An Analysis of UN Peacekeeping as Pakistan's Soft Power Asset

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Abstract

The power of attraction and admiration is soft power. Generally, it is perceived that hard power cannot generate soft power, but the protective role of military in humanitarian crises and conflicts negates this prevailing misperception by specifying their contexts and effective utilizations; hard power assets can be transformed into soft power resources. This paper argues that the United Nations (UN) peacekeeping missions are the source of soft power and Pakistan, being an active participant in this field, can utilize this asset for shaping the preferences of others. Overall, it did earn admiration from international community and managed to build its soft image abroad through peacekeeping missions. Pakistani blue helmets not only earned the admiration and appreciation of the people of the conflict-zones and earned praises, but from international community also. However, to what extent has the country utilized this asset of soft power to exercise its influence in the global arena remains debatable. Although Pakistan's UN Peacekeeping missions have been an instrument of building the country's soft image, it is publicized in a far less productive manner. Peacekeeping can be used as a means to enhance the country's presence and the level of participation in both international and regional organizations. By effective application of soft power strategy in tandem with public diplomacy, Pakistan's UN peacekeeping can provide the country with the platform where its narratives can be projected effectively and its influence can be exercised adroitly.

Key Words

Soft power, UN peacekeeping, Pakistan, military and police troops, hard power

Introduction

Presently, the world resembles a dynamic system where locus of power are many and distributed across various tiers of the international system. The modern world is fast evolving into a hyper-connected web of economic, military and cultural power. However, this growing interdependence does not necessarily imply harmony in a 'self-help' international system (Nye, 1990). The dominant hue of indirect dependence and networked interactions among states, trans-national actors, societies and individuals offer a novel insight into how non-military components of power (soft

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power) are gaining weight more than ever. Today, the states are equally interested in sustaining, maintaining and wielding their influence through soft power.

The concept of soft power is centuries old. The famous Chinese strategist, Sun Tzu's seminal work, Art of War, is considered as a fundamental element in utilizing statecraft without striking a blow (Hunter, 2008). Confucius maintained that a state's soft power lies in its leadership. Hunterand Laozi put forward 'the idea of attraction as soft power' (Hunter, 2009). Franklin D. Roosevelt discredited the idea of interventionist policies and introduced a new dimension of gaining influence in the international arena by means of 'freedom of speech, religion and freedom from want and fear' (Kennedy, 2001). The American Political Scientist, Joseph S. Nye, is credited with formulating the idea of soft power into an International Relations theory. His theory remains one of the most convincing theories.

He described soft power as a power of persuasion and co-option which is exercised to wield influence (attract) on others with the help of appealing ideas such as democracy, human rights and cultural norms (Nye, 2011). The mere application of these sources of attraction does not generate soft power but it is the fulcrum of the societies, institutions and policies that help a states achieve its interests (Gill & Huang, 2006). Popular culture, media, educational and cultural institutions are a source of soft power (Purushothaman, 2010). Although military can be a source of attraction, however misuse of military resources undermines a state's soft power (Nye, 2005, p. 160).

A state's policies, both internal and external, are an important tool to create and utilize soft power in the international arena. There are many resources at the disposal of a state, which can be used singularly or in-tandem with other soft power assets as a policy tool to generate, sustain and maintain such power. Primarily, there are three major resources of soft power: political values, culture and foreign policy (Nye, 2008, 2011). The enhanced bargaining position of a state among nations, transnational appeal of its cultural and political values as well as effective use of its foreign policy tools in international arena enables it to alter others' preferences without coercion. These resources of soft power create appeal, win admiration of the international community, and help frame agenda-settings and influence situationstructuring in the global affairs (Nye, 2008).

Soft power is an evolving concept, so is the academic debate on its assets. Interestingly though, this debate develops a hue of ambiguity when it comes to military. It is generally perceived that military is not a source of soft power rather it generates hard power only. The United States (US) has frequently employed its military resources to gain more influence through its soft power. The pioneer of soft power, Nye (1990), briefly touched upon military as a soft power asset in his article, 'Soft Power'. He referred to the protective role of US military in the Middle Eastern and European countries as a relevant bargaining asset among the states. Later on, in 1990, in his article, "Think Again: Soft Power", Nye explains that 'a well-run military can be a source of admiration, and military to military cooperation and training programs can establish transnational networks that can enhance a country's soft power' (Nye, 2005). From his inferences, it can be assumed that hard power can be transferred into soft power given a relevant context and proper application.

