

# The Future of Extremism in Pakistan

A Twenty Year Forward Look to 2028

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# VIOLENT EXTREMISM IN PAKISTAN

“Extremism” is politically loaded term that can mean different things to different people

- Refers to ideas/mindsets that are assumed to be rejected by vast majority of people in a particular society
- Connotes illegitimacy of those views
- Can be associated with violent actions to further “extremist” goals

Many forms of violent extremism have existed in Pakistan

- Violence against society by an authoritarian state
- Violence against state by ethnic groups
- Violence against state and society by religious sectarian groups

# RELIGIOUS-BASED EXTREMISM IN PAKISTAN

Islamic extremism and militancy currently poses, in terms of scale and scope, the most significant threat to Pakistan's unity

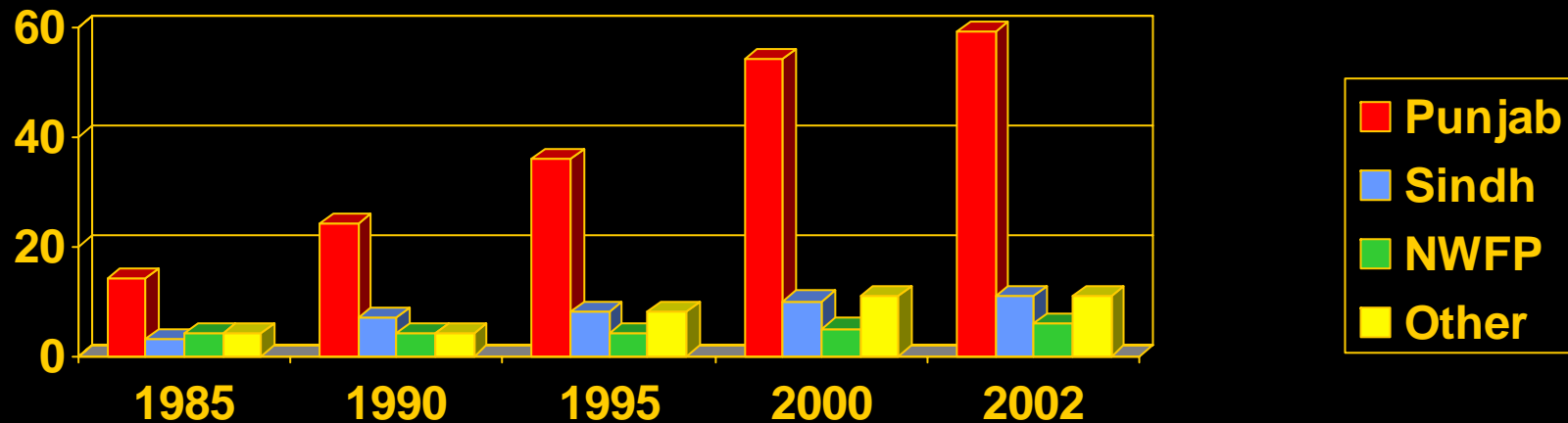
- Revolutionary agenda
- Aimed towards antithesis of progressive, modern, and developmental state

Wide range in size, sectarian agenda, and scope of activities of these groups

- Harkat ul Mujahideen and Harkat ul Ansar: Afghan focused, NWFP based, madrassa educated
- Lashkar e Tayaba, Jaish e Muhammad, Hizb ul Mujahideen: Kashmir focused, Punjab based, public school educated

