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The contents of this 'Journal' are writers' personal views. The statements, facts and opinions by the authors in the ISSRA Papers do not imply the official policy of the National Defence University and Editors or the publishers.

Editor's Note

The ISSRA Papers, (The Journal of Governance and Public Policy), 2nd Half 2017, is in your hands. It is, indeed, a privilege to present a bouquet of well researched and informative papers, written by seasoned academics and research scholars. The papers cover a wide range of policy studies, which are likely to help readers gain meaningful insight about various issues, besides substantial recommendations to bring about improvement in those areas.

The First paper, 'Welfare State and Islam: Can Pakistan be a Welfare State?' has been authored by Dr. Ejaz Akram and Mr. Nauman Hassan. It explains the principle of welfare in Islamic sources and appraises the modern welfare practices in the light of Islamic principles. The authors argue that relative povertization of filthy rich countries is better for world welfare rather than waging a war on poverty.

'Crisis of Governance in the Bureaucracy of Pakistan: Study of Administrative Ramifications with Apposite Policy Recommendations', is the Second paper, written by Mr. Ahmad Khawar Shahzad. The article is an overview of the dynamics and nature of bureaucratic governance in Pakistan. The author explicates the grey areas in the bureaucracy and puts forward some policy recommendations to minimize politicization of bureaucracy, gradual institutional decay and culture of unaccountability.

The Third paper, Challenges of National Integration in Pakistan and Strategic Response, has been authored by Syed Jawad Shah and Dr. Waseem Ishaque. In this article the authors present four models for national integration and discuss factors affecting it. They bring to fore the challenges being faced by Pakistan and suggest strategies for enhancing national integration.

Climate Change: Implications for Pakistan and Way Forward' is Fourth paper by Ms. Afifa Kiran and Ms. Qurat-ul-Ain. The article appraises various national and international initiatives aimed at enhancing awareness about the recurrent effects of climate change. The paper puts forward certain implications of climate change and recommends measures to be taken at national, regional and international levels.

The Fifth paper is Eradication of Poverty through Empowerment of People by Mr. Manzoor Ahmed Abbasi and Dr. Shahzad Hussain. The article brings to fore the factors that hinder human development and subsequently jeopardize efforts for poverty reduction. The authors present deplorable conditions of South Asia in general and Pakistan in particular. The paper suggests a fundamental shift in prioritization of policies that should focus more on investment in human capital.

Bureaucratic School Policymaking and Attendant Implementation Issues: The Case of Punjab Province, is Sixth paper written by Dr. Sarfraz Hussain Ansari and Dr. Razaqat Islam. The article deals with bureaucratic policy making process, wherein, stakeholders are ignored, leaving great margin to street-level bureaucrats to modify, even to distort policies at implementation stage. The paper analyses three policies relating to school education in order to illustrate how various levels of bureaucracy are involved in deviance of public policies amounting to shirking and sometimes outright sabotage.

Role of Media in Promoting Peace and Harmony is Seventh paper written by Dr. Saqib Riaz. It highlights the causes of social and political fragmentation in the society and the significance of the media in promoting peace and harmony. The paper analyses the role of the state as an arbitrary entity to keep a fair and equitable check on the presentation and communication of contending viewpoints.

The Last paper is Strategy for Development of FATA, by Mr. Naveed Yousef and Mr. Kashif Zaheer. The paper gives an analysis of the

development efforts being made in FATA and brings out major issues hampering the development process. The paper proposes a development strategy emphasizing the need for participation of the people in development process.

At the end, the Editorial Board extends profound gratitude to all the writers, who trusted ISSRA Papers for their worthwhile contributions. We are equally indebted to experts and reviewers, who helped a great deal in the improvement of these papers. Since, with the upgradation of this Journal, a large number of papers are likely to be sent, it is urged upon the writers to follow the proper format and send quality research papers, so that the standing of this magazine, the only 'Journal of Governance and Public Policy in Pakistan', should be further lifted, whereby, it could expeditiously reach the highest level of accreditation.

WELFARE STATE AND ISLAM: CAN PAKISTAN BE A WELFARE STATE?

Ejaz Akram & Nauman Hassan*

Abstract

Many Muslim scholars have upheld that the concept and practices of a modern Welfare State are Islamic. This article takes an issue with such a position. Such a notion can certainly make those Muslims happy who see no contradiction between Islam and the route of modernism taken by the modern West, but if one looks closely, this notion may be based on a poor understanding of the concept of welfare on one hand and the impact modern welfarism has had on non-Western societies on the other. This article explains the principle of welfare in Islamic sources and in the light of that principle, it appraises whether or not practices of modern welfare are permissible according to the Islamic principles. Second, it appraises efforts by some of nation-states within Muslim world (including Pakistan) to see whether, they are dedicated to the Islamic ideal or just following the path of Westernization. Third, this article revisits the notion of high consumption welfare state from an ecological point of view. Therefore, it raises questions about the legitimacy of the American dream and the possibility of the rest of the world following such a dream. Finally, the article argues that relative povertization of the filthy rich countries is better for world welfare rather than the World Bank waging a war on poverty. A change of consciousness in humanity in the light of shared spiritual principles can help us conceive a philosophically correct and contemporaneously viable concept of global welfare.

Keywords: Falah, Welfare, Welfarism, Spiritual Poverty, Global Povertization

Welfare state in the liberal West is premised upon the philosophical assumption that the welfare of the individual cannot be entrusted alone to the individual, profit seeking private corporations, or be assigned randomly to civic groups. The welfare policies across different countries came out after World War II in the West. They continue today in some form or fashion, but these policies are gradually atrophying even from the West since the early 1990s when Europe and America experienced their first

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swing to the Right since the 1960s cultural revolutions that promoted social welfarism, along with the sexual revolution, the flower children movement and so on. During this period the main concern was that the state should assume responsibility to protect people from abject poverty through unemployment benefits, medical care, free education, retirement pensions etc. The tax base was supposed to raise enough funds to pay for these needs. During this period, democracy in the West was relatively stronger and it kept a check on the modern economic system of capitalism that is ever ready to ferociously gobble up poor people's welfare. Bismarck introduced the national insurance system in Germany in 1880s which also served as a guide in Lloyd George's policies of health and unemployment in Britain in 1911, which also prompted W.H. Beveridge's coined famous term that the state should provide for the welfare of its citizens 'from cradle to grave'.¹ Even though welfare state has done very well in mitigating the pernicious effects of world capitalism, the welfare of some may still be based on destitution of others on the global level because the Western states have historically plundered the resources of nations of Asia and Africa. The global Left and various spiritual communities of the world wisdom traditions have continued to highlight this since almost a century ago.

The concept of welfare and its application is in recession now-a-days due to the current phase of world capitalism whose defenders are armed to their teeth. However, many features of the modern welfare state are still operational in Western countries from Scandinavia to New Zealand, even though these welfare practices will be further restricted to a narrower section of their societies in which marginal groups may fall through the cracks. It is this that Noam Chomsky described as the headlong 'internal third worldization' of welfare states in his famous work *Prosperous Few and the Restless Many*.² Increasingly, many welfare programs the Western countries are underfunded today. As the states gradually retract the welfare umbrella from above the heads of its citizens, people will generally fall back on families and family networks for protection. However, the very process of social change in Western societies that spawned over a couple of centuries (which consequently produced the idea of welfarism), also led to the dissolution of the family in the West. If welfare is further retracted in these

countries, and family and family values continue to recede, the outcome could be gloomy. In such a scenario, societies within the welfare states may eventually experience a tragic ending of the 'truths' of the modern era.

As far as the non-West is concerned, it is busy copying the West, and often blindly without critically evaluating the downside of modern economics and politics. The fever of development and progress remains rampant in marginal intellectuals and elite classes of the non-West, who also happen to be corrupt to the hilt and who thwart their peoples' welfare. Out of the historical non-West, East Asia is poised to beat the West at its own game, while Latin American experience is uneven when it comes to development and economic progress as prerequisites of welfare. Lastly, sub-Saharan Africa and the Muslim world are arguably the least developed of all. In both cases, hollow demagogic slogans of growth, economic progress and development by the politicians of these areas is still the same as the rest of the world, but they are a far cry from being welfare societies like the global West (Europe, North America, Southern South America, South Africa, Australia and Israel). Whereas the causes of slow progress or regression in many parts of Africa and the Muslim world may be multiple and different, they are similar in a way that many parts of these geographical zones have experienced colonial subjugation and destruction of their cultural institutions, languages and economic systems, which in turn has led to their post-independence neo-colonial subjugation.

Islamic Idea of Welfare

The idea of the welfare state as realized in the modern West after World War II remains as the goal of most nations today. However, modern democratic politicians of the Muslim world who vie to achieve an Islamic welfare state have not ceased to look to the West, even though there are equally interesting experiments being made in East Asia, particularly China.

On the level of ideas, Islam is quite capable of giving an alternative paradigm, in conjunction with other world wisdom traditions, including the possibility of resuscitating the deeply esoteric elements within the Western

Christian tradition. The fact that Muslims today do not/cannot have a West-like welfare state is not due to Islam but due to political reasons.

First, let us take a look at what the Muslim perspective of welfare is before we take this discussion any further. Quran is the foremost source of Islamic ideas which are the words of Allah. Next to that is the *Hadith* or the sayings of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and after that, the historical experience and examples of the successive generation of Muslims. The concept of *falah*, betterment or welfare, is replete in the Quran, without which there would be no justice in society. This is also why the Quran has, besides other exalted titles, the title of being the *Kitab al Insaf*, the book of justice. However, we will soon find that the concept of Islamic welfare is not the same as the idea of modern welfarism of modern mass societies. Islam stresses welfare and charity. The Quran exhorts:

“The alms (zakat) are only for the poor and the needy and those who collect them, and those whose hearts are to be reconciled and to free the captives and the debtors, and for the cause of Allah, and for the wayfarers”.³

The Quran says:

“It is for Allah and His Messenger, and for the near of kin and the orphans and the needy and the wayfarer that it become not a commodity between the rich among you”.⁴

Although, it is neither a crime to be rich (as long as one's means and ends are noble) nor is it a crime to be poor (as long as people do not become destitute out of laziness and concupiscence of the soul), however, hoarding of wealth, its congealment into fewer hands and high income disparity among members of society is not accommodated in the Islamic tradition. Very high income differential may give rise to envy, jealousy and resentment, sentiments that destroy the human soul. The Quran encourages charitable giving in order to ensure collective welfare: *“Who has gathered wealth and counted it. He thinks that his wealth will make him last forever”*.⁵ Quran admonishes humans: *“Never will you attain righteousness unless you spend for the cause of God out of what you cherish; and whatever you spend is known to God”*.⁶ Correspondingly, the Prophet (PBUH) said:

“Allah has made zakat obligatory upon the Muslims. It is to be collected from the wealthy among you and distributed among the needy ones”.⁷ Further, he said: “The state is the guardian of anyone who has no other guardian”.⁸ As the ruler of the state of Medina, he decreed:

“When anyone dies in debt or leaves behind dependants un-provided for, the latter should come to me because I am their guardian. If anybody dies while he owes a debt and does not leave behind any property for its payment then the responsibility for its payment is mine (as head of the state). But if anyone leaves any property behind, it is for his heirs”.⁹

It is quite clear that like most of the world’s religious traditions, Islam has stressed benevolent welfare be provided by the rulers to their subjects. However, the concept of welfare is applied to needs and not the wants of people. Here, there is no distinction between Muslims and non-Muslims.¹⁰

Islam, like all religious traditions did not come into the modern age. It was revealed at a time and place, where the prevalent economic system in Arabia was a desert economy of settled and semi-nomadic bedouins. The latter, like all pre-modern economies was a need based economy, and like all other economies of the time, it was a zero-growth subsistence economy.¹¹ Within these economies, spiritual poverty is a virtue, lust and greed for riches is a vice. Legitimate pursuit of wealth is allowed nonetheless, as long as it is not for the aggrandizement of the human ego but for legitimate well-being and security of one’s family and those around us. The spiritual perspective of Islam would assert that poverty is not due to shortage of wealth, but because of abundance of desires. Quranic injunctions should not be taken as policies but principles from which policies can be derived. The application of principles to policies was rather easy in the pre-modern times, but highly political and prohibitive for Muslims today, because of the nature of the

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world in which we live today. This is so, not only for Muslims but for other religious traditions too.

Attempts to Create Islamic Welfare States

As far as the contemporary Muslim world is concerned, all Muslim states (colonized or not) aspire to be welfare states. To a certain extent, some have even realized this aspiration while most have not. The Arab Gulf states thriving on petro-dollars in subservience to the West have a higher welfare quotient, but is somehow mono-economic, artificial and focused narrowly on one nationality, be it a tiny minority of its total population. Oil rich Arab countries such as UAE, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and to a lesser extent Qaddafi's Libya are good examples of this model. Then we have states like Turkey and Malaysia that have produced welfare for their citizens through better work ethics and enterprise. Iran wants to do the same but is badly handcuffed with sanctions.¹²

Even though, the per capita consumption may have gone up in these Arab states, they are still a far cry from the Islamic conception of welfare, because on the one hand, they have failed to produce distributive justice, and on the other, their welfare is too restricted and narrow that does not cover the marginal groups within their states. These states are no more than rentier autocracies practicing apartheid welfare. The Quranic notions of welfare are not about how much wealth is generated or how many billionaires we have amongst us; by contrast, Islamic welfare is measured by the number of people who are suffering. Not abundance of wealth, but minimization of suffering and destitution defines Islamic welfare. Hence, according to the Islamic conception of welfare, neither the West nor its Muslim imitators can qualify to be *Islamic* welfare states.

In comparison, the experience of non-Arab Muslim states is somewhat more 'natural' and home-grown with wider participation. They have managed to dole out some welfare goodies to their populations, including their minorities. While Turkey is gradually linking itself to East Asia through Central Asia and Russia in order to reap more dividends from Asian

Tigers in what seems to be an Asian century, Malaysia, on the other hand, with its substantial Chinese minority is surfing the rising East Asian tide much more directly. Parts of the Muslim world which formed the former Soviet republics of the land-locked Central Asia are still economically linked with Russia. These Central Asian states have gained independence and freedom to practice their religion but have lost the welfare umbrella (free health and education) that was there during the Soviet times. Similarly, the South Asian Muslim countries of the Indian sub-continent, that have a combined population which is the highest in the Muslim world, is mostly India-centric with large defense budgets. Such structural impediment is likely to keep them out of the league of welfare states. A good example is Pakistan.¹³

Can Pakistan Be a Welfare State?

Four years ago, Pakistan witnessed a new government that vies to establish an Islamic welfare state. The previous so-called democratic dispensation of Zardari more or less continued the economic and security policies of Musharraf era (under the American diktat), except that the Zardari-led Pakistan People's Party and government came to adopt corrupt practices grave enough to have attracted court proceedings. No doubt the people voted them out and this time around they have put their faith in more populist politicians like Nawaz Sharif and Imran Khan. Both these leaders aspire to make Pakistan a progressive nation and an 'Islamic welfare state'.¹⁴ However, Panama leaks exposed Nawaz's accumulation of huge assets beyond means attracting a call for accountability. Eventually, Supreme Court of Pakistan declared him 'not to be truthful and therefore not fit enough to rule the country'. Imran Khan on the other hand has not cooperated with the Zionist elite of the West and India. This remains the secret of his popularity among masses. Also, at several occasions he has stated that he wants to make Pakistan a model welfare state. In saying so, he has not dreamt of anything different from other leaders of the Muslim world like Turkey's Erdogan or the ousted Mursi's government in Egypt. However,

their hopes of achieving the Islamic welfare state have to be analyzed further with careful insight and scrutiny, a point to which we shall return again and which may also prove to be remedial for the aim of our leaders.

It is curious to observe that over the last quarter century or so, there has been increasing assertion of Islamic identity in the Muslim world. Projects such as Islamization of knowledge, mushrooming of Islamic universities, Islamic Economics, interest-free Islamic banking, to the point that we now also have lard-free Islamic chocolate. All these efforts have been put forth by Muslims because the secular world is not about just the separation of church and state, it is also about the systematic devaluation of religion to which Muslims react. Even though the Muslim efforts to Islamize this or that have not been very successful on a large scale. The secular Muslim elite who run the state of affairs continue to remain West-oriented and their views on Islam may range from its complete relegation from public to private sphere, to open antipathy towards their own tradition. However, for the majority of people in these countries who are not rulers, but ruled, a part of their consciousness espouses awareness that they are uncomfortable with the epistemic authority of the West to cast their experience as universal for all, including the Muslims. The modern world is by and large secular and Islam insists on a unitarian paradigm that does not accept a cleavage between the sacred and the profane. Thus, while conceptualizing welfare, the modern standard (whether in the West or the Muslim world) will fall short of the Islamic standard, not because modern welfarism is not abundant enough, but perhaps because it is too abundant for some and none for the rest; and if the global per capita consumption resembled the West, it would be ecologically unsustainable. Due to this crisis, the Muslims make their assertion that only the modern welfare-state paradigm is not enough because it fulfils material needs but also skyrockets divorce and dissolution of the family.¹⁵ Hence, it is important to look after Muslims' material well-being but it is equally important to look after their moral and spiritual needs.

Also, if we followed the ‘Islamization’ paradigm offered by many contemporary Muslim reformers, Muslims can only have an Islamic welfare state if first they have a welfare state that can later be Islamized. Conversely, if they want to start building an Islamic welfare state from scratch, first they will need to bring about a *pax Islamica*, which overrides the old epistemic paradigms given by the West. What we see happening currently is a potential transition from *pax Americana* to *pax Sinica*, where the latter is only a culturally and politically modified version of the former. Given the bumpy historical relations between the West and the Muslim world (from crusades to colonialism), Muslims may not have the same political acrimony while working with the East Asians, however, epistemological differences on welfare will continue to remain even with East Asians if they follow the Western model of welfare.

Wealth disparity within and among nations continues to rise as a consequence of global capitalism which is armed to the teeth.

Pakistani, Turkish, or Iranian attempts to have an Islamic welfare state are neither intelligent nor originally Islamic because the modern economic systems (capitalism and communism) are not fully compatible with the Islamic principles. Communism has gone under while in capitalism, which was crucial in producing selective welfare, a few entities are making a killing and the vast majority is sinking into destitution. Wealth disparity within and among nations continues to rise as a consequence of global capitalism which is armed to the teeth. In this era of loot and plunder, the few experienced what we call the welfare state. Most never have and never will. The last sentence may seem gloomy, moribund and criminally retrogressive to the modern mind. However, in light of the biophysical limits of the globe, it may be a timely dose of reality. Those who we consider progressive are living comfortably within the bosom of welfare states because of a certain pattern of production and consumption. While production and consumption in a subsistence society leads to zero waste, in the modern society, processes of production and consumption often lead to a horrendous amount of waste.¹⁶ So much so, that today’s welfare states often

ship their toxic garbage to poor third world countries through contracts signed with their illegitimate rulers in exchange for peanuts. Those who pollute are living a clean life, and those who were living rather

Those who pollute are living a clean life, and those who were living rather parsimoniously are dwelling in toxic dirt.

parsimoniously are dwelling in toxic dirt. Since the 'third worlders' also naively expect to mimic the welfare state experiment, and in many cases the 'American dream', they would be

shocked to find that if much of the world's pattern of production, consumption and waste resembled that of the USA, one would require six more earths to act as 'sinks' to absorb the waste. It is neither possible, nor desirable, to export the American dream. In fact, the American dream has already become a global nightmare. Similarly, the European consumption pattern (who live relatively more parsimoniously than the Americans), is also not sustainable. This is exactly why the East Asian tigers who want to be in the same league as the West can be a menace for the planet. This is why in the 19th CPC congress, Chairman Xi Jinping rejected the American dream and asserted that in China we would only like to have a 'moderately prosperous' society. But does the West have any moral ground from which to reprimand the East Asians from achieving more welfare? Certainly not! Hence from an ecological point of view, the collective 'welfare' of the entire globe may lead to collective suicide of the globe.

Islamic Alternatives to Modern Welfarism: Relative Global Povertization as a Way Out

Now we return to the original point again. Like the East Asians, the Muslim leaders around the world are justified in aiming for the American welfare dream but are not cognizant of the prohibitive aspects of this dream. A slim majority in the West, however, now seems cognizant of this. With power and cognition, comes responsibility. The paradigm keepers of the West must teach their own citizens, as well as their East Asian brothers and the Muslims, that they took a wrong path and now is the time to change course. The welfare paradigm of the liberal, secular West seems too focused on wealth generation from the Islamic standards, and welfare of the

socialist bloc (like the Soviet Union) is also not acceptable; despite the fact that it may be charity; it is charity without Christ and with lesser freedom. The Islamic views on welfare may go against the World Bank economic indicators of development and welfare as absolute goods. Poverty may not be a bad thing if everyone is relatively poor. Conversely, the Western idea of more welfare may not be bad, if vast majority is recipient of riches *and* if it is ecologically sustainable.

If the modern West abandons the old paradigm of welfare and corrects its course, and most of the non-Western elite frees itself from the shackles of intellectual colonization, all may remain on the right path, the path of ecological peace and non-confrontation. If the West stays on the path it is on currently, merely an intellectual paradigm shift would not be enough to make the

The collective welfare and security of the entire globe depends not on security of isolated nations, but the whole of humanity.

change unless this shift is accompanied by political and military weight. Unfortunately, the Western states are routinely invading the Muslim countries' resources in the name of fraudulent Global War on Terror in the quest of sustaining or fattening the American welfare, which prevents jointly collaborating and finding a way out. The latter course will retrench the Muslim world so that it seeks more defence equipment, which will require more industrialization, more production, more consumption and more waste, i.e., the old paradigm of welfarism and security. This is more bad news for the planet. The 19th and 20th century pursuit of security and well-being gave humanity a zero-sum security worldview (one's welfare is another's loss), where nations, civilizations and armies are all eyeball to eyeball, out to rip the other apart.

