawar. Twelve (12) civil society activists including the officials of PIPS have been interviewed. The purpose sampling method with non-structured interviews has been adopted as technique for interviews. The archival data, both primary and secondary, such as reports, books, research papers, and online records have also utilized. The thematic



analysis method with the model of Braun and Clarke (2006) has been utilized for the analysis of qualitative data.

Civil Society and Peace-building: An Analytical Framework

The international practices and approaches had neglected the role of civil societies in peace. The failure of formal diplomacy realized the policy makers that they cannot be resolved from above or from outside but local actors can resolved them (Rupesinghe, 1995). Leeuwen (2008) mentioned that during last two decades, civil societies' progressive involvement and effective role have attracted both home states and the international agencies. Some scholars like Barnes (2005) and activists such as Shafqat Mehmood, (Personal communication, January 30, 2021) feel that limited civil societies can play limited roles in conflicts. Some scholars like Rupesinghe (1995) and activists such as Raza Rumi (personal communication, February 18, 2021) consider them as independent and potential in peace-building. Paffenholz (2010) stated that civil societies have potential of peace. However, they play the primacy role in certain affairs and the supportive role in the others. Paffenholz (2010) also elaborated that civil society picks up different roles in different societies, depending on the enabling factors and understanding of peace-building.

The think tank civil societies as discussed by Malik (2008) through research, publications and advocacy think out of the box and provide the deep knowledge required for peace. They also provide the indicators of early warning. The experts in organization, institutional capacity and increased networking with the media and official institutions are essential for their successful activity. Malik (2008) argued that production of peace from think tanks is costly and time consuming and such efforts do not always guarantee peace.

Different scholars have developed the analytical frameworks for the role of civil society in peace. Such as, Paffenholz and Spruk (2010) have provided an organized type of analytical framework for mediating the functions of civil society in peace building. They have provided seven functions i.e. "protection, monitoring, socialization, advocacy, facilitation, social cohesion and service delivery." The analytical framework for this research has been developed while keeping think tanks in mind. The main support is taken from Ejaz and Khan (2021). Though, inspiration has also been taken from the works of Barnes (2005), Orjuela (2008) and Paffenholz and Spruk (2010), CPDI (2012), Mirahmadi et al., (2012), Qazi (2013) and Johnston et al., (2016). The analytical framework has only one main theme (function) i.e. "culture of peace" while it is five sub-themes (sub-functions) i.e. "socialization for democratic behavior and good governance, alternative media for peace reporting, peace education, reconstruction of narratives and advocacy."