# GROWTH OF ISLAMIC EXTREMIST GROUPS IN PAKISTAN

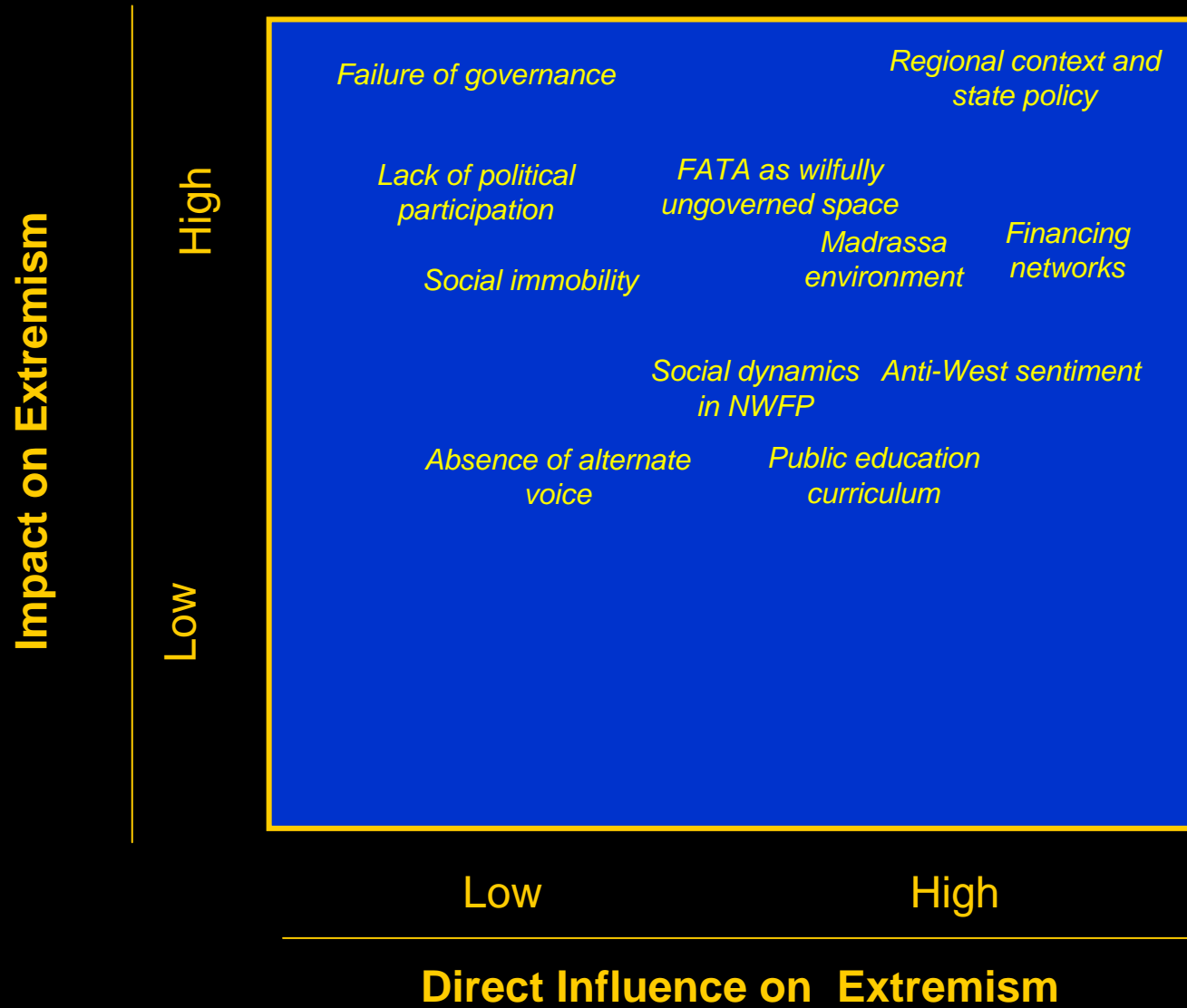
## Number of Extremist Groups by Province



- Additional 35 extremist groups whose date of origin is unknown
  - 26 are Punjab based
  - Remainder are Sindh and NWFP based
- Estimated that over 100 such groups remain today despite government actions against them

Source: Amir Rana, *A to Z to Jihadi Organizations*, 2002

# DRIVERS OF ISLAMIC EXTREMISM IN PAKISTAN



Source: Jan Consulting analysis

# FORCES OF CHANGE IN THE NEXT TWENTY YEARS

## Known Trends

1. Demography
2. Urbanisation
3. Education
4. Economic Opportunity
5. Nature of the State
6. Regional Stability
7. Climate Change Impact