Islamic principles of welfare are universal, and not restricted to some alone. The collective welfare and security of the entire globe depends not on security of isolated nations, but the whole of humanity. Even if the few want to have welfare at the expense of the rest, they can only do so if we have a sustainable planet. It appears odd to Muslims to read most popular car bumper sticker in America that reads "God bless America", why not "God

bless the World”? America’s ecological future too is linked with that of the world. Gone are the days when the world was isolated. With current processes of globalization, many solutions will have to be global and not national. The challenge is to solve the problems within multiplicity of power centres instead of one totalitarian world government.

Einstein said that no solution can come from the same level of consciousness that produced the problem. With modernism in crisis, it is certain that the solutions to the problems of modernity cannot come from modernism but elsewhere. Islamic principles of welfare cannot be realized if our consciousness is not rooted in ultimate reality, which from the spiritual point of view is none other than God. Not those who have the most but those who know the most should be the leaders of the world. They have to recognize the fault of earlier paradigms and help the world change its course toward new levels of consciousness, which may have elements of the pre-modern consciousness.

It is time not to wage war against poverty, but against the looters of global wealth, so that humanity can collectively avoid abject poverty. With the current paradigm of welfare, soon no one may have any welfare.

Conclusion

Islamic principles of welfare run counter to the modern theory and practice of welfare because the latter is not rooted in any principle other than its own historical self-reference from which the West has itself departed. Nearly all the countries of the Muslim world have followed the path of westernization. This path necessitated aping the Western model of a welfare state. The welfare of the modern Western world itself rested partially on the loot and plunder of non-West, and partially on its own genius and enterprise. Western welfare state stands challenged due to its internal decline and partially because of rise of East Asia. This is gradually leading to internal ‘third worldization’ within the Western countries. At this

point in history Muslims are at a loss of a model to emulate. Since Islamic model is based on the principle of middle path and avoidance of extremes, therefore Muslims must consider welfare as avoidance of abject poverty but also the avoidance of amassment of wealth. The speeches of the founder of Pakistan, Mohammad Ali Jinnah envisioned Pakistan as a socialist as well as a Muslim state, but the reason this country like many other countries could not do that is because the politics of the world system posed a prohibitive barrier against such a path. With the decline of the West, there are challenges and opportunities to conceive of a new path.

The rise of China has demonstrated that a country that is at once Communist, Socialist, Capitalist is fast becoming Confucian and Islamic, whose wealthiest person (Jack Ma) says that all private profits are also a public trust which the wealthy people should give back to the society. The Islamic path is a transcendental path which runs counter to the dichotomous modern ideological paths of a false choice between communism and capitalism, because both of these systems are eventually based on immanence that denies transcendence in name of secularism and progress. If Pakistan and the Muslim world are to avoid such excesses, they need to conceive of welfare according to current ecological realities and shift their consciousness beyond the modern Western one by resuscitating what they risk losing. They must not trade their spiritual principles with the so-called modern realities. The road to the future is the same road that comes from the past, cuts through the present, and into the future.

NOTES

- ¹ Nicholas Abercrombie, Stephen Hill & Bryan Turner, *Dictionary of Sociology*, (Penguin: Suffolk, UK, (1988): P.269.
- ² Noam Chomsky and David Barsamian, *The Prosperous Few and the Restless Many* (USA: Odonian Press, 1933)
- ³ Al-Quran, Surah 9: Ayat 60.
- ⁴ Ibid. Surah 59: Ayat 7.
- ⁵ Ibid. Surah 104: Ayat 3-4.
- ⁶ Ibid, Surah 3: Ayat 92
- ⁷ Narrated by Abu Ma'bad, Sahih Muslim, Volume 2, Book 24, Number 573.
- ⁸ Abu Daud in SahihTirmizi, http://www.muslimtents.com/shaufi/b16/b16_15.htm.
- ⁹ Narrated by Abu Huraira, Sahih Bukhari, Volume 8, Book 80, Number 755.
- ¹⁰ According to Islamic law, the Muslims pay smaller tax but are not exempted from military draft. Non-Muslims pay a slightly higher tax but are exempted from military draft.
- ¹¹ Some examples of the pre-modern economy are feudal, prebendal, desert, nomadic and tribal economies. All of these economies stressed collective production, collective allocation and collective security without any recourse to equality but ensuring transmission of limited notion of private property understood today as usufructuary rights.
- ¹² Intellectually, Iran Turkey, Pakistan and Indonesia/Malaysia are the only places out of the Muslims who do produce critiques of the Western model, but politically they remain weak to subvert Western paradigms.
- ¹³ Many Pakistani policy makers bemoan the fact that South Korea consulted Pakistan back in the 1960s and even 'copied' their five-year economic plans because Pakistan seemed ahead of them at that time. However, South Korea also received the protection umbrella of the US security, while Pakistan continued to be crippled under a heavy defense budget in an effort to overcome insecurity from India. And hence goes the success story of welfare in South Korea and next to none in Pakistan.
- ¹⁴ We share with Nawaz Sharif and Imran Khan the love of their nation, which according to the Islamic Tradition comes from one's *Iman* (faith), and I earnestly hope that our quest for betterment of the Pakistani nation will come from the philosophically most rigorous understanding of the global predicament. All visionary leaders must work for global welfare, of which we should be an important part.
- ¹⁵ (Family (*ahl* or *ahila* in Arabic) means not only one's immediate or nuclear family as generally understood in the West, but the extended kin. In Islam, family is an important sanctuary whose sanctity must be preserved at all cost, because the state cannot bring up children. Arguably, the Muslim family is perhaps still the strongest in the world. However, with the pressures of modernization and secularization, it may take the sad course taken by advance industrial societies. Family is crucial for welfare, especially if the old paradigm of welfare implodes under the new global realities. The Muslims lament that the West has gone from having extended families, to nuclear family, to single parent family, to no family at all. See also Elizabeth Warnock Fernea, "Family" in *Oxford Encyclopedia of Modern Islamic World* John Esposito, ed. (NY: Oxford University Press, 1995) pp. 458-461)
- ¹⁶ Despite our modern prejudice against the backward subsistence societies or semi-mercantilist economies that are considered non-progressive, there is something really amazing about them from an ecological perspective: There is zero waste. There is no toxic waste. The ecological balance of earth is not perturbed.

CRISIS OF GOVERNANCE IN THE BUREAUCRACY OF PAKISTAN: A STUDY OF ADMINISTRATIVE RAMIFICATIONS WITH APPPOSITE POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Ahmad Khawar Shahzad^{*}

Abstract

This article presents the dynamics and nature of bureaucratic governance in Pakistan during various regimes including some notice of the Colonial period. It discusses the practices and norms of the famous 'steel frame of administration' of the British Raj. Bureaucracy embroiled itself in politics and contravened the golden sayings of Quaid-i-Azam. The colonial tradition of primacy of bureaucrats resulted into politicization of bureaucracy after Pakistan became an independent country. Bureau-politic bonhomie led to institutional decay, arbitrary decision-making, corruption scandals, kick-back culture, rent-seeking behavior and lack of accountability, etc. The study endeavors to explicate the grey areas in the bureaucracy of Pakistan with the objective of suggesting reforms to minimize politicization of bureaucracy, gradual institutional decay, estrangement between federal and provincial services, and promoting culture of accountability to achieve cherished goal of a developed Pakistan in 21st Century.

Keywords: Governance, Bureaucracy, Politicization, Bureau-politic nexus, Institutional decay, Corruption

Introduction

At the very outset, it is important to comprehend the term governance which has been defined differently by different authors. Some believe that it is steering and controlling public affairs. Governance refers to the formation and stewardship of the formal and informal rules that regulate the public realm, the arena in which state as well as societal and economic

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actors interact to make decisions¹. Thus, bureaucracy can't be restricted to its role of implementation only but governance as well. 'Intelligent governance is anti-bureaucratic. Government should be smart, but also as lean as possible- strong but limited. The issue is not big or small government, but good governance in which power is decentralized and distributed where appropriate and authority is delegated where competence dictates'². Amartya Sen holds that development should include a broad range of freedoms or rights such as the basic capabilities to avoid starvation,

Pivotal role of bureaucracies in the rise and fall of countries can't be undermined.

undernourishment and premature mortality as well as rights to education and being able to participate in the political process"³.

Thus, governance refers to behavioral disposition in different political regimes. Governance is said to have three legs: economic, political and administrative⁴. Governance roots also lie in different roles of various departments and sections of society in collaboration. Socialization, sagacious role of public in constituting political society, executive impact of government, administrative part of bureaucracy, regulatory aspects of financial institutions and conflict resolution by the judicial administration; harmonious performance of above arenas constitute imperative parts of good governance. Disorganized or passive role of any of the dynamics would certainly disturb the efficacy of the other. Policies are implemented by the administrative machinery. Bureaucracy is vital agency of the Government wherein "Ministers decide on policies, and civil servants take the necessary executive actions to implement them"⁵. Pivotal role of bureaucracies in the rise and fall of countries can't be undermined. Bureaucratic arena of governance possesses paramount significance but even lopsided accountability may empower bureaucrats to operate arbitrarily. However, bureaucratic performance in the form of rule of law, politicization, efficient delivery system, public confidence, economic development, institutional strength, rent-seeking attitude and corruption, etc., may be dissected in various regimes.

Governance in Pakistan: Historical Perspective and Nature in Various Regimes

Colonial Regime

In 1600 A.D, the British East India Company (B.E.I.C.) was third commercial body (after the Dutch and French) to explore the coast of India with the sanction of Queen Elizabeth-I, to enhance overseas commercial activities for a term of fifteen years only. The regime was an imperial monarchy⁶. The British possessed a culture of power anomalous even by European standards that found formal expression in the state laws⁷. British rule also established a uniform reign of law⁸. Employees of Company were called "Servants". Office of District Collector was introduced in 1769 for revenue collection but assumed proper role in 1784 as a result of 'Pitt's Act'. Here, role of the servants from mercantile activities transformed into civil servants for Revenue administration. Office of the Governor General was introduced in 1773 with the posting of 'Warren Hastings'. Foundational structure of civil service was attributed to Warren Hastings (1774-85) while Lord Cornwallis (1785-93) implemented the reforms by introducing 'Secretariat System'. Government of India Act-1858, liquidated avaricious rule of the East India Company and the administrative authority was transferred to the British crown. The Governor General also became Viceroy. Office of the Secretary of State for India was created. There were thirteen provinces in the British India which were administered directly by the 'Imperial Civil Service'. There were over four hundred districts in British India and a district officer in each⁹. Afterwards, service was renamed as 'Indian Civil Service' (ICS). By 1934, the system of administration of India was consisting of seven All India Services and five Central Departments. The administrative unification of the Sub-continent was accomplished by British rule. Through successive reforms, it erected a hierarchy of central, provincial and subordinate services which formed the executive branch of the unified state. The thousand to one thousand five hundred members of Indian Civil Service (ICS) were the functional equivalent of the Timurid Empire's five hundred senior-most 'Mansabdars'¹⁰.

According to Philip Mason Akbar, the Great Mughal, tried to give India the unity she had nearly attained once under Ashoka, and once under the Gupta dynasty; his was the third attempt and the fourth was to be the British¹¹. In dissent to the administrative ethos of Mughal Empire, the culture of governance in the British colonialism was not based on servility

The culture of governance in the British colonialism was not based on servility to the king as officers were not the personal servants of even the governor general.

to the king as officers were not the personal servants of even the governor general. Three centuries and a half period rule over a mass of land the size of Europe, the nature of British

Civil Service was political, meant for the British aspirations to rule the sub-continent. Colonial bureaucrats maneuvered as ‘political advisors’ and ‘active agents’, essentially a political role in its nature¹². Rule of law was the pivot of administration in contradistinction to the law of the ruler. There was no theoretical or practical distinction between the civil and military power¹³.

Post-Independence Regime

One of the continuing legacies of the British rule has been in the area of civil administration¹⁴. Colonial administrative structure stemmed its roots from Weberian model of administration-‘Domination or exercise of authority instead of service or performance of duty’¹⁵. On the other hand, primary obligations of the administrative machinery of Pakistan were meant to be citizen-centric, rule-based and apolitical in spirit, wherein decentralization was necessitated to be the hallmark to cater to the needs of the common man at the grass root level. Nation-building and economic survival was the daunting task for the civil servants of Pakistan. Unfortunately, bureaucracy of Pakistan could not succeed to realize such aspirations.

After independence, “Pakistan inherited the powers of the British Government of India but also its administrative machinery. Herein lay a great danger”¹⁶. Junior ICS officers (nearly 105) were granted accelerated promotions while none of them deserved to be posted as federal secretary of

a sovereign state. Impinging upon subtlety of the situation, Quaid-i-Azam presaged the bureaucrats on different occasions in candid words. In an address to a gathering of civil officers of Baluchistan on 14th February 1948, he advised;

“We have met here today without any distinction of being big or small, as servants of the state in order to think out ways and means of advancing the interests of the people and our country. From the highest to the lowest, we all are the servants of the state”⁷.

Addressing the Gazetted Officers at Chittagong on 25th March 1948, he cautioned:-

“You do not belong to the ruling class; you belong to the servants. Make the people feel that you are their servants and friends, maintain the highest standard of honor, integrity, justice and fair-play”⁸.

During another informal talk to Civil Officers at Government House Peshawar on 14th April 1948, he alerted,

“Do your duty as servants to the people and the State, fearlessly and honestly. Service is the backbone of the State. Governments are formed, Governments are defeated, Prime Ministers come and go, Ministers come and go, but you stay on, and, therefore, there is a very great responsibility placed on your shoulders. You should have no hand in supporting this political party or that political party, this political leader or that political leader-this is not your business”⁹.

After the demise of Quaid-i-Azam and assassination of Liaquat Ali Khan, the civil servants became embroiled in a struggle with the emerging elite of the political parties; CSP soon conflicted with a variety of sectional and entrenched interests²⁰. Members of ICS agreed, not without persuasion, to suffix the letters (ICS-Pakistan) after their names. They prided themselves on the fact that they were entitled to have their pension in Sterling and their home leave in England²¹. The CSP was set up under the patronage of Chaudri Muhammad Ali, a former member of Indian Audit and Accounts Service (IA&AS) it gained strength under another, Ghulam Muhammad, and then reached its zenith under the care of an Indian Political Service officer, Iskandar Mirza²². In 1954, bureaucratic elite stimulated resolution to unite four Western provinces called West-Pakistan. This was meant to create parity between the East Wing (Bengalis) and West Pakistan provinces²³.

Ayub Khan, being martial law administrator, purged few old ICS officers to curtail the unrepressed role of administrative actors. The CSP-class timorously turned to acquiescence. Most of 3,000 dismissals, compulsory retirements and reduction in rank, took place at the lower rank²⁴. The purge rekindled among citizens a sense of rightful pride in the administrative efficiency, patriotic fervor and high moral tenor of President Ayub's revolutionary regime²⁵. CSPs posted in East Pakistan commanded Bengalis in disparaging manner. Principle of 'national integrity' was plunked at the back burner. Soon, grievances multiplied and some people went so far as to suggest that the behavior of West Pakistan officers was the main cause of estrangement between East and West Pakistan. Though this is an exaggerated view, it has an element of truth in it²⁶. No special arrangements were made for selection of federal level officers from East Pakistan. Although ICS/CSP Officers introduced 'Quota System' to escalate the number of Bengalis (East Pakistan Representation) yet their actual strength remained below one fourth of the total despite majority in East Pakistan with reference to population. Let's glance at bureaucratic representation of the two wings in the Civil Service of Pakistan²⁷.

Inter-Wing Representation in Civil Service of Pakistan, 1948-58

Year	No of Officers	East Pakistan		West Pakistan	
		No	% of Total	No	% of Total
1948	18	2	11.1	16	88.9
1949	20	9	45.0	11	55.0
1950	20	6	30.0	14	70.0
1951	11	4	36.4	7	63.6
1952	17	5	29.4	12	70.6
1953	13	3	23.1	10	77.9
1954	25	7	28.0	18	72.0
1955	17	5	29.4	12	70.6
1956	21	11	52.4	10	47.6
1957	20	7	35.0	13	65.0
1958	24	10	41.7	14	58.3

Inter-wing Representation in Higher Ranks of Central Secretariat of Pakistan 1955-56

The struggle between East and West Pakistan showed itself in the assignment of officers, in the allocation of funds, and the establishment of quotas at the Civil Service Academy (to the detriment of the merit principle)²⁸. West Pakistan elite and the Bureaucracy exacerbated the gulf between the two wings that ultimately led to catastrophic conclusion. During their posting in East Pakistan, Punjab-based bureaucrats treated Bengalis scornfully bearing in mind supercilious superiority of being 'steel frame of administration' and successors of Roman Empire, Lord Macaulay and British Raj. Bengali officers were discriminated and humiliated on the different biases of

West Pakistan elite and the Bureaucracy exacerbated the gulf between the two wings that ultimately led to catastrophic conclusion.

color, creed or skinny structure. Today, it's unimaginable to comprehend the factors for issuance of notification of Bengali language in Arabic manuscript²⁹. The Bengali administrators were a different quality from West Pakistani bureaucrats as the Bengalis were egalitarian in demeanor, more democratic in outlook, more informal, closer to the people in mood and attitude and less haughty³⁰. Supercilious, snobbish and distant demeanour of the West Pakistan bureaucrats sowed the seeds of hatred among the general public and civil servants belonging to East Pakistan. This disposition accentuated feelings of alienation between the two wings of Pakistan.

Purges in bureaucracy were made to capsize the dominance of CSP class. The purges of 303 and 1303 witnessed dismissal of a number of ICS/CSP officers by General Yahya Khan and Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto in 1969 and 1972 respectively. This purge of bureaucracy politicized the institution as the peril of termination from service was hanging over their heads. Bhutto regime of nationalization pointed out critical role of in-efficient, unskilled and corrupt elite of Pakistan. During the military regime of General Zia (1977-88), bureaucracy stabilised itself. Ghulam Ishaq Khan, Roedad Khan (Interior Secretary) and Ijlal Haider Zaidi (Defence Secretary) were three

close confidants in Zia administration³¹. General Zia gave greater confidence to civil servants by putting an end to the practice of screening. During Zia regime, army exerted a pre-eminent role in policy making while the bureaucracy was only meant to implement the policies. However, bureaucrats felt a sigh of relief in terms of their purges.

In Musharraf Regime, Devolution plan-2001 was strategized to devolve political, financial and administrative power to district, tehsil and union council levels³². Office of the Deputy Commissioner was abolished on 14th August, 2001 and replaced with District Coordination Officer. A newly carved out slot of elected Mayor (District Nazim) was introduced as administrative pivot in the district whereas the District Coordination Officer and District Police Officer were kept under his subordination. Local Government Ordinance, setting detailed rules for district-level governance was recognized by the World Bank as silent revolution in Pakistan³³. Initially, bureaucrats took this system as another move to curtail their administrative powers. Many DMG officers opted for higher study programmes abroad. However, keeping in view hefty financial powers of District Coordination Officers (upto 50 Million) as 'Principal Accounting Officer' and incharge of twelve departments at district level, they again hustled in the mainstream. General Musharraf said, "I had to withstand tremendous pressure and intrigue from the bureaucracy trying to nip this system in the bud, but we held our ground and succeeded in putting the new system in place"³⁴. Rent-seeking attitudes, kick-back and corruption culture seeped widely in the higher echelons of bureaucracy through a channelised system of lucrative postings for blue-eyed young officers. Pakistan Muslim League (N) issued a white paper referring corruption scandals of stock exchange, sugar scandals, oil and cement cartels, Pepco, land mafia's loot, privatization of HBL, Pak American Fertilizer, PTCL etc, pertaining to Musharraf regime³⁵.

Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) remained in power for five years (2008-2013) and maneuvered to complete full tenure for the first time in the political history of Pakistan. Punjab - the biggest province, was run by Pakistan Muslim League (N) while the center and Sind by PPP. Apart from

18th amendment-2010 and 7th National Finance Commission (NFC) Award, the government was confronted with serious governance issues and corruption scandals. Junior federal officers (DMG & ex-cadre) of 18 and 19 grades, came to be regarded as de-facto rulers of Punjab. In dissent to the principle of subsidiarity, Local Government elections were always avoided deliberately, denigrating the same as a legacy of Musharraf regime. State-owned enterprises like Pakistan International Airline (PIA), Pakistan Steel Mill (PSM), Pakistan Railways fell victim to inefficiency mainly because of nepotistic practices. Rental power Scam, NICL corruption case, Swiss-bank and Ephedrine quota cases adversely affected the governance indicators. During this regime, bureau-politic collusion and their corruption was the trademark of the provincial and federal governments in Pakistan. Federal DMG officers were able to enhance their status through a change in nomenclature from District Management Group (DMG) to Pakistan Administrative Service (PAS) on 21st May, 2012. PAS members started use of suffix PAS with their names. This was a tactical move to divert the attention of the nation that was well conversant with the corrupt practices of DMG officers.