Across the world, military resources are used in the UN peacekeeping missions for a range of foreign policy goals: increasing a state's influence in international arena, projection of its commitment towards international peace and stability, localization of a conflict, international trade, and alliance politics (Meiske & Ruggeri, 2017). From this perspective, UN peacekeeping missions emerge as a soft power asset. China (Ding, 2010), Norway (Egeland, 1989; Stokke, 2010), and Turkey (Onis, 2011) are among those countries which have been deftly employing this foreign policy tool for gaining soft power. Peacekeeping has been characterized as a component of Pakistan's soft power (Shah, Khattak, & Attiq, 2016), but there is a need to undertake research on analysing this aspect of soft power. This study tries to analyze how Pakistan's peacekeeping missions proved to be assets of soft power, what have they achieved so far in this regard and, to what extent can Pakistan utilize this source of power. To this end, two important questions arise: Why military is a soft power asset in UN peacekeeping? And how peacekeeping is a soft power asset for Pakistan?

Role of Military as a Soft Power Asset

Soft power emanates from attraction and admiration, which eventually gives an edge in bargaining among states. The resources which produce this attraction are called soft power assets (Nye, 1990). Specifying the military context, transfers hard power into soft power and the same applies to their resources. However, the specification is not adequate to generate soft power. This specification, in fact, defines the nature of power resources but their effective utilization and choice of policy tools in employing these resources help gauge a state's actual power. There are many precedents when states transferred military resources into soft power assets. A well-run military is itself a source of admiration (Nye, 2005). The protective role of military gives an edge in bargaining among states alongside projecting the values and norms of its state for winning admiration and creating attraction (Nye, 1990). The role of military in providing relief in the face of a humanitarian crisis or a natural calamity results in winning hearts and minds across nations. Moreover, it also serves as an instrument to establish trans-national networks among states and international actors which help elevate a state's position among nations.

The US utilized its military resources more than often to achieve soft power. In 2005, the admirable humanitarian relief provided by the US military forces to the victims of the South Asian earthquake and Indian Ocean tsunami facilitated in repairing Washington's global appeal. Another example is when, after WWII, Washington employed its military resources to lay down the foundations of democracy and liberalism in Japan and Germany (*ibid*). With the help of US forces, Japan emerged as a peaceful democratic state and managed to acquire a powerful economic standing in a short span of time. Japan has been a close ally of US and it is one of those countries where US favourability is higher (Bolluyt, 2018). As per Kawai (1951), Japan has been a testing ground for American influence in Asia:

The official view – professed by the United States Government and Japanese Government – is an optimistic one. It projects that Japan is one place in Asia where the American policy turned out to be a brilliant success. The Japanese people have been deeply impressed by the superiority of the democratic way introduced to them by wisely benevolent American forces. As a result, Japanese have consequently become willing converts of democracy.

Across the world, states are using their military resources for gaining soft power and UN peacekeeping has become their significant foreign policy tool to achieve this end. In peacekeeping missions, military force is not applied as a means of coercion rather it is guided by the consent of conflict parties, neutrality of intervening parties and their non-use of force except in self-defence or in the defence of the mandate. For a state, these missions facilitate smooth integration in the international institutions and depict its good will and commitment towards global peace and security as a responsible actor. This helps enhance a state's image and its credibility in the global community. Troops' competence and performance in handling the tasks in peacekeeping win admiration of international community. The troops of a state are in a position to project their country's values, culture and norms which strengthens a country's soft power.

UN peacekeeping is also a means for the contributing states earning rewards in the UN such as representation and appointment of the contributor state to senior posts in peacekeeping operations, their inclusion in mission-planning and decisionmaking process at various levels, and consultation with them on the matters related to peacekeeping (Krishnasamy, 2001). In this way, the UN peacekeeping mission enables a state to participate in agenda-setting and framing structures in international system. There are generally two options for a state to participate in peacekeeping: contribution to the budget or through the troops. According to the Article 17 of the UN Charter, every member state is legally bound to contribute to peacekeeping. It states that financing of the peacekeeping missions is a collective responsibility. The UN General Assembly assigns the expenses of peacekeeping according to the economic wealth of its members, however, the permanent members of the UN Security Council are required to pay a larger share owing to their special responsibilities towards international peace and stability. Those members whose economic wealth is relatively less, they send their military and police troops to the missions, on voluntary basis (UN peacekeeping, n.d.).