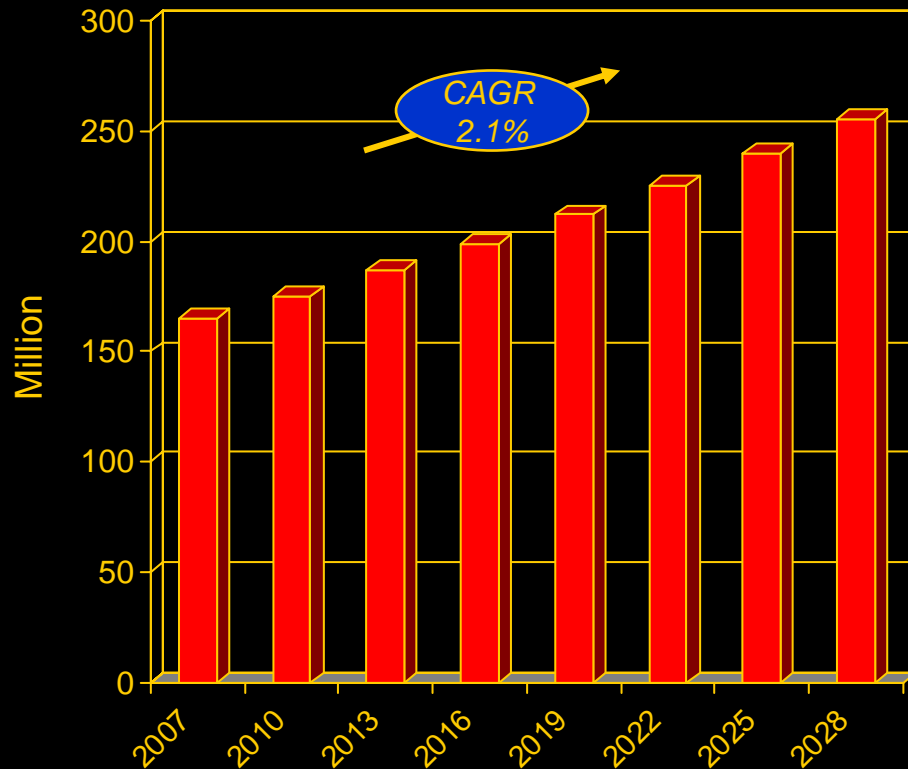
## Unknown Events

1. War?
2. Use of Nuclear Weapons?
3. Natural Disasters?
4. Leadership Changes?
5. Discovery of Mineral Resources?
6. ...

*Develop futures thinking based on trends rather than on events*

# TREND 1: DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE

## Pakistan Population



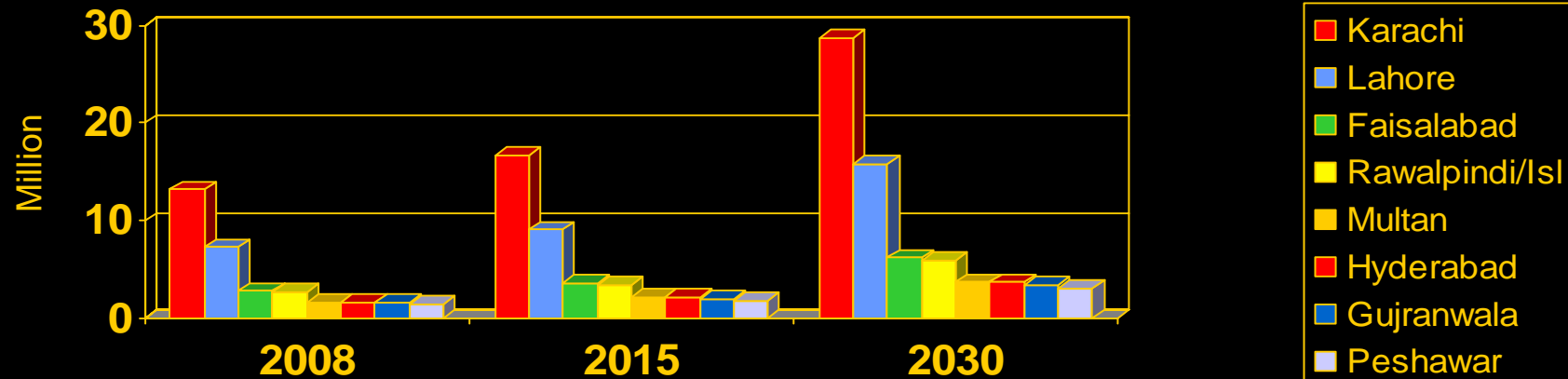
20 years from now, at current growth rate ...