During the PML (N) government (2013 till date), bureaucracy was politicized. Some Federal officers working in Punjab were pulled out to run the affairs of the federation. Both the governments at the federal and Punjab levels came to be run by federal DMG/PAS officers. Political posting of junior officers at higher levels, cronyism, tax concession packages to favoured business concerns business-friendly economy rather than market friendly economy, economic growth through the business elite have been the main features of the PML (N) regime. Pakistan's premier, Nawaz Sharif, was ousted as a result of Supreme Court's verdict in Panama Paper Leaks³⁶.

In 2014, deaths of around 200 innocent children in Sind (Thar-Mithi) due to food (starvation) and health issues represented a testimony of the mismanagement, governance crisis and lack of accountability in the administrative machinery of Pakistan³⁷. Worsening law and order situation and daily killings in Karachi (Sind) and Quetta (Baluchistan) raised big question marks on the skills and institutional quality of the bureaucracy of Pakistan.

Provincial officers of Punjab were discriminated vehemently in terms of promotion, transfer and posting. They were not promoted at par with their due share after 18th March, 2011. Government extended federal quota system for further twenty years³⁸. Extension of quota³⁹ and discrimination with provincial officers⁴⁰ was contravention to the spirit of provincial autonomy bestowed through Constitution (18th Amendment)-2010.

Administrative Ramifications

Politicization of Bureaucracy

After the assassination of Liaqat Ali Khan, bureaucracy grabbed power with a dominating role. This fault line weakened the other institutions. The primacy of unelected institutions over representative organs left Parliament weak and subservient to the executive⁴¹. Political institutions began to be seen as weaker than the steel frame of bureaucracy⁴². The higher bureaucracy diverged from the sayings of Quaid and adopted a dominant position over politicians. Constituent Assembly was dissolved. During this period, there was alliance between the bureaucracy and the army through the “gang of four” consisting of Ghulam Muhammad, Chaudhry Muhammad Ali, Iskandar Mirza and General Ayub Khan⁴³. Power sharing arrangements were made between army and bureaucracy during Ayub regime (1958-68). The bureaucracy acquired strength by adopting a sub-servient role under military. The ICS/CSP bureaucrats as commissioner, Deputy Commissioners and Assistant Commissioners played a biased and political role through Basic Democracies (BD) System. The presidential election of 1965 allowed the CSP to show its ‘loyalty’ to the military dictator⁴⁴. During the military regime of General Zia, they heaved a sigh of relief from the Damocles Sword, hovered by Z.A.Bhutto. Bureaucrats enjoyed the political instability of 1990’s and PPP’s period (2008-2013) wherein different political parties faced the dilemma of multi-party governments at federal and provincial level. Shrewd bureaucrats were articulate in maneuvering such asymmetry of governments as the chief executive of the province had no administrative powers to suspend any federal officer. Punjab discerned this crisis wherein the then Principal Secretary to Chief Minister, Dr. Tauqueer Shah was

generally referred as the de-facto CM of the Punjab⁴⁵. In 2014, PML (N) appointed serving federal bureaucrats, Habibullah Khan Khattak–Federal Secretary for Ports and Shipping, Arbab Muhammad Arif–additional Chief Secretary of Fata and Fawad Hassan Fawad–Additional Secretary at PM’s Office, as member of ‘Taliban Peace Committee’ for holding dialogues with militants⁴⁶. Current period of PML (N), 2013 onward is the domination and recurring rise of bureaucrats through politicization of bureaucracy. This tenor of rising tide has swept Punjab as well.

A culture of amassing unlimited wealth by hook or by crook in the shortest possible time has taken root.

Civil servants have learnt the art of being a part of political regimes to enjoy the power corridors, arbitrary authority in decision-making, being de-facto rulers, channelized environment of policy making for vested interest, imperial life-style, white-collar corruption and unlimited perks and privileges. A culture of amassing unlimited wealth by hook or by crook in the shortest possible time has taken root⁴⁷. They have concerns only to please the ruling elite for their vested gains, not for the common man. Now these little cogs of Max Webber are no more servants of state but the real masters of destiny of the marginalized public.

Gradual Institutional Decay

For early two decades, Pakistan has known only limited franchise wherein political institutions were weaker than the steel frame of bureaucracy⁴⁸. Successive regimes of Pakistan’s polity transformed bureaucracy into politicized institution to avoid imperils of dismissals, transfers and postings. Institutional strength was clubbed with regimes and rules of the game. Charles H. Kennedy disagrees with the quota system in the words, ‘the quota selects candidates who, according to whatever criterion of merit is employed, are not the ‘best’ available for appointment. Arguably, such a selection policy makes the bureaucracy less efficient’⁴⁹. Academic standards of colleges and universities are not capable of

producing potential candidates for civil service examination. Current education system (policies, plans, programs and schemes) is not more than pronouncements and glowing optimism of success⁵⁰. Federal Public Service Commission recruits only 7.5% on open-merit while 92.5% are recruited on quota-basis, as under⁵¹:

Percentage of Quota-Based and Open-Merit Recruitment

Induction	Detail of Quota						
	Punjab	Sind	KPK	Baluchistan	Fata/ Gilgit-Baltistan	AJK	Open-Merit
Percentage	50	19	11.5	06	04	02	7.5

It has been observed that the best products of the present poor education system do not normally sit for the civil service examination⁵². Federal and Provincial Civil Servants are trained through Civil Service Academy, Management and Professional Development Department (MPDD) and National School of Public Policy and Pakistan Administrative Staff College (PASC). Semblance of training is imparted mostly through guest speakers (seminars), multi-media presentations which is void of hectic research assignments. The courses are so superficial and the evaluation of participants so soft as to pose no great intellectual challenge to the current generation of officers with rather modest intellectual endowments⁵³. Intellectual capacity of administrative machinery was also jeopardized by dismissals, transfers and postings. Politic-bureaucrat nexus resulted into arbitrary decision-making. The decline further aggravated institutional decay. Roedad Khan, a former member of higher bureaucracy asks: "Is it surprising that the image of service is tarnished and public confidence in its integrity, objectivity and ability to deliver is totally shattered"⁵⁴ Intellectually and morally crippled machinery is incapable to resolve the issues of biting poverty and social polarization, ethnicity and sectarianism, breakdown of law and order and economic growth. The prevalent training environment does not groom bureaucrats to cope with such formidable problems.

Estrangement between Federal and Provincial Services

Estrangement was pre-eminent since inception of Pakistan. The Government of Pakistan passed a resolution in 1950 to maintain the CSP as an all-Pakistan service⁵⁵. East Pakistan initially conveyed reluctance to the posting of West Pakistan Officers. The Provincial Civil Service officers voiced their resentment against the virtual 'provincial zing'. It was also argued that if the duties and responsibilities of CSP and PCS officers were practically the same, why should the CSP officers be promoted much faster than their PCS counterparts⁵⁶. As a result of CSP (composition & cadre) Rules-1954, 25% posts were reserved for Provincial Civil Service (PCS) Officers⁵⁷. But this was changed because All Pakistan Unified Grades (APUG) introduced in 1973 gave no benefit to PCS. After the promulgation of the Constitution-1973, Civil Service of Pakistan (CSP) was abolished and a new service group, District Management Group (DMG) was introduced. DMG was not the successor of CSP. In fact, CSP comprised of two services while DMG was only one.

Inter Provincial Coordination Committee Formula-1993						
PROVINCE	BPS-17	BPS-18	BPS-19	BPS-20	BPS-21	BPS-22
PUNJAB	25%	40%	50%	60%	65%	100%
SIND	25%	40%	50%	60%	65%	100%
NWFP	25%	40%	50%	60%	65%	100%
BALUCHISTAN	25%	40%	50%	60%	65%	100%

On 19th September, 1993, DMG fixed lion's share for themselves and deprived PCS Officers in Inter Provincial Coordination Committee (IPCC) Formula⁵⁸. In Punjab, PCS were discriminated by the DMG officers. Promotions of PCS Officers from BS-17 to BS-18 were prolonged for almost 20 years while DMG Officers were promoted within 4-5 years. Junior DMG Officers were posted on one or two step higher posts. Senior PCS Officers

were forced to work under Junior DMG Officers. All important posts of Chief Secretary, Additional Chief Secretary, Senior Member Board of Revenue, Chairman (P&D), heads of attached departments, autonomous bodies, and almost all projects were captured by DMG. In 2010, posting of DMG officers in the provinces was challenged in the Supreme Court of Pakistan by the provincial services of four provinces through seven Constitutional Writ Petitions, i.e,53/2010,54/2010,55/2010,56/2010 and others. On peaceful demonstration for rights in Punjab civil secretariat, 73 PCS officers were arrested on 18thMarch, 2011⁵⁹. Provincial officers were suppressed and discriminated vehemently. In 2014, a Statutory Regulatory Order (SRO) opened up new litigations between even federal service groups (Secretariat Group and DMG). PCS and PMS Officers were despised as subalterns of civil service. Provincial officers were intimidated by ruling bureaucratic elite and made to embrace a subservient role under the Federal Officers (DMG). This estrangement between federal and provincial officers further marred prospects of good governance. Discriminatory policies of DMG(now PAS), slow promotion prospects of PCS officers and absence of All Pakistan Service (APS) as enunciated in Article-240 of the Constitution of Pakistan 1973, led to institutional decay and further inflated the already existing gulf between federal and provincial officers.

Culture of Unaccountability

Mutuality of interest between certain politicians and bureaucrats resulted into culture of corruption. In addition to this, lack of knowledge, skills and expertise, coupled with myopic vision of the politicians, infested bureaucrats with influential role in policy making. National Accountability Bureau (NAB) and Anti-Corruption Establishment (ACE) were run, directly or indirectly, by bureaucrats of the same clique. ACE has rarely lodged any corruption case against any Secretary, Commissioner or DCO belonging to federal service group as compared to the provincial service officers. Commission culture has pervaded so deep in the development works that it

is not considered as an evil practice now. Channelized corruption vitiated accountability mechanism.

Policy Recommendations

Bureaucracy is the backbone of any government which transforms ideas and suggestions into reality and actions for the public good. Following policy recommendations can improve the governance parameters:-

- Concept of intelligent government of 21st Century is anti-bureaucratic. Under the principle of subsidiary, decentralization and development of local government system with independent financial, political and legislative powers, can improve the participation of civil society toward better governance. Such devolution may break the hegemony of the bureaucrats and this alienation from public. It will improve national unity wherein common man may feel privileged and empowered.
- Ascendency of one group over the other must be wiped out during in-service trainings. Training institutes, meant for mid-career management and high profiles, must stress upon development through research techniques under the supervision of highly skilled research scholars rather than bureaucrats (meant for policy implementation only). International community can help to improve the prevalent civil service structure through modernized methods of administration. Un-reformed, degenerated and un-skilled bureaucracy can never improve governance.
- Politicization of bureaucracy must be abandoned through new legislation and stringent rules to keep the bureaucracy apolitical, unbiased and neutral. Stern action must be initiated against politically affiliated bureaucrats. This detachment would improve bureaucratic efficiency.
- Independent Judicial Commission to settle the inter-services, inter-provincial and federal-provincial controversies regarding provincial share, posting of federal officers in provinces, promotions, transfers and posting matters. This commission may be established without the

representation of any serving or retired bureaucrat. Commission may also remove the violation of Constitution relation to Article 240 and proviso of Article 27 of Eighteenth Amendment.

- Civil Service must be modernized and purged through screening and right-sizing. If DMG clique can't mend their ways and they still think themselves steel frame of administration with this inefficiency, then modernization and purge must become imperative and operative.
- Provincial Civil Services (PCS) of each Province are equally able to run the affairs of the state in the Provinces and Federal Service Groups (Railways, Accounts, Foreign Service, Customs, Inland Revenue, Postal Services, Secretariat Group etc.) are capable to run the federation and federating units. Their pertinent role must be improved through rigorous local and foreign trainings, higher studies, research methodologies and annual training courses.
- Hydra-headed monster of corruption must be dealt with iron hand policy. Bureaucrats living beyond their means or involved in mal-practices must be screened out. Channelized corruption may be checked through the imperative role of secret agencies. Anti-Corruption Establishment and NAB have lost their efficacy due to politically biased posting of bureaucrats in these agencies. Refurbishment of posting system through the officers of high integrity can recuperate accountability mechanism.
- Federal and Provincial Public Service Commissions must be transparent, independent and un-biased. Currently, it comprises of retired bureaucrats who have already worked in the same bureaucratic environment. This may promote favoritism to their colleagues, minimizing genuine chances of selection for brilliant candidates. This practice must be put to an end to convalesce public confidence, transparency and validity of recruitment process so that common man may enjoy the fruits of equity, justice and fair-play.

Conclusions

It is concluded that institution of bureaucracy has lost the skill, efficiency and competency which they inherited from the colonial legacy. Due to lack of research, coupled with superficial training environment, current lot of bureaucrats is incapable to comprehend the nature of formidable problems of poverty, social polarization, ethnicity and sectarianism, breakdown of law and order and economic regression. Decline in intellectual capacity has marred the prospects of governance parameters. Major institutes (National School of Public Policy and others) meant for training and professional development have badly failed in achieving the target of skilled and intellectually well-equipped bureaucrats to run the affairs of the state successfully. Irony of fate is that training institutes in the country are also run by the same clique of bureaucrats. How can a constricted mind in a morbid and nostalgic environment propound fresh and healthy ideas?

Politicization of bureaucracy debilitated this institution in different ways. Primacy of PAS officers during the current government resulted into politicization, bureau-politic bonhomie, institutional decay, arbitrary decision-making, corruption scandals, kick-back culture, white-collar crime and lack of accountability. Channelized corruption further aggravated the crisis. Bureau-politic nexus at federal and provincial level empowered bureaucrats with preeminent and decisive position in policy making. It made them unaccountable in the absence of proper checks and balances. Public policies continue to be formulated for vested interests of elite genre at the expense of public exchequer and heavy debt of foreign and domestic loans.

NOTES

- ¹ Hyden, Goran, et. al. In *Making Sense of Governance* (USA: Lynne Rienner Publisher, Inc., 2005): 12-28.
- ² Nicolas Berggruen and Nathan Gardels. *Intelligent governance for the 21st century: a middle way between West and East* (Cambridge: Polity, 2014): 107.
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CHALLENGES OF NATIONAL INTEGRATION IN PAKISTAN AND STRATEGIC RESPONSE

Syed Jawad Shah & Waseem Ishaque*

Abstract

National integration is the pursuit for harmony within the State. Irrespective of religion, race, creed, ethnic background and language, national integration binds every segment of society for a unified cause of serving and development of a nation state; therefore, it has great relevance and a direct bearing on national security. Integration is also a consistent development in which diverse sections of society are provided with identical prospects and equal rights to enjoy several amenities devoid of any discrimination. The process of national integration will be strengthened on the precondition that governance at national level should be able to provide strong sense of national identity and national pride by equal development and ensuring equal rights for all communities, regions and the federating units. The significant task confronted by the leaders of most of the post-colonial countries is to generate national identity out of varied linguistic, regional and cultural identities¹. A number of developing nations particularly in Africa and Asia are confronted with problems of national integration and Pakistan is no exception. This research article sketches out the theoretical aspects related to national integration and draws its relevance by identifying challenges and implications for Pakistan. In the last part, suggestions in the form of recommendations have been proffered for enhancing national integration in the country.

Keywords: National Integration, National Security, Nationalism, National Development

Introduction

The struggle launched by Muslims of India for a separate homeland under the banner of All India Muslim League and the charismatic leadership of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah succeeded on 14 August 1947 in the shape of a sovereign country, Pakistan, appearing on the world map.

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However, Pakistan commenced its life from infancy in an extremely challenging environment demanding enormous struggle for consolidation and survival. The task of nation building remained relegated and later on, driven by evolving circumstances, proved to be a very difficult process. Early deaths of the central leadership, financial and administrative difficulties in the 1950s, political instability and crises pulling the military in power, Indian aggressions of 1948 and 1965 and finally the dismemberment of the country in 1971; complicated the national integration process manifold and generated several issues, which later on pushed the nation into identity crises. On the internal front, sub-nationalist tendencies sponsored by foreign powers, socio-economic disparities, impact of Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and revolution in Iran were some of the regional factors which kept the governments distracted from core focus on internal issues through deliberate consultative and negotiated settlements. While national identity challenges as an Islamic state, moderate state, socialist state etc have also been contributory factors, socio-economic inequalities, political instability and rising trends of terrorism extremism are also additional deviators affecting the national integration in Pakistan.

Significance of Research Article

In the contemporary national and regional environment, Pakistan will be in a far better position to confront the challenges of the evolving strategic landscape if internal cohesion and harmony are capitalized for synergetic responses. Security forces and other state institutions with full support of the nation have responded to existing and emerging challenges in a befitting manner, however, many unaddressed socio-political and socio-economic factors have generated a degree of concern among the masses which needs to be addressed at priority for enhancing national integration and denying space to anti-state elements using the fissures as an excuse. This article is an effort to highlight existing challenges of national integration with suggested course of action for enhancing national harmony and integration. The article has been constructed by addressing following question:-

- What are the theoretical and conceptual aspects related to national integration for common understanding and comprehension of the subject at hand?
- What are the challenges of national integration in Pakistan from historical to contemporary times?
- What should be Pakistan's strategic response towards enhancing national integration?

Core Concepts Related to National Integration

To discuss the subject of national integration, it is pertinent to define related concepts which include nation, integrate and national integration.

Nation. The nation is described as a collection of people, sharing common traditions, customs, values and feelings and pursue shared objectives of national development². The nation is referred to an entity that has cultural and social underpinnings instead of legalistic insinuations³.

Integration. Integration means diverse collections within a dominion that are privileged by law with similar rights irrespective of their financial, social and educational background or regional associations. Integration is the process, under which all state institutions are struggling to provide uniform and equal attention to the residents of the state irrespective of their race, creed, and origin.⁴ Integration is therefore a continuously evolving process aimed at reinvigorating national rejuvenation and pride by establishing norms and commitment to pattern of political behavior⁵.

National Integration. National Integration is the determination of the people aimed at living together sharing traditions, ideals, culture, history, religion, language and customs etc.⁶ National integration can, therefore, be summarized as a sea containing rivers of diverse cultures and backgrounds blended together for a supreme cause of national harmony, unity and pride.

National Integration Models According to Different Sociological Perspectives

Assimilation Model. It is founded on social integration. Distinguishing cultures are blended to be incorporated with the national culture through a process of assimilation. The assimilation can be accomplished through socialization and abandoning of Socio-political cultural loyalties of various small ethnic groups, with their absorption into the major / dominant group. In an orderly transition, some willingly accept and adopt dominant culture, while others revolt if imposed forcefully by the state or dominant group. The overriding criteria remains the willing absorption and acceptance of assimilation process with the bigger aim of integrating into mainstream economic, political and social affairs in the country for even development and creating a harmonized society.

Differentialist Model. This is based on the perception to curtail the acquaintances with ethnic minorities. In this model, the conflicts are coped and resolved through a procedure of eradication of ethnic minorities⁷. Its manifestation has been witnessed during genocide in Rwanda, where 800,000 people were killed moreover apartheid policies in South Africa and segregation policy against African American in USA and to some extent post 9/11 policies against Muslim immigrants are few examples.

Pluralist Model. A pluralist society is described as a social order comprising segregated cultural groups living together, yet without blending in one political unit. One segment dominates the power and controls state institutions⁸. State practices are generally geared to accommodate the interests of the main ethnic groups.

Federalism Modal. This is another system which appreciates diversity within the federal structure of state and the federating units. The governments of federating units and the central government are acknowledged as legitimate and supreme establishments within respective jurisdictions. The common pronouncement of federalism is unity with diversity. Pakistan, Australia, India and Nepal are some of the examples of federalism.

Factors Affecting National Integration

Culture. Culture is described as "a way of life, especially the beliefs and customs of specific group of people at a particular time". National integration in multi-cultural societies has been an attempt to forge "*unity in diversity*", pursuing to minimize socio-cultural differences and implementing uniformity despite cultural diversity of even a complex nature.

Language. In multilingual civilizations and societies, language is an extremely important tool which has inbuilt paradox of unifying the nation by promoting national consciousness and unity or disintegrating the fabrics of society by creating a sense of alienation and marginalization. The traumatic incident of separation of East-Pakistan as Bangladesh had its origins in the language riots, which later transformed into full-fledged rebellion against the West Pakistan.

Religion. Religious harmony with interfaith dialogue and accommodation is an essential requirement for furthering national integration. Enduring harmony and sustainable national solidarity can only be built on ethical values which protect human dignity. Religious freedom is right of every citizen and earnest obligation of every government. This freedom must be ensured and respected, as it has enormous potential for national integration therefore; mutual respect and religious freedom have enormous potential for enhancing national integration.

Ethnicity. Ethnicity is a challenging factor, whose character is conflictual instead of being consensual. It is a conscious conduct established on identity or loyalty, which is aimed at advancing the interests of the group or the individuals. One example can be quoted from the United States, where diverse ethnic groups and nationalities of different backgrounds are blended together to form one American identity and shared values of enjoying equal democratic rights.

Challenges of National Integration for Pakistan

Having discussed the background and theoretical aspects of national integration, the stage is now set for the core subject, which relates to the challenges of national integration for Pakistan. This part comprehensively analyzes these challenges as they are presented as a result of strategic scan of domestic, regional and international environments.

Language Riots

After promulgation of Urdu as a national language of then united Pakistan, East Pakistanis strongly protested demanding Bengali as an official language for East Pakistan. This eventually became a political movement in 1952, however, its subsequent handling led to violent conflicts with security forces and ultimately triggered sequential events, which resulted in the dismemberment of Pakistan in 1971. The years between 1947 and 1971 were traumatic and highly destabilizing for the integration of federation. However the subsequent years were devoted towards consolidating the West Pakistan.