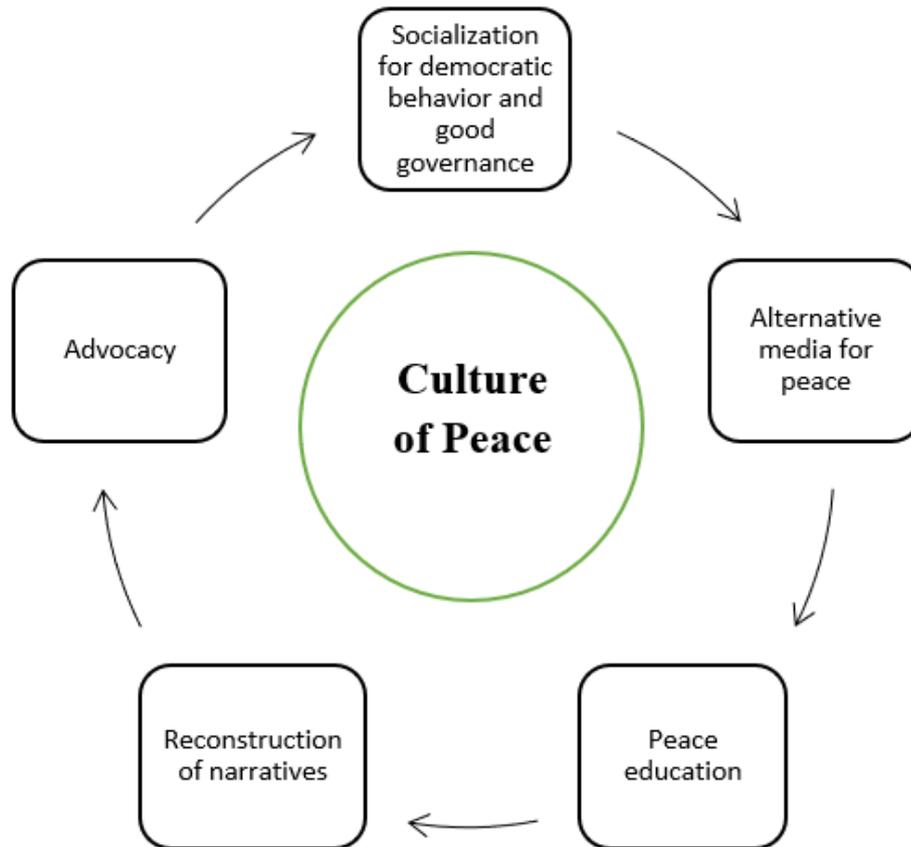


Figure 1 Analytical Framework for the Role of PIPS in peace-building

An Introduction to Pakistan Institute of Peace Studies

PIPS is a non-profit and non-governmental peace organization that primarily works on the political, religious and social conflicts. It has a central office in Islamabad while it also covers the conflicts at provincial and regional level. According to most of the former and current officials, it is research and advocacy think tank (Mujtabah Ratore, personal communication, October 18, 2020; Safdar Sial, personal communication, January 30, 2021). The inspiration for opening up the organization was the lack of existence of think tank on security and peace issues in Pakistan. The purpose was to produce the empirical knowledge and to give the suggestions on policy related with security and peace (Amir



Rana, personal communication, January 30, 2021). Peace was a sensitive and new phenomenon at that time but with passions, team work and cooperation the organization has become success (M. Ratore, personal communication, October 18, 2020; A. Rana, personal communication, January 30, 2021).

The aims of the organizations are to contribute in the resolution of international and national conflicts by the adaptation of knowledge-based approach. The additional aims are the organizational activism for building the network for creating peace and to make alternative views for violence free society.

PIPS approaches to peace are embedded in the security and ideological ridden environment of Pakistan (Amir Hazarvi, personal communication, September 12, 2020). PIPS response to the conflicts is culturally sensitive. It engages variety of actors from both liberal and religious sections of society and tries to understand the different dimensions and angles of the conflicts (For details see, <https://www.pakpips.com>). The knowledge of the religious actors is utilized for the deconstruction of religious conflicts, while ethnic actors and traditional leaderships are used for the de-escalation of ethnic-conflicts. It is observed that organization looks things from the perspective of impartial third party and do not explicitly give remarks to the ethnic and religious identities. The civil behavior and non-violence are the guiding principles of organization in campaigns. As a think tank, its response is academic and avoids the personal biases and judgments (A. Rana, personal communication, January 30, 2021). The state's and PIPS relations are based on pragmatism, they are neither close and nor in tense relations. Therefore, state did not create hurdles for PIPS (M. Ratore, personal communication, October 18, 2020). To add more, diplomatically, it publishes the work of people who have close association with organization but it does not accept it as its official stance.

The main modes of the organization are research and publications. The important among is the annual security report. They monitor approximately 100 regional and national journals, magazines and especially newspapers on daily bases for making the special, occasional and annual reports (S. Sial, personal communication, January 30, 2021). The organization has the peer reviewed qualitative and quantitative research journal named "Conflict and Peace Studies." It also publishes survey and content analysis based reports, occasional reports and periodicals like *Tajzia* and *Dialogue*. The other modes are debates, dialogues, seminars, conferences, and training, workshops and awareness campaigns.

Pakistan Institute of Peace Studies and Culture of Peace



Culture of peace is the core function of civil societies in peace. It is the main concerns of PIPS and it entails the socialization for democratic behavior and good governance, alternative media for peace reporting, peace education, reconstruction of narratives and advocacy.