- Net population will increase by 90m
- Total population will be more than 250m
- 137m of these will be under the age of 20

Source: World Bank; Pakistan census 1998; Jan Consulting analysis

## TREND 2: URBANISATION

### Urban Population



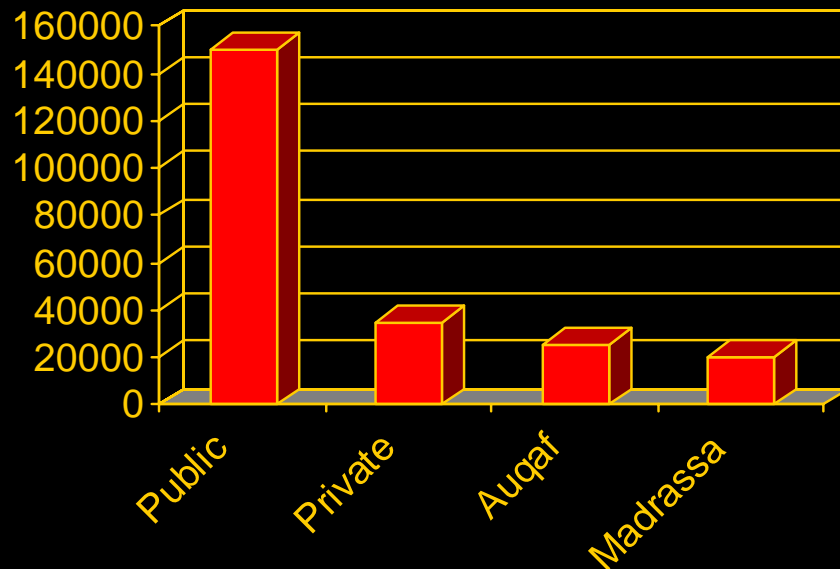
20 years from now...

- Pakistan will have two of the largest cities in the world
  - Karachi's population will be shy of 30m
  - Lahore will be home to 15m people
- Close to half of the country's population will live in urban areas
- Massive growth in housing and infrastructure will be necessary, or...
- Growth of urban slums

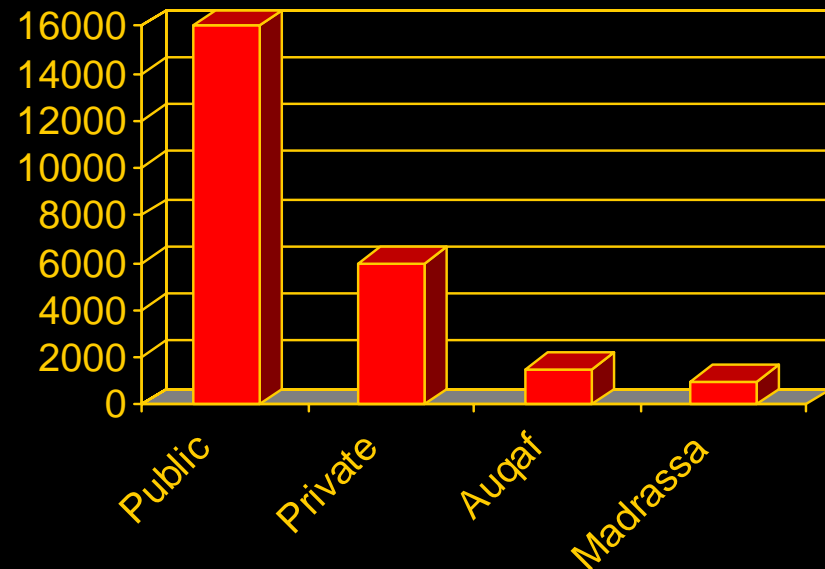
Source: Pakistan census 1998; Globalis (UN data); Jan Consulting analysis