Regional Identities

Growing inclination towards regional identities instead of united Pakistan was another challenge. Pushtonistan in erstwhile Frontier Province, Sindhu Desh in Sindh Province and several sub-nationalist groups were operating in Balochistan. All such elements were supported by India, Afghanistan and other international agencies with the aim of keeping Pakistan in perpetual state of destabilization. While Pushtonistan and Sindhu Desh issues have been handled pragmatically by each successive government in Pakistan, however, sporadic incidents of attacks on innocent civilian and government installations in Balochistan are still going on at a low scale. While several political initiatives by the governments are appreciable, however, more efforts are required to take the reconciliation process to a logical conclusion.

Sub Nationalist Tendencies

Since the inception of Pakistan, the federation could not amicably settle issues of language or provincial status, which set the stage of sub nationalism in Pakistan. In due course, perceived oppressed nationalities and neglected provinces gave birth to a number of sub nationalist movements, which continued to appear on the national scene. Prolonged negligence, parochial political interests, tribal culture and weak governance, exploited by anti - state elements and abetted by their foreign supporters has given rise to sub - nationalism and a militant culture that thrive on vandalism and brutality threaten the social fabrics and national integration process in the country. The security force's operations since 2001 in Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and Raddul Fasad inside mainland Pakistan are cases in point, where the menace of terrorism is being persistently handled with full support of Pakistani nation.

Ideological Identity

After 68 years of independence, voices are still resounding that revolve around political and ideological construct of the State and the role that Islam has to play in it. As per Stephen P Cohen,

“The most significant struggle in Pakistan is not a civilizational clash between Muslims and non-Muslims but a clatter between diverse conceptions and interpretations of Islam, predominantly how Pakistan should implement Islamic identity in State's outlook”.

Unfortunately, the historical precedence empirically proves that Islamic ideology as founding father's vision, socialism during era of 1970s, Islamization during 1980s and moderate Islam during years 1999 onwards have kept us debating on the very fundamentals of our identity. As a result the policy makers remained embroiled in the issues which have become very sensitive, heatedly debated and have made the society intolerant, while distracting from other core issues affecting socio -economic prosperity and development. However Pakistan's ideology remains firmly rooted in its Islamic identity, such debates have invariably cast negativity and have been

a sources of persistent friction in the society and have kept the nation divided along religious-ethnic lines.

Sectarianism and Extremism

The underlying issue in Pakistan has been delegation of religious interpretation to *madrassa* trained clergy, which provided them the exclusivity and monopoly over religious issues. Matters worsened in post Afghan Jihad scenario, when due to indulgence of external players the religiously divisive forces thrived. Over a period of time, sectarianism has evolved as the most intricate challenge to Pakistan's security and stability. Seeds of conflict were sown when various religious denominations gave divergent interpretations of Islam and insisted on the sole validity of their respective understanding of faith. Instead of serving as a unifying force such myopic religious discourse has acted as a constituent of division and disharmony in Pakistani society⁹. Religion itself is not dogmatic and anti-innovation, however, discerning interpretations and extremist tendencies in individual behavior sharpened due to the West's attempt to brand Islam and post 9/11 interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq. Subsequent developments resulted in promoting extremism, militancy, terrorism and hatred within Pakistan further complicating the integration process.

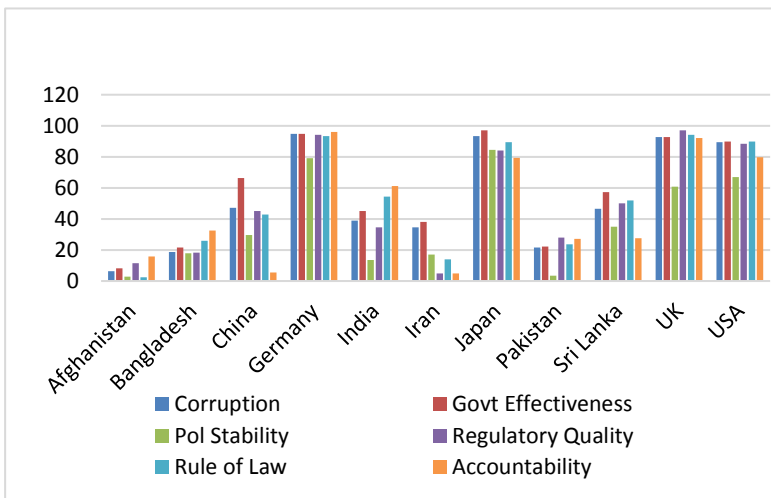
Governance and Economic Development

Weak governance in Pakistan is reflected in precarious law and order situation, social deficit, lack of equal opportunities for progress, development and disillusionment among the people.¹⁰ The situation has become even serious due to ongoing incidents of terrorism, though controlled to a large extent, yet sneaking opportunities are exploited by terrorists, which have affected the fabrics of society and have repeatedly generated heated media debates pointing fingers on the efficacy of security arrangements thus adding to frustration in the society. Delayed justice, inefficient institutions, rampant corruption and lack of accountability are some of the major contributory factors to the overall prevalent demoralization in the society creating breeding grounds for religious schisms and space for provincial and ethnic sentiments affecting the

harmony and integration. Additionally, imbalanced provision of resources, uneven infrastructural and industrial developments and lack of employment opportunities. All this resulted in uneven development, disparity in economic well-being of people and the created space was exploited by sub-nationalists sponsored by their foreign abettors. At the same time failure to address water distribution and energy resources coupled with demands for the right to royalty has further exacerbated the prosperity and integration of the country. Moreover, the disproportionate growth in population vis-à-vis national resources has

The disproportionate growth in population vis-à-vis national resources has unfavourable effects for economic development and gives rise to a number of social ills.

unfavourable effects for economic development and gives rise to a number of social ills. The lack of development especially in Balochistan and Tribal Areas, which are the poorest regions with under-developed infrastructure and lack of economic opportunities, therefore, poverty levels are highest in these areas. Thus lackadaisical approach by successive governments has generated alienation among the population and triggered militancy with serious consequences and repercussions affecting national integration.



World Bank - Worldwide Governance Indicators

Socio –Cultural Dimensions

Pakistan's national integration predicament has to take into account both macro and micro level politico-economic and social dimensions, which are disproportionate and unevenly distributed. Disparity between rich and poor, misuse of power, lawlessness, selective application of law and multiplicity of administrative mechanisms such as in FATA, PATA, FRs and Cat B Areas in Balochistan are breeding a culture of negativism in Pakistan. Heterogeneity in social, cultural and ethnic outlook are the main attributes of society in Pakistan. Ethnic divide in Pakistan has grown due to non-acceptance of cultural and linguistic heterogeneity, power struggle between dominant and non-dominant groups and problematic relations between center and provinces are major areas of concern. Moreover, Pakistani social life is further fragmented around family and kin. In certain traditional aspects, kinship forms the fundamental source of identity especially in remote regions across all the federating units in Pakistan, resulting in relegating the primacy of national interests.

International Dimensions

India has consistently sought to fan separatist tendencies and overt support to secessionist elements in Pakistan. The capture of Kalboshan from Balochistan and asylum request by Baramdagh Bugti and Harbiyar Murri for stay in India are testimony to Indian involvement in fueling sub nationalist propensities in Pakistan. The ongoing sectarian fissures in Islamic World is also casting negative aberrations affecting Pakistan's religious harmony. Moreover, delicate balancing between international alliances and sectarian management within the country is the need of time, which warrants extraordinary pragmatism in management of this religiously sensitive and politically explosive environment.

Concluding Reflections

The prevalent sectarianism and extremism exploited by external players has affected internal stability. If kept unchecked, it can tear apart the fabric of national cohesion even further. Self-serving interest groups based on

ethnic, social and cultural affinities are causing fragmentation in the society. Mismanagement in the governance has resulted in dysfunctional institutions leading to socio-economic disparities and prevalent sense of deprivation amongst neglected segments. Population growth and disproportionate economic opportunities are leading to despair and rise in social ills. In the absence of standardized judicial and administrative system, tribal and feudal culture has thrived.

Strategies for Enhancing National Integration

National Identity and Nationalism

There is no denying that Pakistan was created on the basis of Islam and Pakistani constitution respects religious freedom for all communities living here. The debate of form of Islam appropriate for the country should be discouraged and more focus should be given to development and socio-economic prosperity instead of embroiling into endless discussions. Every citizen should feel honoured in his love and affection for Pakistan, which must be generated through national songs, historical documentaries and instilling pride in being Pakistani. This warrants hectic activities, inclusive policies, across the board development and equal opportunities for all. It is recommended that all educational institutions from schools to universities must make comprehensive plans to rejuvenate the young generation and instill nationalism and national pride through curricular and co-curricular activities.

The relevant departments need to evolve a religious narrative against the sectarian and extremist interpretations.

Religious Harmony

Religious scholars should present Islam in true spirit and discourage sectarian sentiments. The relevant departments need to evolve a religious narrative against the sectarian and extremist interpretations. It is also recommended that extensive media programs should be organized, where religious scholars from across all sects and backgrounds should educate on

religious harmony, tolerance and instill integration rather than division on religious lines.

Political Stability

Democracy is the best form of governance and best type of the government for Pakistan. Political stability must continue at all costs. While the distribution of resources and the share in federal governance is presently tilted in favour of Punjab due to obvious reason of 60 % of population, however, the likely political impact has to be evaluated correctly by keeping the interests of smaller provinces at par. Though 18th Amendment has taken care of this issue to a greater satisfaction, yet it requires magnanimity and pragmatism on part of Punjab for the sake of national cohesion to sacrifice for under developed federating units. Extraordinary focus on Balochistan and Tribal Areas is required for poverty alleviation and removing past injustices to the people by granting special developmental packages. The most important aspect here is political reconciliation through two pronged approach i.e., dialogue and development. Substantial special development programs are to be started (despite NFC award, CPEC and Aghaz-e-Haqooq Balochistan) to uplift people's standards. Quota of Balochistan in Civil Service ensures a sense of participation in decision making but it has also proved to be a problem as the number of officers needed in Balochistan is not available on the basis of quota. Lateral entry on merit may be allowed to fill vacancies by the local residents. The province may also be given partial ownership in some federally administered enterprises like NSGP, PPL, Gwadar port etc.

Governance Issues

The Government working should include results oriented, incentivization of behaviour, development of guidelines for performance, ongoing accountability of all departments, devolved and decentralize powers, capacity building and changing the culture of bureaucracy. Further emphasis should be on delivery of basic services, provision of justice, and increasing efficiency. Many Reform Commissions reports on good governance are available; however, the overarching issues of political will

and capacity to implement reforms need to be addressed. It is also felt that the judicial system especially the lower judiciary should be revamped as provision of justice is fundamental pillar of national integration. Relegated and deprived segments of society should be given especial incentives for their eventual mainstreaming aimed at enhancing national integration of state. Social action programs for women empowerment, population control, health etc. are need of the hour. Problems of rising unemployment need to be tackled prudently and at priority.

Economic Development

Economic development eventually creates all sorts of prosperity for the nation. The consistent rise in GDP growth rate not only boosts trade etc, but also creates job markets, which ultimately absorb every segment of society through respectable employment opportunities. It is, therefore, necessary that we should bridge gap between various classes, areas and provinces through

Mega projects like CPEC should instead enhance national integration provided they are managed through pragmatic way.

equitable resource mobilization and distribution. Mega projects like CPEC should instead enhance national integration provided they are managed through pragmatic way. Secondly, the present taxation system needs complete overhauling. It has to be just, progressive, transparent and simple. And lastly, the tax to GDP ratio has to be increased by all international standards by implementation of friendly policies instead of regressive regime.

Reviving the Role of Media

Media should play more enhanced and effective role in cultural amalgamation. A strong counter sectarian and terrorism narratives have to be broadcasted. It may promote communal peace; counter the foreign media influence and promote the real soft image of Pakistan. Media code of conduct is in the right direction, but we should move towards legal framework to make it more accountable.

Conclusion

There are some serious challenges like sectarianism and governance issues. We need to give immediate attention to our education system and madrassa reforms. Balochistan is another weak area and needs dialogue and development to bring it back completely in the mainstream. However, despite many challenges, the centrifugal forces are weakening. We have taken a number of steps for provincial autonomy and economic development. We don't hear slogans of 'Sindhu Desh' and 'Pashtunistan' any more. We are moving in the right direction and hopeful for a better Pakistan. National Integration is not a one-time exercise, rather it is a continuous slow process and achieved over a long period of time. Dedicated efforts towards prosperity, sense of pride, harmony and national integration is the need of time, which must be pursued vigorously as a supreme national cause.

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CLIMATE CHANGE: IMPLICATIONS FOR PAKISTAN AND WAY FORWARD

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Abstract

Climate change, a global common with regional and national impact, has emerged as a significant challenge contributing to diverse aspects of national security. These range from impact on internal stability to different dimensions of human security each warrant specific responses under an overarching policy concept. Pakistan as a country is indexed for high vulnerability and diverse impact as witnessed in extreme climate change related events. Ministry of Climate Change formulated a national policy in 2012 to make Pakistan a climate change resilient country and outlined different areas of policy action. Five years on, it is appropriate now to reappraise the contributions of the policy while taking into account contemporary developments. Concurrently, different international and national initiatives are consistently being executed to enhance awareness of the recurrent effects of climate change. This paper aims to contribute towards analyzing the impact of climate change on different aspects of national security and suggest a way forward for Pakistan.

Keywords: Climate Change, Stability, Vulnerability, Global Phenomenon

Introduction

“All across the world, in every kind of environment and region known to man, increasingly dangerous weather patterns and devastating storms are abruptly putting an end to the long-running debate over whether or not climate change is real. Not only is it real, it's here, and its effects are giving rise to a frighteningly new global phenomenon: the man-made natural disaster”.

- Barack Obama, April. 3, 2006

Over the years, the phenomenon of climate change has evolved from an environmental issue to a serious security challenge, which is currently being debated as a security as well as development challenge around the globe. In the present day national security settings, climate change adds new hostile and stress factors which have serious consequences. Climate change, if not combated effectively can act as a catalyst for adverse political

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and social change. Pakistan is already facing multiple security and development challenges and an addition of climate change is likely to make the matrix even more complex. Therefore, a collective effort by state, society and international community is indispensable. If a state is fragile and society is not able to cope with climatic hazards, it results in environmental stress; which if exploited by hostile forces can generate negative societal consequences. Pakistan's vulnerability can be assessed from its huge population of 180 million of which nearly 54 Million are food deficient.²

Our youth is increasingly being affected by calorie insufficiency in their daily diet. Moreover, floods and droughts threaten agriculture; scarcity of water carries the potential to gravely affect human security. At the same time, societal capacity is adversely affected by extremely low human development index, poverty and societal fissures. Climate change is particularly a real national security threat however, there exists no proper research and policy framework on the subject. This paper attempts to deepen the knowledge and suggest policies and interventions to facilitate the process and combat it at all levels.

Climate Change: A Global Phenomenon

Climate change is impacting every region of the globe, but in Africa and Asia, the vulnerability is much higher. Most of the world's undernourished people 850 million live here.³ Spread of viral and vector-borne diseases, such as dengue, hepatitis and malaria are rampant. In Africa, according to an estimate, 600 million people would be water stressed by 2050⁴. In Asia, increasing floods would affect more than a billion people by 2050, while agriculture produce could fall by 50% by 2020⁵. In Central Asia alone about 10,000 sq km of desert is created every year⁶. Poverty, resource scarcity and lack of capacity accentuates national security concerns due to existing fault-lines, mistrust and exploitation of water resources leading to fissures, unrest and conflicts. Darfur is a prime example, where conflict began as an ecological crisis, partly from climate change, fuelled by a 20-year Sahelian drought. Climate change was seen as a stress factor in Arab Spring too, as rising food prices aggravated regional turmoil when political instability and

socio-economic fissures were already rife.⁷ Changes in precipitation patterns have caused dry regions to get drier and wet ones to get wetter, resulting in floods, desertification, droughts and lower crop yields. Globally 12 million hectares of land is lost every year, resulting in multiple human and physical security issues⁸. During last five years, Pakistan witnessed frequent and devastating floods and continuous droughts, mainly in Sindh and Baluchistan. It is time to adopt early prevention strategies to deal with this emerging security challenge. Political, military actions and mobilization of financial resources would play central role to deal with these challenges. More research on security dimensions of climate change will play a vital role to reshape and modify Pakistan's adaptation plan according to emerging human security needs and demands.

Climate Change Indicators in Pakistan

Environment and climate change are inextricably linked to sustainable development. Pakistan requires greater progress in environmental protection. Water scarcity is increasing, land productivity is decreasing and climate change is worsening these threats. The risk of natural disasters, exacerbated by climate change as well as economic shocks, is adding to existing vulnerabilities.⁹ Climate change is inevitable and is a prospective 'Threat Multiplier' for Pakistan's national security as Pakistan is placed very high in Climate Risk and Vulnerability. In recent years, visible changes in Pakistan's hydrological cycle have been observed in the form of:-

- Changing precipitation pattern
- Droughts
- Water availability periods
- Frequency and intensity of heat waves
- Precipitation events
- Weather-induced natural disasters

Precipitation over Pakistan has increased on an average of 25%. However, no significant change is expected in annual precipitation in near future. It is projected that climate change will increase the variability of monsoon rains resulting in increased frequency and severity of floods and

droughts. Pakistan contributes very little (135th) to Green House Gases (GHGs) but remains one of the most vulnerable countries¹⁰. It contributes only about 0.8% of the total global GHG emissions. Moreover, total estimated area under forest cover is around 4.22 million hectares, which comprises of 4.8% of total landmass¹¹.

Key Features of Climate Change Policy of Pakistan

Climate change is not only a development challenge, but also a development opportunity. In order to cope with the challenge and tap the opportunity, the Ministry of Climate Change has prepared a National Climate Change Policy (NCCP) approved by the Federal Cabinet in September 2012¹². Later on, a Framework for Implementation of National Climate Change Policy was developed in 2013¹³. Broader goal of the climate change policy is to ensure that climate change is mainstreamed in the economically and socially vulnerable sectors of economy to steer the country towards climate resilient development, whereas implementation framework includes all those things, which are doable and implementable. Adaptation, mitigation, and transfer of technology are the major areas, which require policy interventions. Provision of finance, capacity building, and raising awareness are the other important areas, which also require due attention.¹⁴

Adaptation and Mitigation are two key methods to respond to climate change. In adaptation, water resources, agriculture, livestock, health, forestry, biodiversity, disaster preparedness, vulnerable ecosystems and socio-economic measures are the key sectors which require policy interventions. Under mitigation, energy, transport, agriculture, livestock, forestry, town planning and waste management are the major areas needing policy interventions. International community is keen in mitigation measures, but Pakistan should focus more on adaptation measures. Pakistan needs to position itself and present its case to the developed world to secure adaptation funding. It should ensure the access and effective use of opportunities available internationally for adaptation and mitigation

through Green Climate Fund (GCF), Clean Development Mechanism (CDM), Adaptation Fund (AF), Global Environmental Facility (GEF), World Bank's Forest Carbon Partnership Facility (FCPF), and Carbon Credit Trading (CCT). Establishing Pakistan Climate Change Fund is essential to finance climate change

Pakistan needs to position itself and present its case to the developed world to secure adaptation funding.

related projects. Efforts should be made to push for transparent delivery of new and additional fast start funding by the developed countries. There is a need to develop public-corporate-civil society partnerships for financing and the implementation of climate change adaptation and mitigation projects. There should be a procedure/system in place to create domestic carbon market opportunities by introducing an appropriate investment framework linked with regional banking institutions. Pakistan's Government has formed a National Climate Change Policy Implementation Committee to ensure an effective implementation of National Climate Change Policy & Action Plans and to oversee progress in this regard. Tasks of the committee include regular monitoring and upgrading of the National Climate Change Policy after every five years.¹⁵ The composition of the committee is as under:

- Federal Minister for Climate Change (Chairman)
- Secretaries for the ministries of Climate Change and Planning and Development, Foreign Affairs, Science and Technology, Industries and Production, Finance, Water and Power, Food and Agriculture, Health and Defense
- Member Infrastructure of Planning Commission, Additional Chief Secretaries of Provincial Planning and Development Departments
- Chairman of National Disaster Management Authority (NDMA), Federal Flood Commission
- Secretaries of Provincial, AJK, GB, FATA Environment Departments

- Heads of Pakistan Meteorological Department (PMD), Global Change Impact Studies Centre (GCISC), Pakistan Environmental Protection Agency (Pak-EPA), National (Pakistan) Energy Conservation Center
- Chief of Environment, Planning and Development Division
- Three representatives from the corporate sector, Chambers of Commerce and Industries
- Three eminent experts from the field
- Three representatives from civil society organizations
- Director-General of Climate Change.¹⁶

After 18th Amendment, confusion prevails among institutions and provinces as to who will implement the policy. Therefore, provinces can develop their separate provincial climate change policies based on national climate change policy and adapt the best practices. Following are salient features of national climate change policy:¹⁷

- To pursue sustained economic growth by appropriately addressing the challenges of climate change
- To integrate climate change policy with other inter-related national policies
- To focus on pro-poor, gender sensitive adaptation, while promoting mitigation to the extent possible in a cost-effective manner
- To ensure water security, food security and energy security of the country in the face of challenges posed by climate change
- To minimize the risks arising out of the expected increase in frequency and intensity of extreme weather events such as floods, droughts and tropical storms
- To strengthen inter-ministerial decision-making and coordination mechanisms on climate change
- To facilitate an effective use of opportunities, particularly financial, available nationally and internationally

- To foster the development of appropriate economic incentives to encourage public and private sector investment in adaptation measures
- To enhance the awareness, skill and institutional capacity of relevant stakeholders
- To promote conservation of natural resources and long-term sustainability.