Socialization for Democratic Behavior and Good Governance

Democracy and good governance are the core themes of the PIPS. The official website indicates that real peace is difficult without the existence of good governance and democratic environment. . The director said; “only democratic and secular Pakistan can save the country from the exploitation of the Jihadi and sectarian militants” (A. Rana, personal communication, January 30, 2021).

The organization has produced the research reports, research papers and training manuals for the democratic education and the socialization of public in democratic values. The foundations of democratic socialization are inspired from philosophy, history, politics and the religion. The publications are usually concluded in debates, seminars and conferences (Personal communication, Ahmed Ali, January 30, 2021).

The organization propagate the view that consultation and protection of people rights in democracy is similar with Islamic system. The dictatorship and monarchy are against the Islamic spirit, because they do not take care of mutual consensus and consultation. Islam laid down the guiding principles of equality, justice, rule of law and responsibilities of rulers. Only democracy guarantees all these ideals (PIPS, n.d.; PIPS, 2014g). To add more, Western political thoughts and trends in intellectualism are not wholly contradictory to the basic Islamic principles. Additionally, the society needs the knowledge based political discourses and not the belief based discourses for responding the local and international challenges (PIPS, 2011a). It asks for the acceptance of the rule of majority and following of Constitution, the accepted document of all the communities (PIPS, 2014a).

The good governance has close relation with democracy. PIPS realize that Pakistan is a post-colonial state and it has failed to perform the basic functions of justice, social development, law and order and human freedoms (PIPS, 2009a). The activities based on publications determine that legislature should contribute to the welfare of the human beings. Likewise, there should be a committee in legislature that would monitor the transparency and accountability in governance (PIPS, 2014f). PIPS also initiated the dialogues and workshops for the social justice, merit, fairness, rights, responsibilities of



government in the system. It declared that anything less than that is against the standards of Western thoughts as well as the Islamic system (PIPS, 2014f).

Alternative Media for Peace Reporting

The mass media of Pakistan lacks the trained journalists. The extremists and their supporters have dominance while the peace-builders are voiceless on media. PIPS has created the training manuals and organized series of trainings and workshops on these manuals, for sensitizing the media persons for responsible and analytical reporting on conflicts and peace initiatives (PIPS, 2014c). The trainings also contain the element that may bring the overall reforms that would address the negative trends on media (PIPS, 2016a).

Organization has produced the reports on the understanding of the Jihadi Media. The reports are based on evaluation, content analysis and surveys. It describes the media landscape of the militants, the main themes and their impacts upon the society. The basic objective is to understand the trends, so that, to counter the narratives of the extremists and make recommendations for its disclosure (Pakistan Institute of Peace Studies, 2013).

The media persons are also involved in the programs. PIPS is basically the movement of the media persons and the top leadership belong to the field of journalism. The leadership and the employee are still active as writer and opinion-makers in the mainstream media like Daily Dawn (Sabookh Syed, personal communication, June 20, 2021). The PIPS programs are transmitted by many electronic and social TV Channels and the mainstream press media like The News International.

Still the peace voices have a little space on mainstream media, therefore, it has created the alternative mass media. It has an official website with following in thousands with the name of <https://www.pakpips.com>,” contains all of its publications. It also has four more websites. One is “Pakistan Saga,” a video magazine that highlights positive hidden aspects of Pakistani society (For details see, <http://pakistansaga.com/eng/>). The third web is “Tajziyaat Online.” It has over 29000 followers and contains the news and analysis of the different activities that have link with peace and security. The periodical “Tajziyaat” has articles on the identity, peace, cooperation, democracy, ethnicity, movements, Jihad and dictatorship (For details see, <https://www.tajziat.com/>). The next is the “Narratives” that publish the books, reports, booklets, newsletters and also provide services of digital videos, multimedia, animations and audio productions (For details, see <http://narratives.pk/>).