China uses both of these options as a part of its soft power strategy. China's necessity to 'open up' to the world resulted in its increased participation in the peacekeeping missions. Peacekeeping contributors mark as a vital component of China's soft power strategy. Hirono and Lanteigne (2011) argue that peacekeeping is establishing China's reputation as a responsible player in international institutions, furthering China's economic interests abroad and fostering cooperation with other states while ensuring its peaceful rise. They further contend that by contributing both in terms of peacekeeping budget and troops, China is changing this perception that it is a threat to international peace, rather portraying itself as a perpetrator of peace.

For China, UN peacekeeping is a strategy of strengthening its global stature as well as building its image of a peaceful nation which is committed to international peace and stability. China increased its contribution in peacekeeping missions along with paving its path to global economic supremacy while United States' soft power was declining worldwide. In fact, peacekeeping is an inexpensive means, at the disposal of Beijing, to ensure stability in Africa especially in those areas where it has invested greatly (Lanteigne, 2014). For China, peacekeeping has become increasingly important component of its soft power strategy. Its peacekeeping contributions have fostered friendly ties in bilateral and multilateral relations.

Pakistan's Blue Helmets

Pakistan's participation in UN peacekeeping has normative underpinning especially with regards to international liberal values. These missions facilitated Pakistan in identifying itself with the larger international community and global liberal norms.

Pakistan's peacekeeping missions reflect its commitment towards international peace and stability, the process of decolonization in the Cold War era, protection of human rights and disarmament (Krishnasamy, 2002). Since independence, Pakistan employed UN peacekeeping as a tool of its foreign policy for projecting its commitment towards international norms of peace, security and stability. Since its inception, Pakistan has always assigned a special value to the issues of global peace in its foreign policy calculus. This is in conformity with the foreign policy guidelines laid down by Pakistan's founding father, *Quaid-e-Azam* Muhammad Ali Jinnah.

Standing for the cause of global peace has been a strong commitment of all the governments through Pakistan's political history. This unwavering resolve transpired into active participation in UN peacekeeping missions. Pakistan has a long history of association with UN peacekeeping and it is one of the largest troop, both military and police, contributors to the mission (Hussain, 2017). Its participation in the mission started in 1960 when it sent its first contingent to UN Operations in Congo. By 1990, it began to emerge as a large-scale contributor in the missions. By the mid-1990s, it had deployed 10,000 troops to 13 UN peacekeeping missions, and by the mid-2014, this number reached 150,000 personnel to 41 missions (Malik, 2014). Even after worldwide retreat from UN peacekeeping in the late 1990s, Pakistan maintained its peacekeeping contribution (Krishnasamy, 2002).

Pakistan assigns special value to peacekeeping operations not only for international peace and security but also for Pakistan's role in fulfilling this responsibility. On account of its persistent commitment, Pakistan established itself as top-ranking international peacekeeper and peace builder, won admiration from international community, projected an attractive face of the country through its invaluable services and broadened the base of international cooperation with international community. Pakistan earned admiration from international community for playing a major role in the peace process, for its expertise which is required to undertake a peacekeeping operation, and the capacity to meet some of the unprecedented challenges in this domain.

Former UN General Secretary Ban Ki Moon acknowledged Pakistan's crucial role in peacekeeping and admired the professionalism of the troops, '[...] I've had the privilege of seeing first-hand professionalism and commitment of Pakistani police and military personnel [...]. In places like Cote d'Ivoire and Liberia, Pakistani units were instrumental in the much improved political and security situation that the people of these countries enjoy today' (APP, 2016a, n.d.). Similarly, Lakhdar Brahimi, Special Representative of the UN Secretary General for Haiti, paid a tribute to Pakistani troops for their able services in the mission, '[...] the others before you had probably four or five times more troops and had difficulty controlling situation. The PAKBAT's performance was consistently impeccable and earned admiration of everyone, Haitians and foreigners alike' (Samaa Web Page, 2012, n.d.).

Krishnasamy (2002) notes that Pakistan's services in the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Bosnia-Herzegovina resulted into earning praises. To this end, local media has always framed the contribution of Pakistan military positively and have widely acknowledged that PAKBAT saved the locals from the brutal attacks, gave them all form of humanitarian assistance and, most importantly, provided them medical care by establishing hospitals.