Climate Change as a Determinant of Security and Development

Pakistan's three major climate challenges are related to floods, drought and sea intrusion. The consequences are water and food scarcity, health issues and population displacement. Cognizant of these threats, government has taken some significant steps to address the issues like establishment of Global Change Impact Studies Centre (GCSIC). Vision 2025 also highlights resource scarcity issues among others, but the linkage with consequences of climate change and its negative impact needs amplification.¹⁸ The phenomenon of smog in Pakistan during winters has increased over the past 15 years.

India's share is 98% of total South Asian coal consumption with high ash content and low heating value, and is the biggest contributor to

Societal capacity is adversely affected by extremely low human development index, poverty and societal fissures.

this phenomenon. It affects human health, crops and forests besides having mortifying impact on environment. Societal capacity is adversely affected by extremely low human development index, poverty and societal fissures. Restraint and civility can quickly perish when people are confronted with imperious necessity. Environmental stress in Pakistan is more pronounced due to limited capacities of the state and society to cope. Confronted with a hostile neighbour, ever ready to exploit our internal vulnerabilities, climate change becomes a serious threat to Pakistan's national security. In Pakistan, most of the socially vulnerable segments reside in areas that are more prone to climatic hazards, resulting in pronounced impact. Balochistan and KPK,

with very low human development and high deprivation indices, are a case in point wherein another major disaster can prove to be a tipping point. In physical security, we have witnessed several disasters in recent decades.

Implications for Pakistan

- **Food Security.** The Himalayan and Karakorum glaciers will retreat in the next 3 to 4 decades¹⁹, increasing flows in the Indus River System. Thereafter, it will reduce by 30 to 40%, threatening food and livelihood security of the Indus Basin Irrigation System dependants, besides impacting 95% of total irrigated land. 4,544 ha agriculture land has been destroyed along Humbas Wali creek since 1952.²⁰ This area was irrigated through Ochito River by regular flow of Indus River up to 1960s.
- **Public Health.** Climate change induces extreme temperatures, and rainfall events may cause increasing incidents of diarrheal and many vector borne and viral diseases. An alarming 20,000 got affected by Dengue in 2011. Since then Punjab, the central province, has harnessed it well while the situation in other two provinces is worrisome. A significant increase in epidemics would be a dire consequence bearing heavy price tags.
- **Water Security.** Pakistan is extremely short of fresh water resources. It is a Water-stressed country and water availability heading towards less than 1000 cubic meter/y by 2035 as predicted in World Bank report 2006. Pakistan's primary sources of water are rainfall (50 million acre feet) by monsoon and westerly winds and river inflows (141million acre feet) in the Indus River System fed by glaciers and snowmelt from the Hindukush-Karakoram-Himalayas. Water scarcity by 2030 would impact agricultural productivity and exacerbate food insecurity, threatening trans-boundary conflicts.

- **Coastline's Inundation.** As a result of rising sea level, large scale inundation of coastline and recession of flat sandy beaches, upstream incursion of saline water in the Indus delta, and risk to mangroves, coral reefs and breeding grounds of fish are expected. There is an enhanced risk to life and property in coastal areas due to increased intensity of tropical cyclones, combined with sea level rise; high risk for Karachi, the southern coastal mega city, and other coastal areas of Sindh-Makran coast.²¹
- **Rise in Sea Level.** There is proof of rise of sea level along the Pakistan coast which would have following implications:-²²
 - Erosion of coastal regions
 - Coastal plain flooding and wetland
 - Deltaic plains inundation
 - Salinization of aquifers and soils
 - Loss of habitation for wildlife, fish, birds, and plants.
- **National Security.** The destabilizing effects of droughts, storms, floods and intense weather could overwhelm disaster-response/management capabilities of a government or state. Pakistan has witnessed recurring floods and droughts in recent decades.

Policy Recommendations for International, Regional and National Levels

International Level

It is a reality that Pakistan is suffering from "climate injustice." While the developed world has been the major contributor to damaging the climate, the major sufferer is the developing world as the entire globe has been affected. Pakistan

Pakistan stands badly affected particularly when the availability and efficacy of coping or mitigating mechanisms are factored in.

stands badly affected particularly when the availability and efficacy of coping or mitigating mechanisms are factored in. Therefore, there is a need and an

opportunity for countries to work together. Following should be done in this regard:-

- The international community should provide a platform to all developing / under developed countries and engage them to actively participate at international fora to highlight the impact of climate change on their national security, especially for countries like Pakistan, Nepal, India, Bangladesh etc.
- Provide access to Global Environmental Facility through training and workshops.
- Transferring internationally available technology and providing transfer and capacity building opportunities through:-²³
 - Green Climate Fund; US\$ 30 billion per annum
 - Clean Development Mechanism (CDM)
- It should be the responsibility of major powers to ensure that participation at these forums should be at an appropriate level with adequate specialist representation to enable significant contributions for the country
- All the climate change affected countries especially Pakistan must strategize as per 2015 Conference of the Parties (COP21) conference under auspices of United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change held in Paris from 30 November to 11 December 2015.²⁴

Regional Level

Conservation of aquatic ecosystems, trans-boundary bio-diversity zones, automated network of weather stations and regular and systematic sharing of scientific data through:-

- Regional Cooperation and Knowledge Exchange through SAARC Convention on Cooperation Environment
- Adoption of eco-friendly approaches and technologies, South Asia could emerge as a world leader in low carbon technology.
- Effective regional programs in early warning, preparedness and management including response and rehabilitation like SAARC

Agreement on Rapid Response to Natural Disasters must be initiated in the region

National Level

For effective adaptation, mitigation and disaster management four major areas need to be worked on. Raising awareness, organizational and institutional adjustments, capacity building and infrastructure development are a priority.

- **Awareness.** Immediate action is required for raising awareness through targeted media and publicity campaigns to highlight the threats of climate change and its implications. Training and mobilizing local communities may be carried out for better disaster preparedness. Local government and NGOs would be required to cooperate in building awareness, particularly among the farming communities and in poor urban areas.
- **Organizational and Institutional Initiatives.** Organizational and institutional initiatives at the national level can be undertaken in short term through strengthening the Climate Change Division and making it more efficient as well as accountable. This will also help decentralize the Division giving it greater freedom to accomplish assigned tasks.
- **Capacity Building.** The institutions working on climate change must address human resource requirements for numerical modeling and climate system dynamics. It must be ensured by the Government that universities offer courses at graduate and post-graduate level on dynamics of climate system and related sciences. Moreover, irrigation system needs to be improved by introducing sprinkler and drip irrigation at a larger scale. Adequate funding for this is needed. Hence government policies have to encourage the use of modern and more efficient irrigation systems.
- **Infrastructural Development.** At the Federal level, for floods, drought and sea intrusion mitigation, Diamer-Bhasha, Akhori, Munda and Kalabagh dams are essential as we have very less

capacity in our country. These dams will provide regulated flow down the Indus deltaic area to counter sea intrusion and help in ecological preservation and saving livelihood of local inhabitants. Provincial and local governments need to be mobilized to ensure effective implementation. The harvesting of rain water at provincial and district level is needed to counter water scarcity and to charge sub-surface water. Government should incentivize household and small business for solar energy utilization and integrate excess generation with the national grid.

Conclusion

The uncertain and unpredictable nature of climate change poses an added challenge to policy makers who are tuned to making decisions based upon historical and known denominators. Resources remained a challenge. The international security environment writ large will face threats and pressures from climate change. Climate change, interacting with other risks to international security, is likely to have the greatest impact on unstable, conflict-prone, and strategically-significant regions. Political and demographic realities, combined with climate change, food and water insecurity, suggest that the Middle East, North, East and Central Africa, as well as certain nations in Central Asia, will face significant security risks from a changing climate. However, a growing coastal and urban population in the broader Asia-Pacific region, coupled with projected climate change-exacerbated stresses on water security, means that the nations of the Asia-Pacific are also particularly vulnerable to climate change effects. A rapidly-melting Arctic and shifting geopolitical dynamics in the area (including a worsening relationship between Russia and its Arctic neighbors) could combine to increase geopolitical tensions in a relatively stable area. Sea level rise also constitutes an existential threat to low-lying island nations. In identifying future climate-security “hotspots,” however, a better integration of climate and natural resources stressing into our analyses of state fragility is needed. Climate Change challenge that we are facing could be turned into a new opportunity based on cleaner

technology and a low-carbon economy. If we proactively use this opportunity, we will be able to turn the climate change issue into a new economic opportunity that advances sustainable development and encourages new kinds of cleaner technologies, industries and jobs. In this, we need partnerships between public and private sectors as well as civil society to bring about a paradigm shift not just formulation of policies. And most importantly, Pakistan needs national solidarity based upon genuine partnership at national and international levels. However, these threat multipliers test the ability of governments to take bold decisions that would prepare a nation to effectively combat negative impacts of climate change on its national security.

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ERADICATION OF POVERTY THROUGH EMPOWERMENT OF PEOPLE

Manzoor Ahmed & Shahzad Hussain*

“And (the righteous) give food – however great be their own want of it – unto the needy, and the orphan, and the captive, (saying in their hearts), we feed you for the sake of God alone: we need no recompense from you, nor thanks: behold, we stand in awe of our Sustainer’s judgment on a distressful, fateful day.”

Al-Quran (76: 7-10)¹

Abstract

Pakistan is counted among the countries which have a large portion of population living below poverty line. Poverty is a world-wide phenomenon, but South Asia is home to 44% of the poor of the world. Several approaches to address the predicament of poverty have been explored by economists, intellectuals and experts. There is, by and large, a consensus among contemporary economists that ‘empowerment of people’ through education, adequate professional and citizenship skills, is a more sustainable and assured path towards reduction of poverty in any society. The paper in hand aims at analyzing the existing state of poverty in Pakistan, major weaknesses in policy-prioritization in our country and their effects on the society. The underlying assumption of the study is that ‘empowerment of people’ is a pre-requisite for alleviation of poverty. The paper argues that the policy-makers, intelligentsia and media should work towards a fundamental shift in prioritization of policies, which should focus more on investment in ‘human capital’. The strength of any nation lies in its citizens, not in weapons and arsenal. The citizens with sound education and adequate citizenship skills are a reliable guarantee of national security and pride.

Keywords: Poverty, Empowerment, Human Development, Sustainable.

Introduction

Pakistan is ranked the sixth most populous country in the world and fourth in Asia.² It is counted among those countries of the world, which have huge number of people living below poverty line. Whatever criterion we apply to measure the magnitude of poverty in Pakistan, the fact remains

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that the situation is far from being satisfactory. Asia, as whole, is a home to over 1.4 billion people; approximately a quarter of the humanity lives in this part of the world. According to World Bank's latest estimates about 649.6 million people in the South Asian region survive on less than \$1.25 a day and they make up 44% of the developing world's poor. It has been estimated that 22.6% of Pakistan's population lives below poverty line.³ This rampant poverty is despite of the fact that there has been substantial economic growth in South Asian countries for the last two decades. Illiteracy, hunger, diseases and natural catastrophes have been wide-spread in this region, which are sufficient to make the lives of the people hell on the earth, let alone wars, proxy wars, sabotages and unabated violence, which are fast converting this region to a non-livable habitat. "The battle for human development is going to be won or lost mainly in Asia, because that is where 70% of the developing world's people live."⁴

Poverty is no more seen as an absence of means to earn two times meal a day, though hunger still remains a major challenge that both the developing and least developed countries of the world are confronted with. Wide-spread poverty in Pakistan appears to be a major factor behind a number of social evils and crimes in the society. Despite reasonable economic growth rate in Pakistan since early 1960s, all human development indicators in our country present a dismal picture. It is assumed that the main reason of rampant poverty in Pakistan has been the lack of focus on human development.

The paper in hand aims at distillation of existing state of human development and poverty in Pakistan with a view to suggest appropriate

Empowerment of the people through education and adequate citizens' skills, is a sustainable path towards poverty alleviation.

measures for the empowerment of the people. The functional hypothesis of the study is that empowerment of the people through education and adequate citizens' skills, is a sustainable path towards poverty

alleviation. Owing to time constraints, no primary data could be collected to find empirical evidence for the study in hand. However, extensive use of

existing data has been made, both from domestic as well as international sources, to investigate the key policy areas, which have a bearing on human development issues in Pakistan. The study unfolds with theoretical debate on various concepts of poverty alleviation and human development, followed by existing state of human development in Pakistan, the effects of poverty on our society and suggested measures for the empowerment of the people.

Poverty and Empowerment of People – The Conceptual Paradigms

Poverty is generally defined as “a denial of opportunities and fulfillment of human potential.”⁵ Dr Amartya Sen (1983) says that the American President Roosevelt said on 6th January 1941, during the peak time of World War-II, that “in future days we look forward to a world founded upon four essential freedoms, including the freedom from want.”⁶ Thereafter, ‘poverty’ became one of the major themes of post-World War era.⁷ The debate that ensued contained great uncertainties as to how the phenomenon of poverty should be conceptualized. It generally revolved around ‘absolute versus relative poverty’ and ‘a cut-off line versus poverty of opportunities’. “Poverty primarily consists of two elements; a narrowly defined one i.e. ‘income poverty’ and the more broadly defined i.e. ‘human poverty’, referred to by Dr Mahbub-ul-Haq as “the poverty of opportunities”.⁸ The World Bank prescribed in 2005 the international poverty line as 1.25 a-days per person, based on the prices of that year, which is still cited a yardstick in most of economic surveys.⁹ Poverty is a global phenomenon, spreading over all the continents. However, South Asia is considered as the poorest and yet the most militarized region of the world. One fifth humanity and 44% of the poor live in this part of the world. According to World Bank’s latest estimates about 650 billion people in South Asia survive on less than \$ 1.25 a day.¹⁰

Approaches to address the predicament of poverty are also diverse. The concept that social systems must be judged by the extent that they contribute towards the promotion of “human good” dates back to Greeks.

Aristotle argued that “wealth is evidently not the good we are seeking, for it is merely useful for the sake of something else.”¹¹ Immanuel Kant, the famous German philosopher, advocated for the dignity of human beings. He said, “so act as to treat humanity, whether in their own person or in that of any other, in every case an end withal, never as means only.”¹² The ‘economic growth’ model propounds that the best answer to socio-economic problems is to let the free market economy function, which has sufficient capacity to correct its own inefficiencies. The *laissez-faire*¹³ economy brings about increased productivity, which will automatically reduce poverty, by trickle-down effect. But it does not mean that liberal economists were less conscientious of the plight of the poor. When Adam Smith, the father of free market economy, said that economic development should enable an individual, to mix freely with others, without being “ashamed to appear in public”, he was conveying a concept of poverty that would go beyond counting calories, emphasized Mahbub-ul-Haq.¹⁴ He further asserts; “the basic purpose of development is to enlarge people’s choices. The objective of development is to create an enabling environment for people to enjoy long, healthy and creative lives.”¹⁵ It also goes to the credit of Mahbub-ul-Haq that he was the one who highlighted the basic flaw in the growth model of poverty alleviation. He said that “a link between growth and human lives has to be created consciously, through deliberate public policy; such as public spending on social services and fiscal policy to re-distribute income and assets. This link may not exist in the automatic workings of the market-placer, which can further marginalize the poor.”¹⁶ Amartya Sen also advocated human well-being oriented development. He said, “Food production is indeed important component of solving the problems of hunger in the modern world. But much else also needs to be done, included among other things:

- Enhancement of general economic growth
- Expansion of employment and decent rewards for work
- Diversification of production
- Enhancement of medical and health care

- Arrangement of special access to food on the part of vulnerable people (including deprived mothers and small children), spread of education and literacy
- Strengthening of democracy and the news media
- Reduction of gender-based inequalities.¹⁷

Progress and development in the recent times of welfare economics is not considered sustainable, unless it takes into account the human factor.

Deplorable Human Development Indicators in South Asia

The objective of development is to create an enabling environment for people to enjoy long, healthy and creative lives. It should aim at enlarging the choices of the people.¹⁸ The development in Pakistan and India did not help a large portion of their populations to better their lives. The South Asian countries, barring Sri Lanka, are at the bottom in all human development indicators vis-à-vis education, health, human rights, gender equality, child protection and environment. They may, however, be slightly better than Sub-Saharan countries. The largest HIV/AIDS affected population has been reported in India, whereas, Pakistan and Afghanistan have been declared fast affected regions from Malaria and Polio. The number of malnourished children in the region as a whole rose from 283 million in 1990 to 314 million in 2005.¹⁹ The official statistics of South Asian countries indicate that 21.6 million children, aged between 5 to 14 years, are in the working class, whereas, they should be in schools.²⁰

There are eight MDGs to be achieved by 2015, which seems to be, at present, a far cry:-

- Eradication of extreme poverty and hunger
- Achievement of universal primary education
- Promotion of gender equality and women's empowerment
- Reduce child mortality
- Improve maternal health
- Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, tuberculosis and polio
- Promotion of environmental sustainability

- Develop a global partnership for development

There is a huge unemployed young population in South Asia, which is vulnerable to negative tendencies, including crimes and terrorism. Food

The food shortage per se is not a problem at present, but the buying power of the poor is the most inhibiting factor.

insecurity is yet another fault-line of South Asian region. According to the World Food Programme Report 2012, around one billion people go hungry every day in the world; a large portion

of them belongs to South Asia. There is a serious inequality in land and income distribution. The food shortage *per se* is not a problem at present, but the buying power of the poor is the most inhibiting factor.

Existing human development indicators pose a serious challenge to the South Asian nations, particularly Pakistan and India, as reflected in (Table-1).²¹

Table-1: Population of South Asia Living Below Poverty Line

Country	Total Population in 2011 (in Millions)	Population Living Below Poverty Line (in Millions), 2009 i.e. on less than \$1.25	Percentage of the Population Living Below Poverty Line	Human Development Index (HDI) Ranking, 2011
India	1241	516.4	41.6	134
Bangladesh	150.7	74.3	49.6	146
Pakistan	176.9	40.0	22.6	145
Nepal	30.5	16.8	55.1	142
Maldives	0.3	4,500 (Four thousand five hundred only)	1.5	109
Bhutan	0.7	n.a. (not available)	26.2	141
Afghanistan	32.4	n.a.	n.a.	172
Sri Lanka	20.9	2.0	7.0	97

Source: 'Population and Environmental Issues in South Asia'. South Asian Survey, 2013.

In a rapidly globalized world, the choices are simple: continue with current approach and experience the gradual decay and entropy, or come

out of the 'security fixes' and join hands for a better and prosperous future. *"It is essential today that South Asian economies prepare their own national human development strategies, cost them fully and reflect them in their investment and budget frameworks. They should consider freezing their military spending, to release additional resources for human development."*²² This all will, however, never happen, unless the leadership in Pakistan and India is able to move at an accelerated pace to resolve all the irritants in the way of their mutual relations, in tandem with progress on economic integration, increased social contacts and joint research and development programmes.

Security Dilemma of South Asia - An Unending Arms Race

Wars, conflict and violence have been pandemic to South Asia, a region comprising one fifth of humanity, leading many experts and analysts to call it 'the most dangerous place on earth'.²³ The security dilemma of South Asia, primarily caused by the non-resolution of Kashmir Issue, is sapping the foundations of the South Asian countries, particularly Pakistan and India, which are dwindling huge resources on military expenditures, instead of economic progress and development (Table-2). Both the countries increased last year their military budgets by 15.7% and 21% respectively, amounting to \$6.3 billion in the case of Pakistan and \$38.6 billion in the case of India per annum. India is, in fact, now in the top fifteen military spenders in the world. It indicates the paradox of Indian growth miracle; that whatever progress India has made in the economic sector in the last two decades was doled out for military imports. India is now the largest importer of weapons and military hardware in the world. Lodhi, the former Ambassador of Pakistan to the United States, expresses her concern about growing Indian military expenditures in these words: "If the past is any guide, the future is fraught with risk. Within a year of its nuclear explosion, India unveiled an ambitious nuclear doctrine i.e. 'Cold Start Doctrine'. The fact that it also increased its massive defence budget by 28 percent – an increase larger than Pakistan's entire defence

Whatever progress India has made in the economic sector in the last two decades was doled out for military imports.

budget – to fuel its indigenous strategic and conventional programmes as well as military acquisitions, demonstrates that New Delhi is already working to implement this strategic doctrine.”²⁴China, another economic giant located in the proximity of South Asia, is the second largest military spender in the world, spending \$115.7 billion.²⁵

Table-2: The World Military Spending: The Share of South Asia

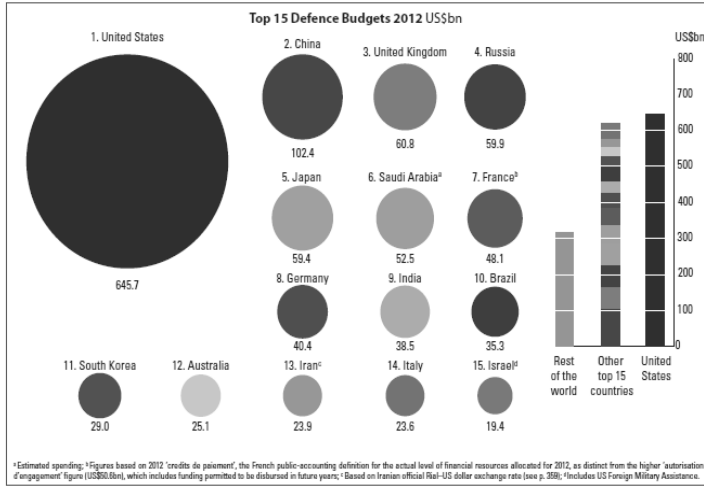
THE MAIN IMPORTERS AND EXPORTERS OF MAJOR ARMS2008-12				
S.No	Exporter	Global Share (%)	Importer	Global Share (%)
1.	USA	30	India	12
2.	Russia	26	China	6
3.	Germany	7	Pakistan	5
4.	France	6	South Korea	5
5.	China	5	Singapore	4
6.	UK	4	Algeria	4
7.	Spain	3	Australia	4
8.	Italy	2	USA	4
9.	Ukraine	2	UAE	3
10.	Israel	2	Saudi Arabia	3

Source: SIPRI Year Book 2013.