Peace Education

Paffenholz (2010) has mentioned the peace education as major component for the culture of peace. The organization realized that the education system of Pakistan has diminutive capacity to promote the spirit of inquiry, diversity and peace knowledge. Therefore, the peace education initiatives of PIPS are revolving around the research, dialogue, trainings and sensitization of teachers. The focus of its attentions is the students, policy-makers and teachers of schools, colleges and universities.

The first aspect of peace education is the knowledge and activities for the instruction. It sensitizes the teachers, through research and trainings, to inculcate the social values, critical thinking and positive behavioral changes in instruction. It also asked them, the cognitive process develops in the environment that supports the art of questioning, freedom of expression and the critical inquiry. Such instruction will lead to religious and ethnic acceptability (Pakistan Institute of Peace Studies, German Cooperation, 2019a; PIPS, 2020a). It has created the training manuals and then arranged the workshop of 101 teachers of universities and colleges teachers of Islamic Studies and Arabic Departments. The purpose of workshop was to make the minds of people for inter-faith harmony, as teachers of Islamic Studies, Pakistan Studies and Social Sciences make the discourses and grounds on which the minorities suffers (Pakistan Institute of Peace Studies, German Cooperation, 2019a). It has also contributed in influencing the pedagogical methods of the teachers, as the existing instructive techniques are too diffident to transmit narratives of social harmony (Pakistan Institute of Peace Studies, German Cooperation, 2019a; PIPS, 2020a).

The second aspect of peace education is the curriculum development. PIPS believes that education in Pakistan is based on exclusives. This curriculum developed in the framework of Afghan Jihad (1979-1988) is the cause of radicalization. The teachers have less responsibility, because the curriculum is developed by the public sector departments. PIPS through the production of knowledge and advocacy attempt to change in curriculum. Its proposed curriculum is inclusive, non-political and promotes the values of peace. The recommendations of PIPS are to introduce the contents that would lead to harmony (PIPS, 2016e; PIPS, 2019a).

Reconstruction of Narratives

The narrative building is one of the main themes of the organization. It has also a proper forum with the name of “narratives” for reconstructing the national narratives. Amir Rana told; “we have realized through researches and field experiences that the existing



popular narratives in the society are either supporter or at least have sympathy to the extremists. He further said;

The main focus of PIPS is to develop the peace narratives by utilizing the empirical researches and involvement of the liberal and religious intellectuals. The reconstruction of narratives is crucial. Because the other aspects of peace-building like social harmony, social cohesion and advocacy are heavily dependent on the notion that how public and state make perception over the things and events (A. Rana, personal communication, January 30, 2021).

The narratives buildings demand to understand the existing narratives. PIPS has made studies to understand the narratives of extremists, in order to give them proper response (Pakistan Institute of Peace Studies, 2013). It has developed a model for the reconstruction of the national narratives. The first phase of the model explores the problems in the existing national narrative. The existing narratives are confusing as they discard the modern trends and social and cultural diversity. The second aspect is the recommendations for better steps, such as to review the political construct of the religion. These construct are the concepts of *Ummat* (Pan-Muslim Statehood), collective state order and nature of state and society. The extremists get strength from religious arguments, hence, there is need to understand their argument base. Last step is, to take initiatives of counter narratives. Likewise, to hold dialogue between the religious and the experts of social sciences for understanding the modern trends and need. The authority of issuing the Fatwas (Religious Order) is to be taken from the individuals clerics and should be handed over to a responsible institution. The religious scholars should come out and declare the *Takfeer* and *Kjurooj*.¹ There is need of proper forums at national level for alternative narratives such as national dialogue, dialogue observatory and the national debate forums (Pakistan Institute of Peace Studies, 2016b). Alongside developing models, from the platform of "Narratives" it has published many books that expose and counter the radical² narratives of the extremists.