## TREND 3: EDUCATION AND LIFE OPPORTUNITIES

### Number of Schools



### Enrolment ('000s)

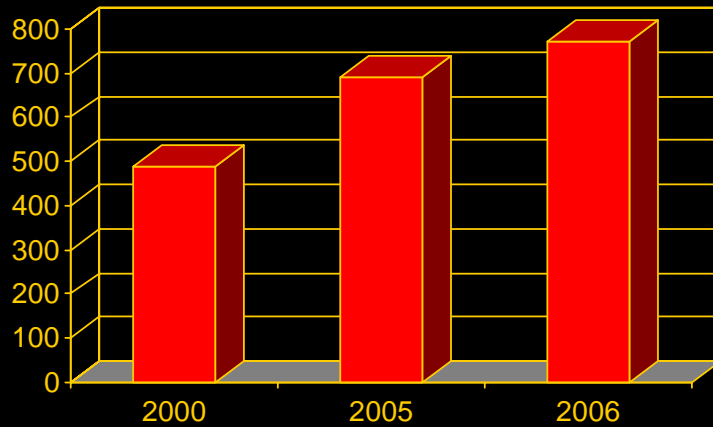


- More than half (30m out of 55m) of all school-age children in the country do not go to any school
- Primary enrolment grew from 35% in 1990 to 60% in 2000, but remains skewed (67.5% boys to 50% girls)
- Secondary enrolment was 29% for boys and 19% for girls (2002)
- Adult literacy rates, while improving, are 54% aggregate and 30% for women

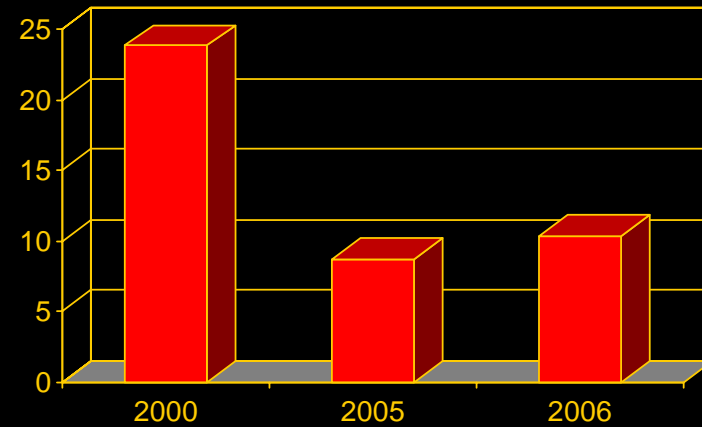
Source: Salim Ali, "Islamic Education and Conflict: Understanding the Madrassahs of Pakistan," United States Institute of Peace; Globalis (UN data); Jan Consulting analysis. Figures are estimates.

# TREND 4: ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

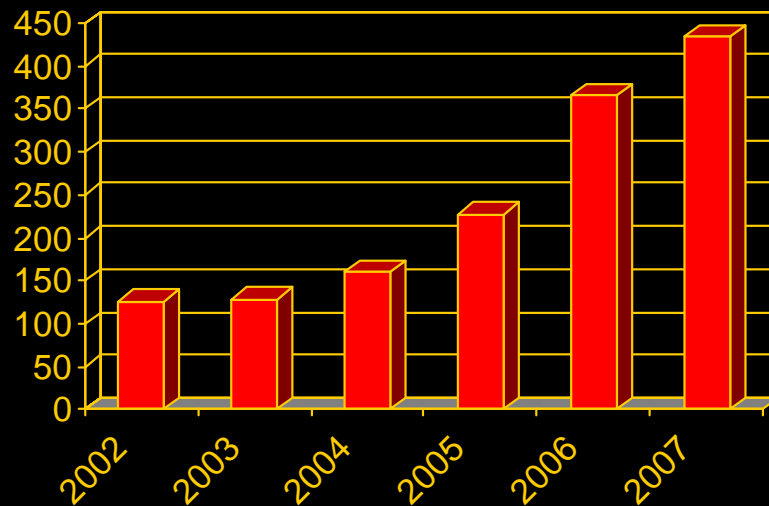
## GNI per capita (\$)