Ahmad (2015) notes that the valour, courage and professionalism of Pakistani blue helmets have been instrumental in winning the hearts and minds of the

local communities. They relentlessly worked for providing assistance in paving the way for a peaceful environment. They built roads, dug well, repaired local infrastructure and as a token of thanks, a school was named 'Pakistan School' in Haiti. He adds that in Somalia, Pakistan was delegated with the responsibility of recovering illegal arms for ensuring safety of all the peacekeepers in the conflict zone. Pakistani troops' success in effective handling of security situation won the hearts and minds of the locals, which was reflective from their slogan "Pakistani and Somali Walal (Translation in English: Pakistani and Somali are brothers)".

For carrying through peace mandate of the UN, Pakistani blue helmets successfully cultivated social relations with the local communities without compromising the fundamental principal of neutrality in peacekeeping. By doing so, Pakistani forces created friendly environment for establishing trans-ethnic peace and stability as well as won the goodwill and cooperation of the locals. In the UN mission to Cambodia, the United Nations Trans-national Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC), Pakistani troops took many initiatives to create a suitable environment for mobilizing locals for elections, which is a pre-requisite to further peace process. They organized social events such as sports activities, funfairs and cultural festivals. Along with these social activities, they ran a nation-wide campaign for creating awareness among the locals about the importance of elections. They also organized many social events which were intended to stir a democratic spirit for conducting elections. It was due to their painstaking efforts that about 90 percent of the people in the province Preah Vihear balloted their vote. Pakistani troop's success in developing enthusiasm among the locals was also evident when the local made the efforts to walk 25 kilometre to cast their vote (Mahmud, 1994).

Pakistani troops went beyond the call of duty for carrying out the UN peace mission in Haiti (UNMIH). Pakistan provided assistance in repairing roads, reconstruction of schools and installed lights in parks and streets for facilitating study at night. In recognition of the Pakistani efforts, a school was named 'Pakistan School' (Ahmad, 2015). Their activities induced a new life among the locals and earned the respect from high-ranking individuals. UN Secretary General's Special Representative in Haiti, Mr Enrique ter Horst appreciated Pakistan's services, 'since the arrival of Pakistan Battalion in Haiti, the UN realized that Pakistan Army is not only a formidable fighting force but peacekeepers and peace builders in the best sense of the world' (*ibid*, 2015).

In recognition of the growing popularity and their capacity to function effectively in local communities, both the SRSG and Force Commander in Haiti, Brigadier General Pierre Diagle recommended that Pakistani forces should be requested to make part of a new mission, the UN Mission in Haiti (Krishnasamy, 2002). This is how peacekeeping missions brought rewards for Pakistan in the UN. Moreover, this intangible form of power helped Pakistan to influence the UN's decisions and effectiveness in peacekeeping, however, the extent of the effectiveness remains debatable.

Analysis of Pakistan's Soft Power through Peacekeeping

The recognition that Pakistani blue helmets achieved through peacekeeping is reflective of the fact that in these missions, they are well-poised to project Pakistan's norms, culture and values abroad. Through successfully carrying the peace mandate of the UN, they established the fact that Pakistan is capable of creating the conditions for peace in extremely challenging situations and also that it is all for global peace. These missions smoothly integrated Pakistan into the UN and helped itself to secure a place as a peacekeeper in the global community. Pakistan successfully projected its soft image, won hearts and minds of the locals, and earned praises for its expertise and skills. If a well-run military brings admirations, Pakistani blue helmets did earn it in peacekeeping. Their protective role in conflict-zones won hearts and minds of the local communities. International institutions and high-ranking individuals paid tribute to the services of Pakistani peacekeepers.

Pakistan depicted its good will with respect to global peace and security on international scale. These missions enhanced its credibility and projected its soft image in an effective manner. The hard work Pakistani blue helmets put in bringing peace in the conflict-stricken area enhanced Pakistani nationals' image in the eyes of the other peacekeepers and the locals. Pakistani troops relentless efforts in ensuring peace and safety facilitated in forging friendly ties with the countries. For instance, after successful completion of peacekeeping mission in the West Irian, the Indonesian President stated that Indonesia and Pakistan came closer to each other and called them the best ambassadors of Pakistan (Ahmad, 2015).