The religious scholars are heavily engaged in the construction of peace narratives. PIPS also believe that intellectuals, literary figures and civil society activists are capable of cultivating the counter narratives (PIPS, 2016c; Pakistan Institute of Peace Studies, 2016b). PIPS through research reports and workshops substantiated that violence has no place in

¹ Takfeer is the act of declaring the Muslims to be outside of the creed of Islam while Khurooj mean going out for arm rebellion against the state.

² Radical may also be the forces of the constructive changes in the system, here radical mean the negative elements for the society.



the Islam. The role of media in popularizing the organization's narratives is vital. Media is sensitized to promote the true teachings of the religion and counter the narratives which may leads to violence (Pak Institute for Peace Studies, 2016a; Pakistan Institute of Peace Studies, German Cooperation, 2019b).

Advocacy

Many theorists including Orjuela (2008) and Paffenholz (2010) mentioned the advocacy and communication as the primary function of civil society in peace. Informal advocacy is the activism to the political apparatus, and issues are brought to the notice of state elites and policy makers. The formal communication is public advocacy. The statements, claims and demands are made public by press releases, statements, petitions, demonstration, mass movements and agitations. PIPS officials do not consider it as an advocacy organization in strict sense (A. Rana, personal communication, January 30, 2021; M. Ratore, personal communication, October 18, 2020). Amir Rana said;

“Our main concern is the production of knowledge for peace for the academicians and the policy-makers. We do not have time even to deal with our declared themes and objectives. Adding more concerns will affect the working and quality of the work of the organization” (A. Rana, personal communication, January 30, 2021).

Still, for culture of peace it makes the advocacy. The informal advocacy of PIPS is stronger as compared to the formal communication. It presents so many things on the agenda of the Government, political leaders, non-political leader, such as, Federal Ministers, MNAs, MPAs, senators, retired military leaders and chairman Islamic Ideological Council are the main targets for direct communication. It indirectly, through suggestions and policy recommendations also interact with the top brass of the country like the President, Prime Minister and head of security establishment Chief of Army Staff and Chief Justice. Overall, the formal advocacy of the PIPS is related with the security, implementation of security plans, coordination of security forces, de-radicalization programs and policy effecting peace-building. For this purpose they communicate them direct by calling them in programs as audience or as speakers. They also communicate them indirectly though media and policy recommendations of the reports. The formal communication did not go in vain because government has taken support from the policy recommendations of PIPS (PIPS, 2014i; PIPS, 2017h).

Disabling Factors



Peace in Pakistan is not a value, therefore, civil societies in Pakistan face the challenges in the construction of peace (Ejaz & Khan, 2021). The blogs and reports of PIPS do not express straightly the disabling factors. The officials did not treat them as importance. However, M. Azam (personal communication, October 20, 2021) said that there were always rumors of threats in the organization. He said further, “one day a person approached the office of the PIPS and said do not promote the agenda of USA in Pakistan.” The major disabling factors for the CSOs are the state, its authorities and extremists. Director of organization, however, did not take state as persuasive threat and said “we do not unnecessarily encroach into the affairs of state and state is reciprocating the same.” He further said, “state is supportive on some moves that indirectly support its narratives while it does not like moves goes against it.” He also said, “working in peaceful cities is easy while in FATA and Baluchistan is difficult.” Overall, except the “process barriers,”³ he did not feel that state as a barrier. The officials even did not feel the religious extremists as a potent threat. The reason of lack of reaction to their criticism, according to director, is their verbal and academic approach (A. Rana, personal communication, January 30, 2021). Rana admitted that that there is some propaganda from some NGOs and religious organizations but he did not sense it a big issue (A. Rana, personal communication, January 30, 2021). Lastly, funding and the financial crunch is the bigger problems for the Pakistani NGOs. Officials said, we had problems in the start, but because of our hard work, passions and efficiency we tackled this issue (A. Rana, personal communication, January 30, 2021; S. Sial, personal communication, January 30, 2021).