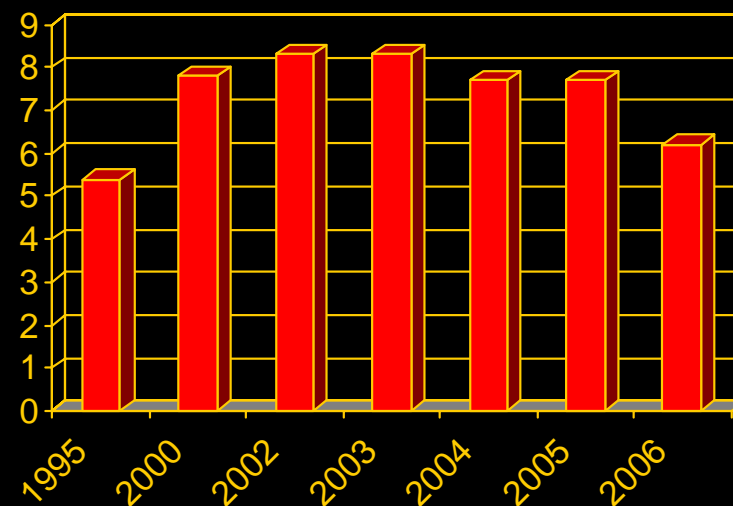
## Inflation (%)



## Development Spending (Rs bn)

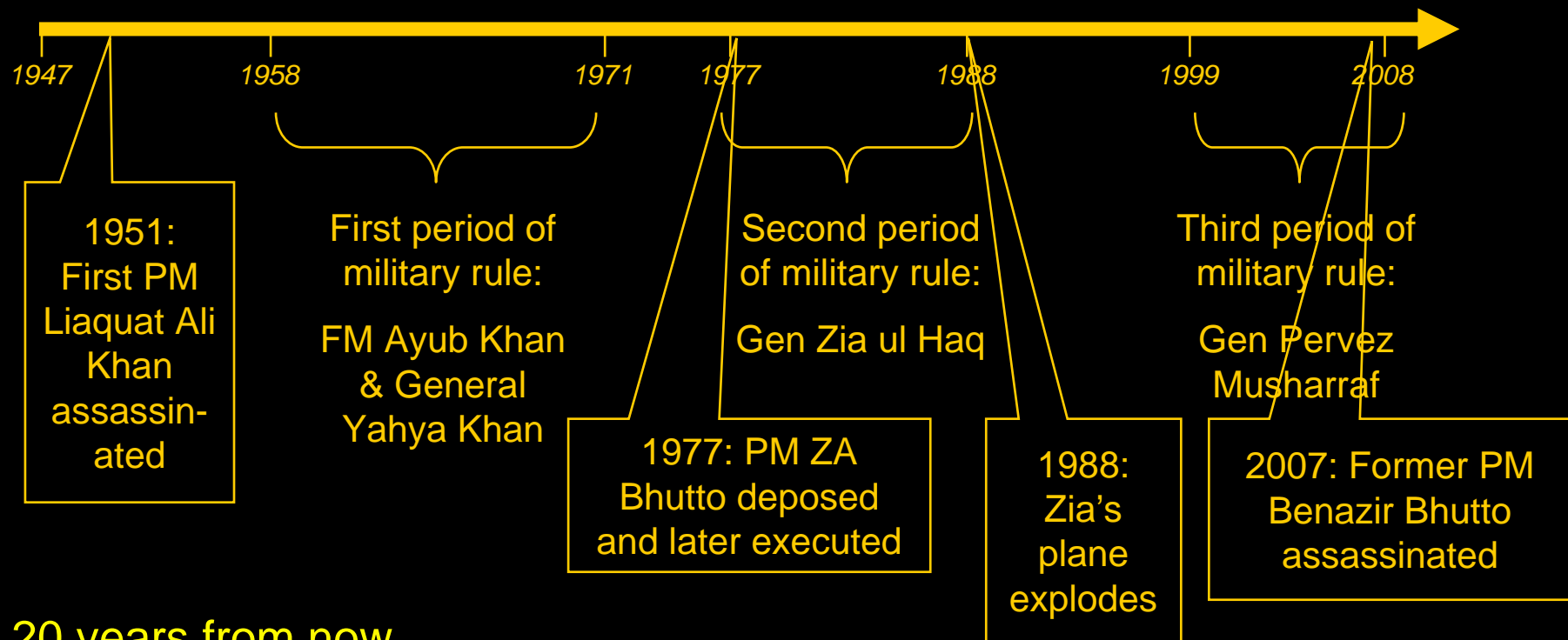


## Unemployment (%)



Source: World Bank; Economist Intelligence Unit; Ministry of Finance. Note there are much higher levels of underemployment (not reported)

## TREND 5: NATURE OF THE STATE



20 years from now...