These missions also served as a productive avenue for Pakistan to open new vistas of cooperation with the respective regional organizations and their member countries. Pakistan has and extensive experience in peacekeeping. Not only it showed that it has the capacity to successfully undertake these missions but also demonstrated that it can meet the unprecedented challenges in peacekeeping. With this background, Pakistan's ambassador to UN, Maleeha Lodhi offered to help African countries in improving their peacekeeping abilities (APP, 2016b). Based on its sterling history of serving in UN peacekeeping, Pakistan can develop its own model of peacekeeping. She also stated Pakistan is ready to explore new avenues of cooperation with the African Union (AU) and its member countries by making a reference of Pakistani peacekeepers in the region. If this trajectory of engagement with the African countries is maintained, Pakistan can exercise peacekeeping as a tool of multilateral diplomacy in the regional and international organizations.

These missions have been helpful in dispelling this notion that Pakistani women are left behind in such mission. In UN peacekeeping, Pakistani women served on multiple important fronts in the capacity of doctors, nurses and police officers. Their presence creates an environment which is conducive for resolving the women related issues. In 2011, Deputy Superintended police officer, Shehzadi Gulfam, won first-ever International Female Peacekeeper Award for her extraordinary performance in peacekeeping (Salman, 2016). In order to encourage female troop participation in peacekeeping operations, UN Women and Centre of International Peace and Stability (CIPS)³, situated in National University of Science and Technology (NUST) Islamabad, have been conducting pre-deployment women training.

CIPS is also working towards building a trans-national network of channels in peacekeeping through training peacekeepers from the world. It focuses on capacity building of the personnel which are engaged in UN peacekeeping mission worldwide. Its training programs is vital in capacity building for peacekeepers in the field, both in theoretical and practical terms. It has established a chain of networks with schools, universities and think tanks for sharing best practices in peacekeeping. This is also

³ For details, visit: www.cips.nust.edu.pk

one dimension of peacekeeping which Pakistan can utilize to enhance its image and credibility among international quarters of research and policy-making in this field.

Significance of Soft Power for Pakistan

Hard Power is the coercive power to command others whereas soft power is the cooperative power – "getting others to want what you want" (Nye, 1990, p. 167). By utilizing soft power assets, a country can directly or indirectly, structure a situation in its favour by shaping preferences of other states in a way which are consistent to its own (*ibid*). Peacekeeping missions are a source of developing preferences of others, be it about an image of country or enhancing its bargaining power among other nations, hence, the question of its utilization arises. This question is contingent upon a state's own preferences which are generally in the form of a broad spectrum. It is imperative to know as to what extent Pakistan, having peacekeeping at its disposal, wants to shape the preferences of others by utilizing this asset of soft power.

It is true that Pakistani peacekeepers gained recognition at international level but the extent to which the UN and international community actually recognizes its contribution towards global peace and security is quite limited (Krishnasamy, 2001). There is a need to fill the gap between declared and actual recognition of Pakistani Peacekeepers. One factor that is associated with this gap is that the peacekeepers are paid for their services but this notion seems to be more of a propagated myth for three reasons. Firstly, the economic profits of peacekeeping of third world states' peacekeepers are not sufficient enough to have a positive impact on their economies (ibid). Secondly, South Asian countries participate in these missions for a number of motivations ranging from political and diplomatic (*ibid*) to strategic domains (Yamin, 2017). Thirdly, it is not monetary incentives but the global outreach and impact of a soft power resource which generate soft power. For example, Hollywood has been one of the most potent tools of American soft power strategy despite the fact that it is a corporate industry. In fact, soft power lies in how effectively narratives are presented and then commodified. In the modern age of information, 'money for charity' and 'aid for development' never come without political strings attached rather they are used for propagating certain narratives. It is for a state to maximize the benefits of any instrument of global outreach, such as Peacekeeping.

Here arises the issue of conceptualization and operationalization of soft power assets. First, overall there is a need to identify what targets Pakistan wants to achieve from exercising soft power, of which peacekeeping is just one component. In the domain of idealism, Pakistan's rationale of participating in peacekeeping is commitment to global peace and security and projecting its soft image but, in realist terms, it sends its troops abroad when there are clear cut strategic advantages (Yamin, 2017). If Pakistan is desirous of capitalizing on peacekeeping as a tool of soft power, it must identify its goals that it aims to achieve.