Conclusion

The ethnic identifies in Pakistan have been politicized because of lack of lingual, cultural and religious recognition. Moreover, the political and economic marginalization has also created the ethnic tensions among groups. Now, they are in conflict with one another and with state (Haleem, 2003; Khan, 2005; Majeed, 2010; Waseem, 2011; Siddiqui, 2012). The failure of traditional responses to the ethnic conflicts created the space for civil societies. Currently, more than 100 civil societies are involved in peace-building in Pakistan (Qazi, 2013). The think tank civil societies are also involved in the peace-building initiatives with research, publications and the advocacy (Malik, 2008). This study was an attempt to explore the approaches, modes, peace-functions and challenges of think tank civil societies in peace. PIPS, an Islamabad based peace think tank have been selected as case study. The analytical framework of the role of civil society in peace-building has been and applied on PIPS.

³ Process barriers mean the formality, unnecessary delays and non-cooperation.



The findings of the research revolves around three queries i.e. the modes and approaches, peace functions and challenges in peace-building. It is found that the approach of think tanks to ethnic conflicts is academic, non-partisan and pragmatic. They adopt the culturally sensitive approach and do not unnecessarily entangle themselves with state. It is also found from the case study PIPS that think tanks involved variety of actors belonging to both liberal and religious sections. Likewise, case study PIPS adopts the civil and non-violent behavior. The academic and unbiased approach also minimized the reaction of religious extremists. It is perceived from the PIPS experience that think tanks employed low activities as modes, such as research, surveys, publications, dialogues, conferences, seminars, conferences, training, workshops and awareness campaigns. It is observed that think tanks performed so many peace functions but culture of peace is their leading function. They for culture of peace struggle for peace education, narrative building, democracy and good governance, advocacy and alternative media for peace. The empirical evidences indicate that their efforts have constructive effect upon society. The case study PIPS have been recognized by variety of scholars, national and international organization and donor agencies (Shagufta Hayat, personal communication, March 28, 2020: A. Ali, personal communication, January 30, 2021). Many of its publications and surveys are accepted by state for policy. Government has taken into consideration of Annual Security Report 2018 for the National Action Plan 2018-23 (PIPS, 2018c). Civil societies face challenges in peace-building in Pakistan (Ejaz & Khan, 2021). PIPS faced low level of pressures from state and extremists. Likewise, it also faced the financial constraints and propaganda of different organization. It indicates that think tanks receive fewer challenges as compared to field civil societies.

This case study has certain limitations. The data collection is compromised because of the cold response of the civil society activists and COVID-19. Likewise, the investigator did not find the alternative sources for the confirmation; therefore, analysis is fundamentally based of direct interviews and official documents of PIPS. The findings of this research may be generalized on certain situations and the Pakistani context but this contextual study cannot generalize on all contexts and situations. This study dealt with only limited quires, still in this field there are enough areas that can be explored, such as, think tanks and violent extremism; gender, think tanks and peace-building and civil society and de-radicalization in Pakistan.