- Will Pakistan experience another cycle of failed democracy followed by another round of military rule, or ...
- Be able to consolidate democracy and create a sustainable balance of power between executive, legislative and judicial institutions

# TREND 6: REGIONAL SITUATION

Fragmented and Conflicted or... Integrated and Prosperous



## TREND 7: CLIMATE CHANGE IMPACT



- Climate change is likely to affect agriculture and water resource scarcity in Asia
- The impacts of climate change will be especially severe in South Asia
  - glacial retreat in the Himalayas will jeopardize the water supply for millions of people
  - changes to the annual monsoon will affect agriculture
- *“These dynamics will increase the social crisis potential in a region which is already characterized by cross-border conflicts, unstable governments, and Islamism.”*

Source: IPCC; German Advisory Council on Global Change and UN Environment Programme

# OTHER IMPORTANT FACTORS

## Drugs Trafficking and Abuse

- In 2006, over 90% of global opium production was from Afghanistan
- 33% of Afghan produced drugs transited through Pakistan in 2006
- The number of chronic abusers of heroin in Pakistan increased from about 20,000 in 1980 to more than 1.5 million in the late 1990's

## Small Arms Proliferation

- 2 million licensed weapons and 18 million illegal weapons in the country (2002)
- Domestic production facilities, many illegal, in the Frontier areas

## Spread of HIV

- Low infection rate at present (0.1% of population)
- Serious risk of growth, especially among injected drug users, economic migrants and commercial sex workers

Source: UNODC; Small Arms Survey; World Bank

# SCENARIO 1: EMERGING TIGER

## *How Forces of Change Play Out Over Next Twenty Years*

### *Demography*

- Demographic growth reduced to 1.5% through a mix of effective population control, education and other policy measures

### *Urbanisation*

- Natural growth of cities continues, but controlled through improved rural development policies and investments

### *Education*

- Heavy investments in primary and secondary education result in 80%+ school enrolment and near parity in male and female education levels

### *Economic Opportunity*

- Gains are consolidated through professional economic management
- Diversified economic growth, gains spread across population

### *State*

- Military focus on professional soldiering, new security challenges
- Four rounds of elections held at five year intervals, govt's change peacefully and routinely
- Strengthened judiciary plays increasing role in curbing political excess

### *Region*

- Consolidation of peace in Afghanistan and improved Pak-Afghan relations, including economic cooperation on energy and infrastructure
- Increasing economic integration of India, China and Pakistan

### *Climate Change*

- Investments in water management, agriculture support, and economic diversification in rural areas limits damaging impacts

# SCENARIO 1: EMERGING TIGER

## *What Pakistan Looks Like in 2028*

### Politics

- Transition to democracy looks increasingly successful
- Multi-party system with some parties that have national appeal and others that have ethnic appeal
- Increased provincial autonomy
- Traditional religious parties retain single-digit popularity

### Economics

- 7%+ year-on-year growth has quadrupled the size of economy
- Investments in rural development have diversified benefits of growth
- Rural economic opportunities have limited migration to cities
- Regional economic integration has opened new market opportunities

### Security

- Military focus on new security threats, esp. counter-insurgency
- Professionalisation of internal security capability (police, etc.)
- Reduced regional tensions (Afghanistan, India)
- Military abandons support to extremist proxies

### Society

- Dynamic, young, educated society is emerging
- Rapidly growing middle class
- Women play a more visible and important economic role
- Pakistan has become an important regional player in the media and information technology space

*Extremism is reduced and violent groups are contained*

# SCENARIO 2: FRAGMENTATION

## *How Forces of Change Play Out Over Next Twenty Years*

### *Demography*

- Demographic growth continues at 2+% levels

### *Urbanisation*

- Massive rural-urban migration of young men looking for jobs
- Sharp growth of slums and ethnic ghettos

### *Education*

- Poor quality public education, low investment in improving quality and quantity
- Growth of madrassas for Quranic education and social welfare