Over all, South Asian nations and China are spending about \$350-400 billion on defence related expenditures every year. The International Military Balance surveys the state of defence expenditures of China and South Asia in the following words: “China’s defence developments are fuelled by continuing military spending and substantial increases, with an 8.3% increase in real defence spending between 2011 and 2012. In Asia, as a whole, real defence spending rose by 2.44% in 2011, and the pace accelerated to 4.94% in 2012. Indeed, 2012 saw Asian defence spending (at current prices and exchange rates, and excluding Australia and New Zealand) overtakes that of NATO European states for the first time.”²⁶ **Figure-1** depicts the stark reality.

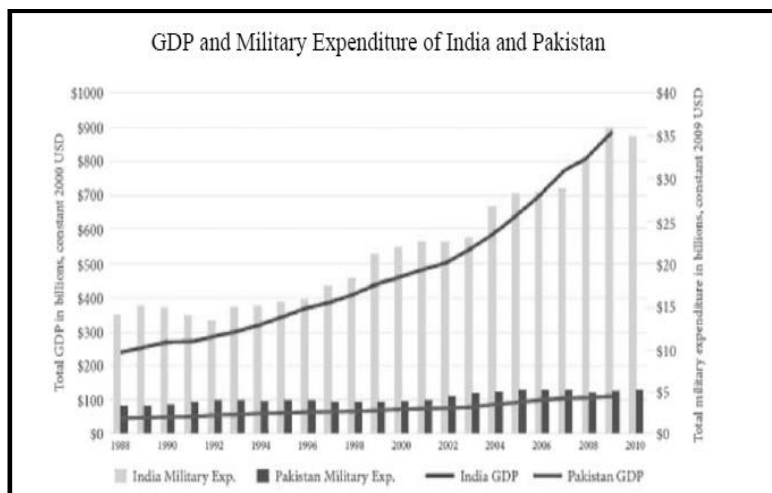
Figure-1: The Trends of Military Spending from 2011 to 2012

Comparative defence statistics



Source: The Military Balance, Chapter Two: Comparative Defence Statistics, Published online: 14 Mar 2013. (Accessed through <http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/tmib20>).

Pakistan’s military expenditures have, by and large, been constant for the last two decades (Figure-2), but even these could be directed towards the betterment of the lives of people, if there were an atmosphere of peace and stability in South Asia. The insightful Indian analysts point out, without failing, that the persistent increase in defence budgets does not make Pakistan and India more secure. In fact, the reverse is true. “In a classic illustration of the security dilemma, the Indian preponderance has led to greater Pakistani insecurity. The almost constant Pakistani search for security against the perceived Indian threat has, in turn, created insecurity for India. Both arms races and international crises in the region owe a great deal to the mutual insecurities created by this attempt to achieve security through military strength.”²⁷

Figure-2: GDP and Military Expenditure of India and Pakistan

Source: An Introduction to Pakistan's Military. Belfour Center for Science and International Affairs, 2011.

European countries, in contrast, have made significant progress towards the reduction of military expenditures, mainly due to evolution of collective security arrangements. Europe fought wars after wars, including the two most devastating World Wars ever witnessed by the mankind, mainly due

The leaders in the post World War-II Europe emerged as statesmen and evolved a system of collective security, wherein no one could suspect the intentions of the other.

to narrowly defined national interests. The lesson they learnt was to put an end to the wars and join hands to usher in an era of collective progress, development and prosperity.

The process of economic integration was taken as a panacea for conflicts. The leaders in the post World War-II Europe emerged as statesmen and evolved a system of collective security, wherein no one could suspect the intentions of the other. At the end of Cold War, the Westphalia state structures were further replaced by 'secure but open borders', where the movement of men, knowledge and the goods of collective utility could be continued unhindered. South Asia in comparison, somehow, pre-empts any

sort of regional cooperation, which could foster an atmosphere of peace and tranquility.²⁸

Prudence demanded that scarce natural and human resources should have been spent for the collective good of the humanity, what ensued instead was the race for armament, resulting in piling up of conventional and unconventional weapons, atom bombs, and huge standing armies, which consume the major chunk of economic resources, leaving little room to ameliorate the plight of the people of this region. It is, therefore, not surprising that South Asia is the poorest and yet the most militarized region in the world.²⁹ “We need today a new concept of human security”, said Dr Mahbubul Haq as earlier as in 1995, “the security reflected in the lives of the people, not in the weapons of their countries. Human security is not a concern with weapons. It is a concern with human dignity.”³⁰

The Impact of Arms Race on General Public

There is no extraordinary wisdom required to understand the negative impact of militarization in South Asia, leading to un-ending arms race, on the lives of people in the region. In a simple tradeoff between ‘guns and butter’, the guns are being preferred on the basic needs of human beings. Who is the real beneficiary of this arm race, **Table-3** clearly depicts.

Table-3: THE 10 LARGEST ARMS – PRODUCING COMPANIES 2011

S.No	Company	Arms Sales (\$ m)	Profit (\$ m)
1.	Lockheed Martin	36270	2655
2.	Boeing	31830	4018
3.	BAE Systems (UK)	29150	2349
4.	General Dynamics	23760	2526
5.	Raytheon	22470	1896
6.	Northrop Grumman	21390	2118
7.	EADS (Trans – Europe)	16390	1422
8.	Finmeccanica (Italy)	14560	-3206
9.	L-3 Communications	12520	956
10.	United Technologies	11640	5347

Companies are US – based, unless indicated otherwise. The profit figures are from all company activities, including non-military sales.

Source: SIPRI Year Book 2013

Little is left after spending on military expenditures and debt retirement, to invest in overall developmental plans. Mahbub-ul-Haq was of the opinion that “the world is entering a new era in which the very concept of security will change – and change dramatically. Security will be interpreted as:

- Security of people, not just territory.
- Security of individuals, not just nations.
- Security through development, not through arms.
- Security of all the people everywhere – in their homes, in their jobs, in their streets, in their communities, in their environment.”³¹

However, all these noble precepts could not see day light. Concepts of security all around the globe are confined to same sacrosanct parameters, which no one dare touch, lest one is branded as ‘less patriot than the more patriots’.

A Need for Paradigm Shift in the Priorities of Policy-making in Pakistan

*“The best of people are those who are the most useful to others.”
Al-Hadith³²*

It needs to be appreciated that ‘empowerment of people’ does not imply ‘political sloganeering’, as was done in Pakistan in the recent past. The significance of immediate politico-economic interventions for the uplift of poverty stricken people notwithstanding, the real empowerment of masses lies in their capacity-building. It can be practically translated through provision of:

- Sound and purposeful education, which should help develop well rounded personalities.
- Sufficient technical skills, to earn an honorable living.
- Comprehensive citizens’ skills, which should help individuals to become responsible citizens, not only within the state, but also as the members of the global community.

- Fundamental rights, including security to person, family, property and honour, and freedom of political, religious and economic choices.
- Healthcare and assistance in risks and vulnerabilities.

The poor do not figure out much in the existing system of governance and policy structures of Pakistan. Prioritization of policies is done keeping in view short term political gains. Those programmes and projects are initiated, which catch attention of media and general public. The long term sustainable developmental programmes, which should bring about real change in the lives of people, do not appear on the policy agenda. Hence, there is a need to evolve a consensus across parties on short, medium and long term policies and strategies, to ensure investment in those areas which may empower people and, thereby, the state of Pakistan.

Lack of Empowerment of People – The Societal Fallouts

The nations that failed to invest in ‘human capital’ are now facing existential problems, and Pakistan is a case in point in this regard. It has not been able to charter its journey on a sustainable path to progress and development, mainly because of lack of empowerment of people. The fallouts of this massive failure are wide-spread and quite conspicuous. Only a few are being highlighted in the succeeding paragraphs:-

- **Uneducated and Unskilled Workforce**

The first and foremost impact of lack of empowerment of people is that Pakistan is counted among the least educated nations of the world. It has yet to achieve universalization of education, hundred percent enrolments of school-going children, as required in Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Education and skills that ensure employability of citizens are not available to a large portion of the population. Majority of the students, who reach graduation level, receive generalized education, mostly in social sciences and humanities.

- **Rampant Poverty**

Pakistan is among the lowest per capita income countries of the world, with huge inflation and low growth rate. Apart from this, there are huge gaps in the income levels of various groups, which result in further

In backward communities neither primary education nor attempts to spread literacy among adults can be successful unless people see some economic benefit accruing from these developments.

stratification of the society.

Some areas of the state are clearly left behind e.g. FATA, interior Sind, Southern Punjab and Balochistan. The poor cannot be expected to value the

education of their children highly, when they are struggling primarily for their bread and butter. It has been found from experience that in backward communities neither primary education nor attempts to spread literacy among adults can be successful unless people see some economic benefit accruing from these developments.”³³

- **Unemployment**

Since a large percentage of the population of the country lacks education, particularly technical education, it results in massive unemployment, which in turn, provides breeding ground for numerous social evils like smuggling, drug-trafficking, corruption and other financial crimes. A number of studies allude to this reality that unemployed youth are the prime victims of terrorists’ recruitment. Dr Qureshi, who himself was a member of Education Committee formed by Quaid-i-Azam and later on Federal Minister, pointed out:

“This country has a large population and opportunities of employment are limited, therefore, there is an ample supply of labour. But, the labour is not productive as it is in the developed countries, because it is mostly unskilled and not properly trained.”³⁴

- **Radicalization and Extremism**

Education is the most effective means for empowerment of people. Its absence and inadequacy result in reverse. The worst fallout of lack of

education or improper education in the case of Pakistan is the spread of extremism and sectarianism in society. Since the state can neither provide sufficient opportunities to the youth for education nor employment, they are vulnerable to radical tendencies. It is the personal experience and observation of this researcher during the course of service in remote areas of Balochistan and adjoining tribal areas of FATA that once the children do not find opportunities to be registered in public schools, they virtually land up in *Madaris*, which fail to provide them with a sound education or professional skills. It has been proved by a number of empirical studies that Madrassah education is not free from sectarianism and extremism, which it spreads in the society.³⁵ The majority of the *Madaris* do not provide any skills to the students, through which they can earn an honourable living. Their only employment is in the mosques, to perform various functions. But, the other streams of education, including Government schools are equally inefficient in providing a technical education to students, which would ensure their employability.

- **Bad Governance**

Efficient and effective governance practices can be ensured only in a society where citizens are well aware of their rights and equipped to safeguard them, as well as their duties. Educated and informed citizens keep a regular vigil on governance practices, and bad practices, if any, are effectively taken care of. Lack of empowerment of people makes them indifferent and they gradually fall into a state of apathy, which is considered very dangerous for the development of any society. If socio-economic and political systems are unable to deliver, they cause 'system frustration', which in turn, takes the shape of despondency, resulting generally in deviant behaviours.³⁶ It is, therefore, imperative that governance systems should be transparent, productive, and efficient and people centered.

Conclusion

Wide-spread and rampant poverty is a big challenge for the state of Pakistan. It appears to be a major cause of a number of social evils and crimes, including drug-trafficking, terrorism and extremism. The utility of short term subsidy-oriented policies, aimed at mitigating the plight of the poor, cannot be denied. However, a sustainable path towards poverty alleviation is required to be paved with concrete steps for the empowerment of people. People are taken as empowered, if they possess sound education and adequate technical and social skills. A paradigm shift in prioritization of policies is required, if we really want people to be empowered. It would practically imply the diversion of budgetary allocations towards rapid improvement of education and technical skills of the citizens. It also implies provision of more funds for healthcare, recreational facilities and sports facilities, so that the youth may engage in healthy pursuits. The more we invest in 'human capital' the better would be the results. Empowerment of people is a time-tested mode to alleviate poverty in any society. Hence, it is recommended that policy-makers in Pakistan should shift their focus towards empowerment of people through various means and instruments enunciated in the preceding paragraphs.

NOTES

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- ⁵ Pakistan., Economic Advisers Wing., *Pakistan economic survey 2009-10* (Islamabad (Pakistan): Finance Division, Economic Advisers Wing, 2010): 127.
- ⁶ President Roosevelt's Speech, quoted by Amartya Sen the Indian Nobel Laureate, in his paper titled Amartya Sen, *Poor, relatively speaking*, vol. 2 (Dublin, Ireland: Economic and Social Research Institute, 1983): 153.
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- ⁸ Mahbub-ul-Haq quoted in Pakistan. Economic Advisers Wing., *Pakistan economic survey 2009-10* (Islamabad (Pakistan): Finance Division, Economic Advisers Wing, 2010), 127.
- ⁹ United Nations, "Rethinking Poverty: Report on the World Social Situation 2010", *Department of Social and Economic Affairs* (2010): 1.
- ¹⁰ World Bank's South Asian Regional Brief, September 25, 2012. Accessed through <http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/feature/2012/09/25/south-Asia-Regional-Brief>, on 19 November 2013. Also Gouranga Lal Dasvarma, *Population and Environmental Issues in South Asia*(South Asian Survey, 2013): 64.
- ¹¹ Quoted by Mahbub Ul. Haq. *Reflections on human development* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1995): 13.
- ¹² Ibid.p.13
- ¹³ Strongly advocated by Adam Smith and John Stuart Mill in 19th Century.
- ¹⁴ Mahbub ul Haq, op. cit. p.13.
- ¹⁵ Ibid.p.14.
- ¹⁶ Ibid.p.14.
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- ¹⁹ A Report of the CSIS Global Health Policy Center, 27 July 2010.p.2.
- ²⁰ Child Labor Report of ILO 2003.
- ²¹ World Bank's South Asian Regional Brief, September 25, 2012. Accessed through <http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/feature/2012/09/25/south-Asia-Regional-Brief>, on 19 November 2013. Also Gouranga Lal Dasvarma, *Population and Environmental Issues in South Asia* (South Asian Survey, 2013): 64.
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- ²⁴ Dr Maleeha Lodhi. *Security Challenges in South Asia, The Non-Proliferation Review* (Taylor & Francis, 2001): 118.
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- ³¹ Ibid.115.
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- ³³ Ishtiaq Husain. Qureshi. *Education in Pakistan: an inquiry into objectives and achievements* (Karachi: University of Karachi. Bureau of composition, compilation & translation, 1975): 230.
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BUREAUCRATIC SCHOOL POLICYMAKING AND ATTENDANT IMPLEMENTATION ISSUES: THE CASE OF PUNJAB PROVINCE

Sarfraz Hussain Ansari & Rafaqat Islam*

Abstract

Reports on education by various commissions attest that school policymaking in the Punjab, as indeed, in Pakistan, has tended to be bureaucratic, ignoring input from teachers, parents and other members from targeted communities.¹ This article focuses on three policies in the Punjab, namely, upgradation of Municipal Committee schools; merger of schools and rationalization of staff; and public private partnership under the supervision of Punjab Education Foundation. Basing the study on official and semi-official documents and field work, it was found that the aspects ignored during bureaucratic policymaking surfaced at the point of implementation and caused injuries to individual persons as well as groups (i.e population clusters that come to lose educational facilities for their children). Litigation flourished and continues, demonstrating the need for participatory school education policymaking.

Keywords: Bureaucracy, Education, Litigation, Implementation, Infrastructure

Introduction

School policymaking is something very important in any country or state. Yet it has been treated in a bureaucratic ad-hoc manner in Pakistan in general, and in the Punjab Province, in particular. In the federal system of Pakistan, education has been a provincial subject but from time to time, there has been some sort of coordination on the part of the federal government. Even after the 2010 devolution of power, a forum for coordination has been created.

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Nevertheless, education has been a subject wherein major responsibility has been with the provinces. At provincial level, department of education has always been a very big department in terms of number of people employed, both in the administration and in the teaching services.

This article is concerned with bureaucratic school policymaking in the Punjab province. The bureaucratic policymaking tends to ignore other stakeholders, particularly the teachers. It thus leaves a great margin to policy implementers to modify policies, sometimes to the point of distortion of such policies and consequent litigation.

The article is divided into two major parts. The first one deals with the various phases of public policymaking process itself. It locates implementation phase in the process and brings out the complexity of the phase. The second part takes three policies relating to school education and illustrates how policies made without the participation of other stakeholders become problematic and subsequently implementation becomes distorted.

I

Implementation of Policies: A Complex Phase

Public policymaking may involve creating a new public policy or reforming an existing public policy. In any case, public policymaking is often seen in terms of cycle². The cycle or process involves such phases as problem definition often accomplished during agenda setting, formulation of policy which means proposing alternative solutions and appraisal thereof, adoption (legislative enactment), implementation and evaluation, or assessing the impact of policy implementation.

Public problems can originate in endless ways and require different policy responses (such as regulations, subsidies, quotas, and laws) on the local, provincial or national level. The public problems arise in all aspects of society - economic, social, or political. In public policymaking, numerous individuals and interest groups compete and / or collaborate to influence

policymakers to act in a particular way. Policy responses come from two major categories, namely, the legislative and executive bodies. Such responses can be challenged at various points in courts which have the final decision in matters disputed among aggrieved individuals / groups on the one hand, and relevant public authorities, on the other.

In the policy cycle, implementation has lately come to be seen as a very complex process and has emerged as a crucial field of research. Implementation literally means carrying out, accomplishing, fulfilling, producing or completing a given task. The founding fathers of implementation studies, Pressman and Wildavsky define implementation in terms of relationship to policy as laid down in official documents. According to them, policy implementation may be viewed as a process of interaction between the setting of goals and actions geared to achieve them³. Policy implementation encompasses those actions by public and private individuals or groups that are directed at the achievement of objectives set forth in policy decisions. This includes both one-time efforts to transform decisions into operational terms and continuing efforts to achieve large and small changes necessary to carry out policy decisions⁴. That is, policy implementation refers to the connection between the expression of governmental intention and actual result⁵. As part of policy cycle, policy implementation concerns how governments put policies into effect⁶.

The success of policy implementation depends critically on two broad factors; local capacity and will. Will is related to questions of motivation and commitment that reflect the implementer's assessment of two major things, namely, the value of a policy or the appropriateness of a strategy. Motivation or will is influenced by such factors as competing centres of authority, contending priorities or pressures and other aspects of socio-political milieu; they can profoundly influence an implementer's willingness. This emphasis on individual motivation and internal institutional conditions implies that external policy features, i.e. original policy goals and decisions come to have less and less influence on outcomes,

particularly at lower level in the institution⁷. The idea of policy compromise and modification is manifested in the behaviour of the street-level bureaucrats⁸. Lipsky (1980) propounds a theory of 'street-level bureaucracy'. The theory focuses on the discretionary decisions that each field worker or 'street-level bureaucrat' – as Lipsky prefers to call them—makes in

The idea of policy compromise and modification is manifested in the behaviour of the street-level bureaucrats.

delivering policies to the target populations or envisaged beneficiaries. This discretionary role in delivering services or enforcing regulations

makes street level bureaucrats essential actors in implementing public policies. At the same time, bureaucrats hold preferences about their personal condition – such as self-promotion, power, prestige, and financial reward – and about the policy in which they are engaged⁹. Some authors have characterized the work of street level bureaucrats into three categories¹⁰:

- Those who devote effort towards accomplishing policy goals.
- Those who shirk i.e. work towards non-policy goals.
- Those who commit sabotage, i.e. actively undermine policy goals.

In addition to complexity in implementation born of the behavior of street level bureaucrats, there is another complexity. According to Hill & Hupe, implementation inevitably takes different shapes and forms in different cultures and institutional settings¹¹. There is voluminous literature on developing countries which demonstrates huge corruption in the public life of such countries, particularly in public bureaucracies. Transparency International organized its 9th Anti-Corruption conference in Durban in 2000 and among the 134 countries that participated, more than hundred could be characterized as developing countries. In a major study, published around that time under the auspices of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development(OECD) and the UN Development Program, there was focus on five countries and Pakistan was included in that list of five. The study highlighted the well-rootedness of corruption. It said¹²:

Several mechanisms help to spread corruption and make it normal practice in these countries. Civil servants who refuse to toe the line are removed from office; similarly, businessmen who oppose it, are penalized vis-à-vis their competitors. Furthermore, an image of the state has grown up over the years according to which the civil service, far from being a body that exists to implement the rights of citizens – rights that mirror their duties – is first and foremost perceived as the least risky way of getting rich quickly. All of this helps to make corruption seem normal.

Various levels of bureaucracy are more involved in deviance from public policy amounting to shirking (working toward non-policy goals) and outright sabotage (actively undermining policy goals). They are more true to Wilson's notions of self-promotion, power, prestige, financial reward, etc¹³.