References

- Akhtar, N. (2013). Ethnic politics in Pakistan. *Journal of Pakistaniaat: A Journal of Pakistan Studies*, 5(3).
- Aly, A., Balbi, A.-M., & Jacques, C. (2015). Rethinking countering violent extremism: implementing the role of civil society. *Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism*, 10(1).
- Barnes, C. (2005). Weaving the web: Civil society roles in working with conflicts and building Peace. In M. B. Paul van Tongeren (Ed.), *People Building Peace II: Successful Stories of Civil Society* (pp. 7-24). Boulder: Lynne Rienner.
- Bennett, S., Corluka, A., Doherty, J., Patcharanarumol, W., Jesani, A., & Aikins, A. d.-G. (2011). Influencing policy change: The experience of health think tanks in low- and middle-income countries. *Health Policy Plan*, 27(3), 194-203.
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3(2), 77-101.
- Burton, J. W. (1987). *Resolving deep-rooted conflict: A handbook*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.
- Centre for Peace and Development Initiatives (CPDI). (2012). *Civil paths to peace in Pakistan*. Islamabad: Centre for Peace and Development Initiatives (CPDI).
- Cordell, K., & Wolff, S. (2011). The study of ethnic conflict: An introduction. In K. Cordell, & S. Wolff (Eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Ethnic* (pp. 1-14). New York: Routledge.
- Corsi, M. (2004). Internal conflicts in Pakistan. *Oriente Moderno*, 23(4), 39-49.
- Darby, J., & Mac Ginty, R. (2000). Introduction: Comparing peace processes. In J. Darby, & R. Mac Ginty (Eds.), *The Management of Peace Processes* (pp. 1-15). Houndmills, UK: Macmillan Press Ltd.
- Ejaz, M., & Khan, A. (2021). Civil society organizations and peace-building in Pakistan: A case study of role of Paiman Alumni Trust in identity conflicts. *Asian Journal of International Peace and Security*, 5(2).
- Gawerc, M. I. (2006). Peace-building: Theoretical and concrete perspectives. *Peace & Change*, 31(4), 435-478.
- Grare, F. (2013). *Balochistan: The state versus the nation*. Washington, D.C: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- Haleem, I. (2003). Ethnic and sectarian violence and the propensity towards praetorianism in Pakistan. *Third World Quarterly*, 24(3), 463-477.
- Institute of Economic and Peace. (2018). *Global Peace Index 2018*. Sdney.
- Johnston, D., McDonnell, D., Burbridge, A., & Patt, H. (2016). *Countering violent religious extremism in Pakistan*. Washington, DC: International Center for Religion and Diplomacy.
- Kaldor, M. (1999). *New and old Wars: Organized violence in a global era*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.



- Khan, A. U. (2005). *The terrorist threat and the policy response in Pakistan*. Stockholm: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute.
- Kumar, R. (2011). *Research Methodology* (3rd ed.). New Delhi: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Lederach, J. P. (1997). *Building peace: Sustainable reconciliation in divided societies*. Washington, D. C.: United States Institute of Peace Press.
- Levesque, J. (2013). Managing diversity in Pakistan: Nationalism, ethnic politics and cultural resistance. *South Asia Multidisciplinary Academic Journal*, 1-9.
- Majeed, G. (2010). Ethnicity and ethnic conflicts in Pakistan. *Journal of Political Studies*, 1(2), 51-63.
- Malik, S. (2008, July). Think tanks as tools of conflict resolution and management. *The Defence Journal*.
- Mirahmadi, H., Ziad, W., & Farooq, M. (2012). *Pakistan's civil society: Alternative channels to countering violent extremism*. Washington D.C: World Organization for Resource Development and Education.
- Mitchell, C. (2002). Beyond resolution: What does conflict transformation actually transform? *Peace and Conflict Studies*, 9(1), 1-23.
- Oberschall, A. (2007). *Conflict and peace building in divided societies responses to ethnic violence*. New York: Rutledge.
- Orjuela, C. (2008). *The Identity Politics of Peacebuilding: Civil Society in War-torn Sri Lanka*. Delhi: SAGE Publications India Pvt Ltd.
- Pak Institute for Peace Studies. (2016a). *Promoting Inclusive and Tolerant Educational Narratives*. Islamabad: Pak Institute for Peace Studies.
- Pakistan Institute of Peace Studies. (2013). *Understanding the Militants' Media in Pakistan*. Islamabad: Pakistan Institute of Peace Studies.
- Pakistan Institute of Peace Studies. (2016b). *Reconstruction of the National Narratives and Counter-Violent Extremism Model for Pakistan*. Islamabad: Pakistan Institute of Peace Studies.
- Pakistan Institute of Peace Studies, German Cooperation. (2019a). *Social harmony, tolerance and education*. Islamabad: Pakistan Institute of Peace Studies.
- Pakistan Institute of Peace Studies, German Cooperation. (2019b). *Youth Engagement in Pakistan*. Islamabad: Pakistan Institute of Peace Studies.
- PIPS. (2009a, January 2). *Absence of constitutional means and biased social structure give birth to radicalism: Dr. Rasul Baksh Rais*. Retrieved June 1, 2020, from Pak Institute For Peace Studies: <http://www.pakpips.com>
- PIPS. (2011a, November 23). *Not all western intellectualism is contradictory to Islam*. Retrieved May 10, 2020, from Pak Institute For Peace Studies: <http://www.pakpips.com>
- PIPS. (2014a, September 22). *Constitution is supreme and all Pakistanis are bound to abide by it: Religious scholars*. Retrieved May 10, 2020, from Pak Institute For Peace Studies: <http://www.pakpips.com>