Recommendations

Pakistan has plenty of soft power assets and UN peacekeeping is one of them. It exudes the confidence and has demonstrated capacity to earn its name as an international peacekeeper and peacebuilder alongside maximizing the benefits which come in handy. Generally, there are three major objectives which Pakistan wants to achieve through peacekeeping. Firstly, it wants to establish itself as a responsible state which is fully committed to international peace and security. Secondly, it wants to

dispel this distorted notion that Pakistan is not a peace-loving state and cannot create the conditions which are conducive to peace. Thirdly, it wants to enhance its standing in the international as well as in regional organizations. To this end, there are three broad measures which Pakistan needs to take: publicize, institutionalize, and step up.

Publicize

- Mass media and social media campaigns must be launched to portray the country's image as a proud international peacekeeper. State media should produce some documentaries in collaboration with international media houses i.e., CNN, BBC etc.
- A campaign should be run on media, both social and traditional, to create awareness about Pakistan's peacekeeping efforts and sacrifices that it made during its long-association with UN peacekeeping.
- Pakistan's embassies and consulates must project the country's role in peacekeeping missions. Various seminars and workshops would be conducted to highlight Pakistan's achievements in peacekeeping missions. Representatives from the concerned countries can be invited to pay tribute to Pakistan's military for its efforts and sacrifice.
- A nation-branding campaign should be launched to popularize Pakistan's peacekeeping efforts.
- The UN pays tribute to the services and sacrifices of all the peacekeepers each year on May 29, which it marks as International UN peacekeepers' Day. Pakistan observes June 5 as National Day of peacekeepers but there is a need to pronounce these efforts. The documentaries of Pakistani blue helmet should be run and dramas should be aired on media. Quite long ago, a popular PTV drama, Alpha Bravo Charlie, depicted the hard life and professionalism of Pakistani troops. More such dramas should be produced.
- A separate tab on Pakistani peacekeepers' services and sacrifices should be created on the website of Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) and Inter-Services Public Relations (ISPR).
- Pakistan must highlight its efforts for peacekeeping missions in regional level at SAARC and SCO etc. and global forum such as UNO.

Institutionalize

- Civil-military fusion is required to utilize peacekeeping missions in more effective way. Primarily, peacekeeping missions are taken as military's domain. Civilian leadership needs to play its role to project Pakistan's role in peacekeeping. For the desired cooperation and mutual understanding, a strong collaboration among MOFA, Military Operations Directorate and research institutes is required.
- Comparative approach with the other peacekeepers like US, China can be used as a policy tool to enhance Pakistan's soft power.

Enhance

• There is a need to transform soft image into soft power. Generally, peacekeeping missions result in improving country's image in the concerned country not as source of soft power.

- Public diplomacy is needed to promote soft power in the countries where Pakistani peacekeeping missions have been successfully deployed in the past.
- Pakistan must enhance its role and show active involvement in post conflict and peace-building mission of the countries where it remains engaged in peacekeeping operations.
- Pakistan may offer its share in building human capital through education and training through student exchange programs, similar to the ongoing Pakistan-Afghanistan cooperation in similar fields.
- People to people contact should be maintained through cross cultural activities even beyond the tenure of deployment of peace missions.

Conclusion

States use soft power as an element to persuade other states and actors to achieve their goals. Their quest enable them to increase the leverage of bargain among various nations. Apparently, military power is key component of hard power, but use of military in UN Peacekeeping missions can transform it into soft power. Irrespective of level of power and influence, the states like US, China and Norway have been using Peacekeeping missions to enhance their role in the regional and global fora. Through Peacekeeping, they earned power and prestige which has contributed to their soft power assets. Similarly being responsible member of international community, Pakistan has been playing vibrant role in UN peacekeeping missions. The world has acknowledged its efforts and sacrifices for the establishment of international peace and stability.

Pakistan's blue helmets have made enviable performance in the conflict-torn areas of the world. Despite all these achievements, there is plenty of scope to utilize these missions as an asset of soft power. In Pakistan, soft power is taken as a synonymous for soft image, there is a need to conceptualize this idea as a form of power for enhancing influence and gaining power. For this, Pakistan must identify its targets and contexts in which it wants to generate and exercise its soft power. Further research must be undertaken on measuring Pakistan's soft power, its efficacy and drawing an individual as well as aggregate index of its soft power assets. Extensive research should also be taken on systemically assessing the intervening variables which can facilitate in completely transferring Peacekeeping into soft power asset.

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