### *Economic Opportunity*

- Growth rate of early 2000's stalls as remittances and FDI halts
- Inflation in basic items prices (flour, oil, sugar) and unemployment rise

### *State*

- Democratic governments weak, corrupt, inefficient
- Military steps in fourth time to "save the country"
- Judiciary remains weak and politicised

### *Region*

- Afghan government collapses, warlordism and Taliban resurgence
- Tense relations with India continue

### *Climate Change*

- Pakistan unprepared as natural disasters (flooding, droughts) strike
- Massive human suffering result in internal displacement and rising migration to cities

# SCENARIO 2: FRAGMENTATION

## *What Pakistan Looks Like in 2028*

### Politics

- Democratic transition process fails
- Military controls government
- Centralised authority, provincial and ethnic parties pressured
- Increasing popular sentiment against Punjab-dominated state
- Proliferation of ethnic and sectarian anti-state extremist groups

### Economics

- Growth halted, dire economic conditions for vast majority
- Low level of development expenditure, heavy defence spending
- Economic isolation from regional power-houses (India, China)
- No obvious sources of international competitive advantage

### Security

- Military focus on holding power, fighting internal and external enemies
- Widespread insurgency in both rural/tribal areas and cities
- Pak-Afghan border decreasingly relevant as insecurity blankets region
- Heightened tension with India, seen as supporting anti-state elements

### Society

- Vast underclass and a small coterie of extremely privileged (with close access to state control)
- Cities are seething with resentment
- Criminal and political violence levels among highest in the world
- Large portions of country are no-go areas in the grip of civil war

*Upsurge in extremism country-wide, cities are new targets of violence*

# SCENARIO 3: DECENTRALISATION

## *How Forces of Change Play Out Over Next Twenty Years*

### *Demography*

- Demographic growth continues at around 2%

### *Urbanisation*

- Rural-urban migration pattern continues, young men looking for jobs
- Growth of slums and ethnic ghettos as urban infrastructure unable to keep pace with population pressure

### *Education*

- Poor quality public education but increasing public-private partnership efforts to improve services at local levels
- Growth of madrassas for Quranic education and social welfare

### *Economic Opportunity*

- Cyclical boom-bust pattern informed by bouts of political crisis
- Pockets of growth but not broad-based, hi inflation and unemployment

### *State*

- Democratic governments are weak, corrupt, inefficient
- Increased provincial autonomy, ethnic-based parties gain power
- Military stays out of government but remains ready to act if provincial governments fail to maintain law and order

### *Region*

- Afghanistan remains unstable, with warlordism and Taliban
- Difficult regional relations with Afghanistan, India continue

### *Climate Change*

- Pakistan unprepared as natural disasters (flooding, droughts) strike
- Massive human suffering result in internal displacement and rising migration to cities

# SCENARIO 3: DECENTRALISATION

## *What Pakistan Looks Like in 2028*

### Politics

- Democratic governments remain corrupt and ineffective
- Military remains out of government but has strong involvement, e.g. National Security Council
- Resentment against centre reduced through greater provincial autonomy
- Ethnic political parties strong

### Economics

- Overall improved economic conditions but large parts of country remain marginalised
- Low level of development expenditure, heavy defence spending
- Regional economic isolation
- Patchy economic growth story

### Security

- Military focus on holding power, fighting insurgency
- Provincial autonomy and ethnic parties curb militancy in both rural/tribal areas and cities
- Pak-Afghan border militarised and controlled
- Managed tension with India

### Society

- Elite politics continue, but wider base of local elites strengthened
- Cities have massive urban issues but local government is accountable
- Criminal-political nexus grows as local authorities are rent seeking
- Parts of country remain very unstable and prone to extremist violence

*Extremism remains problem but managed locally*

# WHICH FUTURE FOR PAKISTAN?

Extremism is a long-term problem requiring far-sighted solutions

- Two-decade long gestation period
- Requires truly comprehensive response – security, development, politics

Policy choices that are made now will matter

- Role of the military in politics and success of democratic transition
- Investments in population control, education, rural development
- Incentives for regional cooperation rather than conflict

Principal responsibility for change lies with national political elite

International partners have real influence, but must wield it carefully

*Critical question: How to align incentives of domestic political elite and international partners to make policy choices in favour of “Emerging Tiger” scenario?*