II

Implementation Issues in the Punjab

In the Punjab, the undesirable behavior among street level bureaucrats in the Department of Education is slowly becoming a subject of research in the wake of emphasis on reform in the sector. An action-oriented research conducted by an academic on the subject throws some light on the highly negative role played by street level educational bureaucracy. The research was carried out with regard to teacher recruitment and retention in the Punjab, the sample included three districts, namely Attock, Lodhran and Rahim Yar Khan¹⁴. The three districts vary in size, rank, location, demographics and culture. The research found that the three districts had common problems related to the non-transparent implementation of policies. One teacher respondent went so far as to say; "The Education Department is even more corrupt than the police department" – a strong statement in Pakistan's context where the police department is generally considered to be extremely corrupt.

As such, educational bureaucracy in the Punjab bears the blameful characterization of street-level bureaucracy in that it indulges in the

modification of policies at the point of implementation. At the same time, it seeks financial rewards which lead to further distortion of policies and consequent litigation. To illustrate the situation, the study focuses on three major policies in school education; namely, upgradation of schools in the wake of devolution of power in 2001, policy of merger of schools and rationalisation of staff and the policy of public private partnership in the education sector.

Upgradation of MC Schools

Prior to devolution in 2001, there were two streams of public sector schools in the Punjab - government schools functioning under School Education Department (SED) and Municipal Committee/Corporation (MC) Schools under the jurisdiction of Local Government and Community Development Department (LG&CD) of the provincial government. As such, there were two teaching staff cadres, namely SED cadre and MC cadre. However, after devolution education function of the defunct Municipal Corporations/ Committees was shifted to District Government with effect from 1 July, 2002. In this way, MC schools also came to be supervised by district education bureaucracy. Owing to the increased educational requirements of the cities/towns, a number of middle and primary schools of MC cadre were upgraded but the authorities could not design an upgradation plan that could be acceptable to all stakeholders. This upgradation increased opportunities of promotion for the SED cadre staff but rendered MC cadre shelter less and, indeed, began to be characterized as a “dying cadre”.

The educational bureaucracies both at the district and provincial levels did not think about implementation problems which could erupt at the execution stage of the upgradation policy. The implementation virtually barred MC staff from promotion and from being appointed as head of MC Schools. The SED cadre teachers were appointed as heads of MC Schools, relegating the already working MC cadre heads to merely the positions of teachers. Frustrated from such unjust policy, the MC Cadre staff approached

LG & CD Department and put forward their grievances. Taking cognizance of the situation and the unfair treatment meted out to MC cadre teachers, LG&CD Department asked SED for clarification of the status of MC Schools and their Staff. In response, SED issued a notification/ directive dated 10 April 2010, to all District Coordination Officers (DCOs) stating; “MC Schools fall under the jurisdiction of LG & CD Department while Government Schools under the administrative control of SED. The seniority, promotion and rules of business of both departments are quite different and no employee of general (SED) cadre can be transferred to MC Schools”¹⁵. That rules of seniority and promotion in the two departments were different should have been discussed at the time of upgradation decision and input from teacher unions should have formed the basis of upgradation decision. This was not done, and implementation problems emerged.

At the top of this all, the new SED notification was not religiously followed by the street-level bureaucracy, and could not redress the grievances of the MC cadre. The situation came to be deemed so severe that LG&CD Department had to issue direction vide their circular number SOR (LG)5-9/2001-1 dated 25 September 2011, “fair treatment should be meted to all the employees of education cadre of the erstwhile local councils working in the education..... in station and redress their grievances”.

Ironically, such clear directions were not complied with and this street-level bureaucratic entangling in the affairs of MC Schools continued by both district and provincial educational bureaucracies. MC cadre employees having been disappointed from continued unfair treatment, started seeking relief from higher judiciary on case to case basis.

During research, the authors came across various MC cadre teachers who had filed their petitions in different Benches of Lahore High Court [field note]. First such petition came from a teacher in an MC School of district Pakpattan. The SED had nothing to defend its position and Deputy Secretary of the department placed the above mentioned notification of 10 April 2010 before the court and assured the court that grievance of the petitioner would be redressed. He categorically stated that any such

transfers made in the past were merely stopgap arrangement that had been discontinued¹⁶.

The second case filed in LHC Rawalpindi Bench Rawalpindi relates to MC Girls High School Talagang, District Chakwal. The court referred the matter to Secretary LG&CD Department with the direction to dispose of the appellant's appeal / representation within two weeks positively. The applicant had sought relief against the order of the DPI-SE, who had posted an SED cadre employee as principal of the said school whereas according to the instructions of the SED no such posting could be made. After hearing of the case, the Secretary LG&CD found the appeal valid and based on facts and directed the DCO Chakwal for issuance of necessary order. In his detailed announcement, the Secretary LG&CD Department wrote¹⁷:-

It is crystal clear that the posting of general (SED) cadre against MC cadre is contrary to the government instructions/rules. The posting of general cadre employees to MC Schools deprives the employees of MC cadre from their legitimate right of promotion and further prospects in future.

Besides others, copies of the decision were forwarded to the Secretary SED, the DCO Chakwal and DPI-SE. This disposal of the Intra-Court Appeal should have brought the story of bureaucratic entanglement to an end but it did not.

A more complex, rather intriguing, case of the bureaucratic muddle was seen in district Attock. MC cadre Headmistress (MCCH) of MC Girls School Attock filed a petition in the Lahore High Court Rawalpindi Bench against the appointment of a General cadre employee as Headmistress of MC School. The court sent the case to the Secretary LG&CD Department who in his decision dated 13 November 2012 directed DCO Attock to retain the MC cadre employee as headmistress in charge and relieve the General Cadre employee¹⁸. The decision was acted upon, slowly. After a lapse of seven weeks, Executive District Officer (Education) wrote a letter to DPI-SE suggesting transfer of General Cadre Headmistress (GCH) to some government school. DPI ordered transfer of the GCH on 22 February 2013,

after 99 days. This could be considered, a worst example of a 'sabotage' of policy, i.e. working to undermine policy goals.

The GCH, on her part, went to High Court seeking relief against the order of the DPI (SE). As she had concealed the history/facts pertaining to the transfer, the court granted stay against the transfer order and referred the matter to the DPI-SE for decision on merit. The DPI-SE, contradicting his own previously given decision, now allowed GCH to continue vide his new decision dated 20 May 2013 and without taking into consideration the decision of Secretary LG&CD Department or, for that matter, the policy of SED. This forced MCCH to again file a petition in the LHC Rawalpindi Bench and apprise the court about the facts. On knowing the facts concealed by the GCH and DPI-SE, the court stayed the operation of impugned order of the DPI-SE on 19 July 2013 and later on, gave final decision against the appointment of GCH. The GCH filed an appeal in the Supreme Court in December 2013. Supreme Court, on 14 February 2014, upheld the decision of LHC, requiring the authorities to appoint only MC cadre staff as headmistress in thirty days. The decision has been evaded in one way or the other and MCCH could not get her right.

Details of other litigation cases over the appointment of the Heads of the MC Schools made all over the Punjab clearly demonstrated the faulty policy designs prevailing in the province. But the more worrying dimension has been that the authorities of SED despite their admission in the courts, have not realized their mistakes/ entanglements. They have not yet taken any step to redress the grievances of MC Cadre employees. The policy makers and the decision-makers of the SED failed to make accountable those responsible for such policies that are forcing employees to go into litigation or strikes. It has become a general norm of the department that policies are made and implemented without the participation of the stakeholders and are amended or taken back only as a result of employees' strikes or courts' interventions.

Schools Merger and Staff Rationalization Policy

The periodic conduct of rationalisation of teachers and schools by the Punjab Government reflects structural deficiencies whereby schools are constructed without ensuring appropriate Student: Teacher Ratios (STR), or recognition of ground realities that necessitate multi-grade teaching. Teacher preferences in posting further add to the imbalance at the school level. The trade-off between providing access and quality has resulted in a host of interventions such as the mosque school, the two-room school, and the fixing of the STR at 1:40, regardless of the number of the grades in a school. Thus every few years there is an imbalance in the STR, the situation is further aggravated by declining enrolments resulting from the poor quality of education available in the public schools⁹.

Rationalisation of teachers and staff in combination with school mergers was initially started in late 1990s and has been modified several times since then, every time without taking input from other stakeholders. Proper rationalization is a complicated exercise; on paper it appears simple to re-assign teachers from over-staffed low-enrolment schools to those with high enrolment facing teacher shortages. However, calculating the STR and the workload is a highly complex task for which the district bureaucracies are not adequately equipped. The policies were usually silent on merging of schools based on parity and equity considerations with no clear cut guidelines. The process of re-rationalisation and re-transfers currently underway reflects the deficiencies of the earlier policies.

There have been serious gaps in the planning and implementation framework devised for the two policies. Education Department was assumed to be sufficiently proficient in re-assigning teachers and merging schools as it was part of their routine work. Monitoring of the process and timely corrective measures were not taken was not undertaken. The software (excel sheet) provided to districts was insufficient to deal with the data of thousands of teachers and did not prove helpful in calculating the workload of teachers. The DCO office was expected to provide technical support to

the Education Departments; in most districts that did not happen and where the DCO office did intervene, it was largely to appropriate all records for unilateral decision making. There was no clear indication as to which STR data was to be used, the one provided by Program Monitoring & Implementation Unit or what the districts were supposed to calculate. Also, uniform implementation guidelines of the rationalization notifications did not consider the fact that districts are non-homogeneous. This resulted in creating disparities and inequities for students, teachers and communities. Similarly, schools are also subject to variations in site and location, in the condition and space provided by the infrastructure and the student body.

The emphasis on spreading resources and their better utilization greatly undermined the appropriate deployment of teachers based on their qualifications and subject specialty. Merger into same sex school as coeducational school was not a feasible policy option, led to problems in most situations. And merging schools at a distance acted against the benefits of children belonging to the poorest and far off areas.

Head teachers and teachers who are key to the success of education system and well-being of students, were not consulted regarding the rationalization policies which created resentment. There are several instances where they were not informed of where they were to be posted which led to many of them filing petitions against the policies. For example, a writ petition was filed in 2013 before the Lahore High Court (Rawalpindi Bench) against notification issued by the School Education Department, Government of Punjab, namely, Notification no. SO (SE-III) 5-49/2013 dated 20-6-2013. Response from the School Education Department was²⁰:

It is settled principle of law that our constitution is based on trichotomy and this court has only jurisdiction to interpret the law and has no jurisdiction to take on the role of the policy maker. In fact the petitioners challenged the policies of the respondent/ Government, therefore, writ petitions are not maintainable in view of the law laid down by the honourable Supreme Court in Zaman Ahmed's case (PLD 1975 SC 667) and 1978 SCMR 327.

In the view of the department, the petitioners had challenged vires of the policy which was deemed purely a prerogative of the Government and the respondents being public functionaries were bound to implement the policies of the Government issued from time to time claimed bureaucratically, to be in public interest. It was further submitted that the respondents were not empowered to amend or change the policy because in that behalf Government had sole prerogative²¹. The petitioners rebutted the arguments saying that the impugned policy had been launched without inviting any objections/suggestions from the public-at-large or, indeed, from the teachers. The policy was likely to affect hundreds of teachers and that could deprive the students to get quality education. During the hearing at the High Court, the parties agreed to implement the policies after evolving a consensus on the subject²².

Studies conducted on the implementation highlight details of failure of bureaucratic educational policies. The Cambridge Review, a consulting firm that undertakes evaluation of implementation of educational policies, highlighted a completely failed merger and rationalisation plan of District Okara. The plans initially suggested by the District Education Department took ground realities into consideration but such plans for school merger and rationalisation were substantially changed by the District Monitoring Officer and then the EDO Finance & Planning. Resultantly, more than half of the schools in the belt adjacent to the River Sutlej were affected and caused resentment among parents and teachers. The need for re-adjustment created opportunities for nepotism and political interference. Shelter less schools with adequate enrolment were merged into other schools, resulting in dropout in spite of shifting into the government school building. About 40 percent of girls dropped out when girls' schools were merged with boys, or the girls had to attend distant schools. The DMO was later reported to put blame on the District education department for collection of incorrect data that caused closure of some schools due to shifting of staff²³.

Similarly, an unthoughtful merger took place in Dera Ghazi Khan district where, acting on the school merger policy, a Government Girls

Primary School situated in the middle of a community of 10,000, was merged with a school situated half a kilometer away. However, in this seemingly small distance lay a railway line between the two places. Parents of children refused to send their children to the recipient school. They did not want to risk lives of the children by allowing them to cross the railway line. Individual parents raised their voices, to no effect. Most of them then got together in a procession to the district headquarters chanting slogans against the Education Department. The DCO, coming to know of a march towards his office, held a meeting with representatives of parents and cancelled the merger.

Public Private Partnership in the Punjab

The third policy which has led to problems relates to Public Private Partnership in the Punjab. The origin of Public Private Partnership goes back mainly to the World Bank report published in 1997, titled, "The State in a Changing World". In the report, the Bank advised states to assume the role of facilitators and enablers, and not providers of education²⁴. Under the advice and encouragement of the World Bank, the government of Punjab introduced the following models of partnership in education through Punjab Education Foundation (PEF):-

- **Foundation Assisted Schools (FAS)**. FAS is the programme under which low-fee private schools are assisted by the PEF on a per-child subsidy basis. The programme was inceptioned in 2005 with the ordinary outreach in 6 districts and later extended to all 36 districts of Punjab having around 3500 partner schools, catering to the needs of around 1.77 million students.²⁵
- **Education Voucher Scheme (EVS)**. A voucher is given to the student to utilize it for his/her fee at a low fee private school. The scheme was launched in 2006 to benefit children belonging to less affluent and underprivileged areas. The age group of EVS beneficiary is 5-16 years. EVS was introduced in all 36 districts and approximately 5 lakh children are registered and benefitting in more than 1665 EVS partner schools.²⁶

- **New School Programme.** New School Programme (NSP) was launched as a pilot project in 2008 to engage private sector entrepreneurs in order to establish schools in areas where there was access gap as government or private schools were unavailable. Currently, the programme has 2126 schools in 36 districts of the Punjab.²⁷
- **Public School Support Programme.** PEF has initiated Public School Support Program (PSSP) to improve quality of education in low performing public schools through involvement of private sector. Through this program, PEF is outsourcing operational management of under-performing schools to the private sector and since its launch in December 2015, around 5000 schools have been outsourced to the private sector in three phases.²⁸

The real nature and scope of PPP has also been subject of debate with skepticism about issues like nature of “partnership”, partnership turning into privatization and matters of equity and access. With the exception of Education Voucher Scheme, PPP programmes are being termed as government’s purchase of education services.

Government authorities argue that the PPP initiative is aimed at improving the quality of education in low performing public schools. They claim that it is a noncommercial, non-profit programme with the aim to provide free of cost quality education in existing public schools through involvement of private sector. The chief minister himself owns the outsourcing plan and wishes to implement it despite opposition from many circles including teachers. The officials of SED believe that schools under the PSSP are performing better, citing increase in enrolment of students from 309,909 to 497,255, and increase in recruitment of teachers from 7,337 to 19,726.

The supporters of partnership programmes refer to certain reports to validate their claims but research on the topic gives no strong evidence about their success. The research evidence cited in favour of Punjab experiences is mainly based on project reports prepared by the project implementation teams. Third party evaluations have been conducted to

meet the requirement of donors and not for the purpose of finding out the true picture. The reports quoted in support of success claims are sponsored by the donor agencies, encouraging PPP initiatives.

Teachers and educationists in the field are of the view that instead of transforming education system, the government is throwing its burden on others by outsourcing the schools. They believe that private vendors/contractors are interested only in financial benefits in the initiatives. They emphasize that the government should not elude its responsibility and

They emphasize that the government should not elude its responsibility and should allocate more resources, reform curricula and restructure management in order to improve the system.

should allocate more resources, reform curricula and restructure management in order to improve the system. The PEF initiatives have agitated teachers who consider it a move towards gradually ending the public school infrastructure. Field survey shows that private entrepreneurs employ less qualified teachers and pay them poorly as compared to the teachers in public sector schools. Enrolment has gone up but no signs of improvement in the quality of education. The teachers of public sector schools seem to be uncertain about their schools and job security.

The claims of quality look empty when the matter is dug into more deeply. As per the report of English daily *The Express Tribune*, only 271 out of the total 626 NGO-run schools (43%) could pass the quality test conducted by the PEF itself²⁹. The dilemma of fake results in the government run schools has also been made public by a report of US based government-funded policy forum, Wilson Center. The report attributes the occurrences of fake figures in result to the “regime of fear” of Chief Minister, pressurizing the school officials to invent figures to elude the wrath³⁰. The government is more focused on quantity of enrolment rather than quality and has thus established a low baseline. PEC results in the recent exams show that private schools under PPP have not shown any substantial difference in the quality of education³¹.

Another argument put forward in support of PPP is the notion of equity but the ground realities present an opposite picture. Low cost private schools being promoted by donors can lead to positive outcome on limited scale. There are around 13 million children still out of school in Punjab. PEF initiatives may be supplementing the efforts but are in no way alternative to the government efforts. The selective enrolment in these schools to show better results and the tendency of private schools to adopt their own curricula will further undermine the claims of equity³². Thus, the reports of positive effects of PPP on access to education are mainly sponsored by the World Bank and other donor agencies and reality is quite different from these reports.

Conclusion

In the federal system of Pakistan, school policies are largely the responsibility of provincial governments, particularly since the 18th constitutional amendment in 2010. Punjab government has tended to rely on bureaucracy for school policymaking to the exclusion of other relevant stakeholders, namely the teachers and the community. Such practices make for several lacunas which are exacerbated at the parts of street-level bureaucracy, i.e. the actual implementers. School policies acquire further undesirable features owing to wide spread corruption both in the school education sector and the district bureaucracy who oversees the school sector.

This study takes three school education policies instituted in the province to illustrate how bureaucratic non-participatory school policymaking resulted in several problems at the implementation stage. For example, the bureaucratic policy to upgrade the Municipal Committee (MC) schools in the wake of devolution of powers to District government led to injuries to rights of promotion of teachers; to inter-departmental feuds regarding jurisdictions; and above all, litigation and invocation of superior courts. Similarly, the policy of rationalization of teaching staff was made by educational bureaucracy at the provincial level without input from field

administration or teacher unions. Implementation of the policy created confusion among teachers who received contradictory orders of transfers and postings. Cultural aspect of having separate schools for boys and girls was not taken care of in several instances, causing dropout of the female students.

Another policy envisaged to reform schools and enhance their performance adopted public private partnership in the education sector. Again, the policy has been prepared by the provincial education bureaucracy without input from teachers and the community. The reforms initiative has agitated the teachers who believe that this move will end the public school infrastructure. The entrepreneurs look at schools in terms of money making and are not likely to take civic or moral aspects of school education into account.

Thus, the bureaucratic school policymaking in the Punjab province has not been effective. Rather, it has led to considerable problems in implementation, often impairing rights of individuals and groups. For rectification, it were the courts that had to intervene. Such situation leads to a lot of wastage of time and unnecessary disruption at the societal level.

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ROLE OF MEDIA IN PROMOTING PEACE AND HARMONY

Saqib Riaz*

Abstract

Pakistan is facing a number of social, economic, cultural and political problems. The nation is divided into groups and parties and the problems of ethnicity, sectarianism and political turmoil are on the peak. Different geographical areas have different kinds of social and cultural values. They belong to different social groups and are members of different religious and political parties. They lack unity, tolerance and understanding. Media can play vital role in spreading peace and harmony to eradicate the sentiments of hatred in Pakistani society. Responsible journalism is a key to harmony in a society. Biases in journalism towards a certain ideology, political party, individual or even towards a social issue have detrimental effects as it polarizes the society. When media present biased views to their viewers, hatred and disrespect towards others point of view grow, ultimately resulting in schism within the society. In developing countries media have a more pro-active and highly sensitive role to combat bigotry and prejudices in the nation. This article is focused on the role of media in the establishment of peace and harmony in Pakistani society.

Keywords: Sectarianism, Geographical, Journalism, Fragmentation, Harmony

Introduction

Pakistan is a highly diverse society with social, cultural, political, religious and economic differences. Many internal and external forces have been playing their role to destabilize Pakistani society on the basis of this diversity. Peace and harmony are the only solutions to encounter the forces of negativity. These are fundamental essentials of sustainable development in a society. We all are living in a highly interlinked, interconnected and interdependent world which is also known as global village. Any information from one corner of the world touches the other corner in seconds. All this has become possible because of media. Human civilization since its inception has been going through the paradox of war and peace that has increased the need for efforts to bring peace and harmony in the

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world in general and in the society, in particular. Media can play a significant role in the dissemination and establishment of peace and harmony in society.

The era of mass media started its journey in the early 16th century with the advent of the printing press in Europe; since then this field has seen innovation and progress that has shook the foundations of the whole world. Technological advancement in the world has multiplied the role of mass media to inform, influence and educate the global audience. This unanticipated increase in the magnitude of mass communication has also complicated the dynamics of its multi-dimensional nature that we witness in the modern era. This has substantially increased the responsibilities of global media to bring global harmony.

The 21st century media enterprise is the one that holds the power beyond measure, it can name, tame and shame individuals, governments, multi-national corporations or anything in random for that matter. This incredible power has been endorsed and recognized by many, as Malcom X¹ rightly said, "Media are the most powerful entity on earth. They have the power to make the innocent guilty and the guilty innocent, and that power is because they control the minds of the masses."

In the modern global society, media and its various franchises have proliferated to such an extent that they need to be monitored and regularized in order to stop them from turning into rogue anarchist outfits. Such restrictions have been in place since the recent past. Almost all of the present media organizations are under the jurisdiction of their particular state media regulatory authorities. But the major problem that arises in this situation is due to such media groups that broadcast their content internationally and are oblivious to state boundaries. Such outlets can be used by any major stakeholder or state against another state or organization to defame or malign it.