- PIPS. (2014c, December 08). *Experts reviewed PIPS media productions on interfaith harmony and coexistence*. Retrieved May 19, 2020, from Pak Institute For Peace Studies: <http://www.pakpips.com>
- PIPS. (2014f, May 22). *Islam does not support one kind of state system: Religious scholars*. Retrieved May 2, 2020, from Pak Institute For Peace Studies: <http://www.pakpips.com>
- PIPS. (2014g, May 23). *Islam puts great emphasis on justice, rights and rule of law: Religious scholars*. Retrieved May 12, 2020, from Pak Institute For Peace Studies: <http://www.pakpips.com>
- PIPS. (2014i, May 18). *Tackling violent conflict and extremism in Karachi*. Retrieved May 20, 2020, from Pak Institute For Peace Studies: <http://www.pakpips.com>
- PIPS. (2016a, July 27). *Substantial reform of practice and law of media regulation, a top priority: PIPS Conference*. Retrieved May 20, 2020, from Pak Institute For Peace Studies: <http://www.pakpips.com>
- PIPS. (2016c, July 16). *Informed debate should be part of alternative discourse: PIPS Seminar*. Retrieved May 02, 2020, from Pak Institute For Peace Studies: <http://pakpips.com>
- PIPS. (2016e, June 16). *Teachers should learn how to engage with students of diverse faiths*. Retrieved May 11, 2020, from Pak Institute For Peace Studies: <http://pakpips.com>
- PIPS. (2017h, March 20). *Engaging parliament key in shaping religious narrative against extremism*. Retrieved May 10, 2020, from <http://www.pakpips.com>
- PIPS. (2018c). *PIPS input incorporated in National Internal Security Policy*. Retrieved April 14, 2019, from <https://www.pakpips.com/article/3451>
- PIPS. (2019a, January 18). *Culture of questions in educational institutes can change society positively*. Retrieved May 12, 2020, from Pak Institute For Peace Studies: <http://pakpips.com>
- PIPS. (2020a, February 25). *Engaging teachers for diversity and dialogue*. Retrieved May 20, 2020, from Pakistan Institute of Peace Studies: <http://pakpips.com>
- PIPS. (n.d.). *Profiling plays a critical role in determining Identity*. Retrieved June 1, 2020, from Pak Institute For Peace Studies: <http://www.pakpips.com>
- Qazi, S. H. (2013). *A war without bombs: Civil society initiatives against radicalization in Pakistan*. Washington D.C: Institute for Social Policy and Understanding.
- Ragin, C. C. (1989). *The Comparative method: Moving beyond qualitative and quantitative strategies*. California: University of California Press.
- Rahman, T. (1996). *Language and Politics in Pakistan*. London : Oxford University Press.
- Rich, A., McGann, J., Weaver, K., Garnett, M., Traub-Merz, R., & Ye, Y. (2011). *Think tanks in policy making: Do they matter?* Shanghai: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.
- Rupesinghe, K. (Ed.). (1995). *Conflict transformation*. New York: St. Martin's.
- Siddiqui, F. A. (2012). Security dynamics in Pakistani Balochistan: Religious activism and ethnic conflict in the war on terror. *Asian Affairs , An American Review*, 39, 157-175.



- Waseem, M. (2011). *Patterns of Conflict in Pakistan: Implications for Policy*. Washington, D.C.: The Saban Center for Middle East Policy .
- Yin, R. K. (2009). *Case Study Research: Design and Methods (Applied Social Research Methods)* (Vol. V). London: SAGE.