Having discussed the various intricacies of the subject, let us now focus upon the broader premise of the topic that endeavors to establish a

relationship between a human phenomenon, i.e., harmony and a purely socio-economic entity such as media. When we talk about the 'role' of media we should first be cognizant of the fact that so called role of mass media has been subject to change and alteration with the passage of time. In its early days, it was merely a source that not only relayed information to the masses but kept the principles of objectivity and bipartisanship at hand.

The aforementioned simple and naive role of media has undergone an outright change. This radical change has taken place under the ambit of the greater self-interests of the nations that are home to such media enterprises. The value of objectivity has long vanished from the modern media outlets; the prime purpose of today's media broadcast is to enhance viewership and ratings whilst ignoring the extent to which the content is controversial and

The value of objectivity has long vanished from the modern media outlets;

dubious. The major media enterprises of today are running on budgets exceeding those of many third world countries, which clearly highlights the role of money being played in this business. The content that these enterprises choose to promote or broadcast is inappropriate or is not deemed appropriate by a person who places high value in morality or civility, rather such content only carries the approval of a businessman who accords top most priority to the profit of his firm only. Shoemaker and Reese argue that profit maximization is the ultimate goal of a commercial media organization². They also state that the media content is necessarily manipulated when events and issues are relocated into news. Herman and Chomsky Propaganda Model advocates the phenomenon that media organizations follow and project the policies of those who finance them. Herman and Chomsky model further states that media always protect the interests of those who finance them whether they (the media organizations) work under the governmental control or as private corporations³.

So, when we talk about the 'role of media in promoting peace and harmony' we will have to look keenly into the fact whether these days promoting peace is the priority of these media outlets or the respective states favour the concept of peace which these enterprises represent? To the former question any student of the mass media will be able to answer – absolute peace is not a 'product' of these media moguls that they pay heed to. But for them money is the ultimate goal. They are not the exponents of peace and harmony because no country or humanitarian organization is ready to pay to promote peace and harmony. All of these hypothetical presumptions make us wonder that can peace even be promoted through mass media? Yes, it can be! As media have the power to change people's perceptions, minds and aspirations, which no other tool can do without coercion.

But such a philanthropist campaign can only be launched when there is accord among all the media houses and groups, backed by a particular organization or state, only then can such a miracle happen. This brings us to the latter question that, whether the states that are the biggest cause of war and unrest in the world, are willing to give up their vested interests in war and conflict around the globe. Apparently, it seems impossible that a state will give up its own self-styled national interests for a philanthropic cause of global peace and harmony. Even though one state is willing to do so, maybe the one it has a clash of interests would not be willing to do this sacrifice, so the cessation of war for the cause of global peace will remain farfetched and utopian under the current world arena.

But this does not mean that media can be stripped of its role in promoting peace and harmony across the masses. Media have the most effective and efficient tools that are necessary and appropriate for such a beneficial cause, but at the end of the day we all live in a Machiavellian world that gives little heed to ideals and more to national interests. The role of mass media in promoting peace will be of the utmost importance as long

as the world powers will agree to this notion, because there is no media outlet that can operate without the prior permission or license of a state of the modern world.

Literature Review

The concept of Peace Journalism (PJ) is getting tremendous popularity all over the world. It provides platform to discuss the role of media in resolving the disputes and establishing peace. The phenomenon of PJ uses conflict analysis and transformation to support the concept of balance, fairness and accuracy in reporting. The PJ approach provides a new road map tracing the connections between journalists, their sources, the stories they cover and the consequences of their reporting.⁴ The authors further state that PJ is based on the proposition that the choices journalists make while covering conflicts tend either to expand or contract the space available for society at large. This leads to imagine and work towards peaceful outcomes to conflicts.⁵ Many researchers and scholars conducted research studies on the concept of peace and war journalism. There are a great number of books and articles on media effects like, *Propaganda Techniques in the World War*⁶, *Uncensored War: The media and Vietnam*⁷, *War and Media: Propaganda and Persuasion in the Gulf War*⁸, *War and the media: Reporting conflict*⁹, *Reporting War: Journalism in War time*¹⁰, *Media between warmongers and peacemakers*,¹¹ and *Manufacturing Consent: The political Economy of the Mass Media*¹², etc. The researchers and scholars focused their studies on conflict communication that has identified a range of issues including national interests, professional constraints and socio-political and economic factors. Furthermore, Galtung gave a model of war and peace journalism¹³ that was further investigated by McGoldrick and Lynch into 17 good practices of a peace journalist¹⁴. The practices, which resemble advice for journalists before they begin reporting, included focusing on presentation of solutions, reporting on long-term effects, aiming the news at people and the grassroots, searching for common grounds, reporting on all sides, and using precise and accurate language. Wolfsfeld who examined the role of the news media in the Middle East,

found that the media's pursuit of drama accorded the extremists from both sides more than their due share of air time, while drowning the voices calling for peace and resolution¹⁵. Wolfsfeld used a structural-cultural model, and explained how the different roles played by news media in various political conflicts were shaped directly by competition among the antagonists to control the media¹⁶. Carruthers suggested that the mass media, subjected to restrictions of state and military censorship, employed the same values, practices and priorities in reporting conflict as in covering other events¹⁷. Thus, mass media, in following the lead of the state, become willing accomplices in wartime propaganda, and may even play a significant role in instigating conflict.

Furthermore, Richards observed that journalists, who rely on conflict to tell the news, apply a "fighting frame" by focusing on positions without exploring what lies behind them¹⁸. Media have become an integral part of modern societies the world over, playing a role in each and every aspect of life. A media expert Marshall McLuhan predicted the formation of a Global Village as media connections permeated the planet. He presented this idea in his book "The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man" that the world would become just like a village.¹⁹ Now the term is used all over the world as an accomplished fact and reality. We become aware of the events happening all over the world by media that transmit texts, images, audios and videos nearly instantaneously to all parts of the world. We can read, listen and watch whatever is happening in the world. Media organizations have played a vital role in bringing societies and nations closer. They have played their role in bridging the gaps between East and West as well as between North and South. In addition to this, media organizations have played their role in social and economic upbringing of the societies. The above mentioned literature review provides a solid justification to carry out a comprehensive research project to investigate the role of media in Pakistani society. It can ascertain how media can promote peace, resolve conflicts and disputes among different social groups and can eradicate the attitudes of hatred.

Role of State in Strengthening Peace and Harmony

Peace and harmony have always been goals of pursuit of all civilizations but contrary to that, the history of all civilizations is marred by violent conflicts which have been manifested in various forms. Violence and discontent being the antonyms of peace and harmony emanate from underlying ideologies and standpoints which individuals hold sacred to under the context of certain socially constructed paradigms that are articulated and presented through certain media. Various historical precedents have shown that most of conflicts are materialized more in their presentation than mere possession of them as staples of ideologies. Therefore, we can infer that if some arbitrary entity keeps fair and equitable check on the presentation and communication of contending viewpoints, probability of enduring peace and harmony in society can be increased. In the present times, the so-called arbitrary entity is state and medium of interaction and communication is generally characterized by electronic and print media. Therefore, in this article our vital arguments shall revolve around the role of state in ensuring peace and harmony through media.

Keeping in view the pluralist credentials of democracy, the government has to reconcile the aspirations of all people from all communities within the territory.

However, before proceeding to the operative part of the article it is imperative to have discourse about State and its respective role. The fact is that state is run by the Government of the day whose job entitlement is, primarily, concerned with maintaining ordered rule in the country, and a government maintains it on the behalf of people who, in democratic states, give the government popular will to rule them. Keeping in view the pluralist credentials of democracy, the government has to reconcile the aspirations of all people from all communities within the territory. On the other hand, in the case of contention, the government has to reconcile all the opposing tendencies in an amicable way to curb contravention in societal peace, and thus encourage social tranquility. While doing so, the government can adopt various instruments or tools to achieve these goals and media is one

of them. However, for the purpose of clarification it is stated that when we say media being instrument, it should not be inferred that media should act as subject of state with all its independence conditioned to the whims of government. The point being emphasized here is that media should, particularly in collaborative framework, work with state for greater interest of society while keeping its exclusive existence intact as independent watchdog. The watchdog role of media is basically surveillance role of media which is one of the most important components of the democratic societies of the world.

Media's Representative Role and State's Duties

First and foremost, we should focus on the proprietary nature of media. Under the context of West's most boasted neo-liberal economy, majority of media houses are owned by private entities and such private ownership, in context of free-market economic system, is driven by profit motives and in this pursuit of profit maximization these media houses can go to any extent. They can resort to sensitization, spin-doctoring and can even get funds from certain interest groups for agenda-setting. All these factors have capability to endanger societal peace and can create undue excesses in society that can harm the delicate balance of harmony in the society. Thus, it is responsibility of government to reconcile fundamental differences between the profit-oriented ethics of private media houses and larger interests of the society. In order to achieve such reconciliation, government has to issue a structural framework, that is, a code of conduct for media houses. This would provide them a level playing-field besides barring them from crossing the threshold. In order to regulate media's compliance with code of conduct, the government should establish a monitoring mechanism that would evaluate the compliance and render penalties in case of violations. However, while doing this all, the government should take into account and uphold the fundamental rights like freedom of expression and should avoid being all leviathan like authoritarian regimes that discourage differing views in the pretext of control and order in the society.

Apart from being the mirror of society and representing everything as it is, media should be pluralist in nature. They should present the cross-section of society by taking into account all ethnicities, sects, classes and cultures in society. It is an obligation of state to ensure that minority groups are not subjected to under-representation in media projection. While being under-

It is an obligation of state to ensure that minority groups are not subjected to under-representation in media projection.

represented, minority groups can develop sense of deprivation which may result in ethnic hostility or ethnic strife. Thus, the Government should adopt equitable policy to direct media houses to give considerable representation to minority groups to reflect their aspirations in the mainstream social thought and enable them to be more active in communicating their viewpoints through media available to them. This aspect of equitable media representations can contribute to federal credentials of democracies and would strengthen the social cohesion of societies by enhancing the participation of minority groups in social and political discourse of the nation.

Moreover, media being the agent of communication and representation can help strengthening normative values in society and therefore can play a role of virtual mentor thus assisting in discouraging deviant tendencies that are detrimental to social equilibrium. Many empirical studies have shown the efficacy of prescribed proposition by justifying scientifically the relationship between individual's behavior and respective media exposure. In addition, we can also say that this tutorial aspect of media can also help governments in capacity building of certain communities and conflict management. Moreover, this aspect can also be useful for the purposes of statecraft, wherein government can propagate or proliferate certain ideological notions for nation-building. However, the extreme of indoctrination should not be implied out of this proposition but governments should try to emphasis on their version of things in relation to other alternative narratives. For instance, in the western dominated paradigm, Government of Pakistan should give profound emphasis to the

teachings of the poetry of Iqbal in media projections and that has to be logical, rational and befitting rather than being an act of formality.

Peace and Harmony: Vital for Prosperity

Nexus to peace and harmony is the fulfillment of people's needs across the Globe. Peace alludes to an absence of antagonistic vibe. It also alludes to a situation which is described by solid interpersonal and global relationships, acknowledgment of equality, reasonableness and so forth. Peace is particularly imperative in current times. We see various countries that are at war with each other. There are various elements that are

Peace is imperative since we require a superior world for our next eras.

contributing to distress on the planet. The developed countries are not assuming their actual role in dealing with the world, in reality they are forcing their laws on whatever remains of the world. Peace is imperative since we require a superior world for our next eras. Peace is vital owing to the fact that we can only reap the advantages of the most recent innovations and scientific advancements just in times of peace. Peace is essential prerequisite for our presence.

Peace and harmony are fundamentally essential for prosperity in a society. Peace and amicability are prerequisites to a stable society, and they are a vital condition for the survival and improvement of humankind. A world devoid of peace and concordance surely will break apart and will once again bring those rough times in which the powerful used to prey on the feeble. Peace and agreement are welcome signs of a prosperous and mutually co-existing humanity, which is a base for the true realization and acknowledgment of the people's potential, the practical improvement of the global economy, and a security for the durable existence of human race. Peace and harmony are extremely significant for the smooth functioning of a society. It would bring a broad level of the vision, the profundity of investigation, and the degree of advancement among the members of a society. None of the present significant religions and major social customs of the world deny the significance of peace and harmony. History

demonstrates that every one of the concepts that are against peace and concordance have been against the will of the general population.

Use of Social Media in Promotion of Peace and Harmony

Social media has taken a very important place in our society. Pakistan is in the top list of social media users around the globe. Social media can be used as a platform for discussion of social issues and social problems. It is a platform where millions of people can listen and watch you and can give their opinion without any political pressure.

Almost everyone around the world has access to social media. The usage of social media is so much that a single video of a Korean singer was watched by more than two billion people which is more than the total population of China. CHAIWALA, a Pakistani guy got so much popularity around the world by social media in only a few days. It is so much big platform that it can change the trends of societies; it can play a very vital role in bringing revolutionary changes in societies. On a big platform like this where everyone has freedom of speech can be used to bring peace and harmony in society.

It has been indicated by the father of "Peace" Johan Galtung, a Norwegian humanist, who thinks about other expressions for the expansive meaning of peace news – there are two sorts of news-casting, which are peace news-casting and war news coverage. Peace media/news-casting can be characterized as the utilization of media for the advancement of peace, and to modify our perspectives. This could change general perspectives and opinion toward our resolve to deal with life issues; such news-casting can widen peace activities, they can likewise bolster those people and gatherings which are included in that peace activities.

Before advancement of peace through Media, the evaluation of genuine news-casting must be the important element for an individual media worker and he should not be involved in any biased reporting, rather he should go

for proposing answers for the contentions, keeping national issues in perspective. It is observed that free media assumes a focal part in majority run governments by elaborating statistics, which gives awareness to general public. It additionally serves as a forum for open discussions, debates and arriving at conclusions. The media is seen as a source of force that impacts, controls, and advances new models in the general public and strengthens the current ones. Media is in this manner one of the important catalyst for social advancement, elected government, administration, and a critical component in diverse issues.

It can be concluded that Media can be an instrument for peace and harmony, which advances messages and techniques that can prompt mutual understandings and tolerant conduct in a given society. The part of media in struggle has expanded its place out in all spheres. Media producers, columnists, and social researchers all can play their role in highlighting important issues like the Israel-Palestinian clash, War in Iraq and its effects, NATO and US-driven 'War against Terror in Afghanistan', drone attacks in Waziristan and adjoining regions and its impact on Pakistan, and so forth.

Dictatorship is the rule of lawlessness in which certain components are propped up in media, who try to advance the undemocratic conventions and bend the popular sentiment. Therefore, sometimes, undesirable patterns deform the true substance of news coverage as well. So in a genuine majority rule framework, 'Peace Media' can be characterized as the utilization of "radio, TV, and printed reporting, to advance peace, to propagate positive statistics or exchange ideas that could turn open debates into diversity of opinions". Peace media specialists should be flexible and fair-minded while portraying the divergent views, yet not be partial with regards to spreading commonly agreed views, with prime focus to quell any quarrels.

Wolfsfeld holds that media from various perspectives can help in reshaping the course of actions²⁰. Case in point, media can spread the

benefits of peace building and propagate to gather people required for peace activities. Media can also pass on the inverse sort of messages to the general population. Yet all peace forms need survival, though news media require maneuverability to balance out all sides. This is definitely the impact of balancing power of media, which needs deeper understanding on the part of general populace. Wolfsfeld calls this sort of relationship between peace process and news media as a 'static model'.²¹ Numerous writers, editors and others have viewed these undesirable news and counterproductive impacts of the media from a peace building point of view. We in this way see media, regardless of its solid impacts on the general public, for various reasons, hampering in the spread of general peace, in the way that the media has a tendency to pick only outlines. This does not contribute positively towards peace process. With the commercialization of Media, in Pakistan, particularly electronic Media, the opposition has risen. Such rivalry between factions made the eventual fate of yellow news coverage, so dreary. The movement for reinstatement of the former Chief Justice of Supreme Court Mr. Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhary in 2009 was a joint endeavor of civil society and Media.

The most powerful tool today is the information itself. Information can change, manipulate and create perceptions and ideologies. Media is all based on the information. The role of media in promoting peace and harmony requires pillars of Truth, Reality and Responsibility. Media is used globally to inform citizens and distribute knowledge in many forms e.g Print Media, Social Media/ Internet, Electronic Media, Interactive Media. The use of media and distribution of information by media clearly indicates how powerful this tool is, how lethal it could be if used for negative propaganda and how destructive it could be if it is used for destruction purposes. Media can use information to maintain harmony in society but on the other hand media can be destructive by being biased, by promoting propaganda and can be misleading the whole society.

Journalism or infotainment, both are very powerful and lethal tools to communicate with media. Pakistan is a country that has seen many social, political and economic changes since 1947. Now media in Pakistan has a great freedom to disseminate information and knowledge to the audience. We can see a huge change in the broadcasting patterns and in content since the year 2000. Pakistani audience is now used to watch such sort of content that is based on sensationalism – full of murder, robbery, rape and terrorism. Present day media is somehow promoting violence in the society by promoting explicit and abusive contents. Let us look at the most well known scientific experiment. Albert Bandura did a Bobo Doll experiment to show how a child could be affected by media. He showed an explicit content to the child in which a man was beating up another man brutally. After some time the boy was moved into other room where he was alone with a doll, the boy started hitting the doll in the same way as he was shown on the television. This clearly indicates how media can create impact on society. Although many theories advocate that the audience has become much active but still we can see the passive audience in the present day. For example it becomes horrible when a child watches violence on TV screen and implies it afterwards in his life. These incidents are an evidence of the fact that media creates violence.

Media an Influential Entity of Globalization

Media has become an influential entity in our lives. Audience today has become much more active than passive. Media has become globalized with

Media coverage and its broadcasting now depend on the public demand and their taste.

the globalization of the world. With globalization of media the whole world encountered new cultures, new ideas, new lifestyles, new exposures and new way of creating perceptions.

Now people do not just stick to one newspaper or a TV channel. They read, watch and listen to different platforms to investigate themselves about the news. Media coverage and its broadcasting now depend on the public demand and their taste. Due to the globalization, and with the exchange of products and services, the exchange of ideology, cultures and norms is also

taking place. With exchange of social ideas and norms new crimes are introduced as well, which are somehow being promoted by some media organizations.

Conclusion

Media can play a significant role in establishing peace and harmony in the modern societies by participating in tenable reporting, addressing to issues in its news, publication content, articles, audio and video news items that throw light on various perspectives. It can likewise distinguish between different perspectives, without favouring any single agency. Media has all the essential infrastructure and capability of spreading the common good. Media can play a noteworthy part, and can cast influence over conflict resolution in a decisive manner, by exercising its impact towards elimination of the conflicts, or if nothing else, by strengthening the peace environment. In any case, to discuss these issues, media must be able to work in a fair and free environment. Thus it can perform its moral duties in reporting violence, where it must work towards upgrading peace. It is fundamental to profit through globalization, where this worldwide town is growing new ideas and standards for media. It is critical to yield to differing qualities of societies, various conventions and treaties, while reporting outdoors. Dissemination of the media content about peace and harmony will eventually result in the establishment of a peaceful society, a dream of generations.

NOTES

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STRATEGY FOR DEVELOPMENT OF FATA

Naveed Yousef & Kashif Zaheer*

Abstract

The law and order situation of FATA, during the recent years of turmoil caused by the war on terror resembles that of late nineteenth century situation which it faced after the Third Afghan War. The socio-economic situation of FATA cannot be changed with ordinary procedures and methods. It is evident from different reports that people desire development but according to their terms. The dignity and respect for their culture are as equally important as the provision of education, health, environment, social protection, and job market. The existing development model in practice needs substantial reverse engineering and speedy work. This study presents a situational analysis and model for the development of FATA focusing on various service sectors and highlights the role of Military, Donors and NGOs in the development process. This study adopts a qualitative methodology and utilizes government reports as sources material.

Keywords: Socio-economic, Environment, Situational, Infrastructure

Introduction

During the British Rule, development activities in FATA were only security oriented and limited to the construction of border security roads, forts, piquets, road-side observation posts and check posts for the security of forts and secured movement of Frontier Corps between border area and the forts. Functional health and education facilities were only provided in the vicinity of the Agency Headquarters and Sub-Divisional Headquarters, leaving the bulk of agency population at its own. These arrangements continued till the visit of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, the then Prime Minister of Pakistan to South and North Waziristan in 1973. However, even today much of the scenario has not changed; people of FATA don't have any legislative assembly of their own, though they have representation in the Senate and National Assembly. FATA falls under the direct exclusive

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executive power of the President granted by constitution under articles 51, 59, and 247.

FATA illustrates a terrible and apathetic picture, while looking at its disadvantaged communities and the state of governance. Although, hospitality is the tradition of the area but tribal wars, extremist propensity, and tendency of excessive crimes have been very common in the area. The crime ratio has also been drastically worse during the Afghan war due to excessive arms and increasing warlords in the area adjacent to Durand Line. In this scenario, women and kids live in most vulnerable conditions, for getting resources, basic amenities, and access to information. They do not have any say and participation in the decision-making process, though their names are being used in different documents such as political representation and local councils. They have no means to access basic health and education amenities. Leaving aside the agency headquarters where basic health facilities are available, general people of the area remain deprived of this basic requirement. Poor health care in the region has resulted in large numbers of untimely and avoidable casualties. Access to health services is severely limited, with just one dispensary, basic health unit or rural health centre for every 50 square kilometers of area and these facilities mostly concentrated near the settled areas.¹

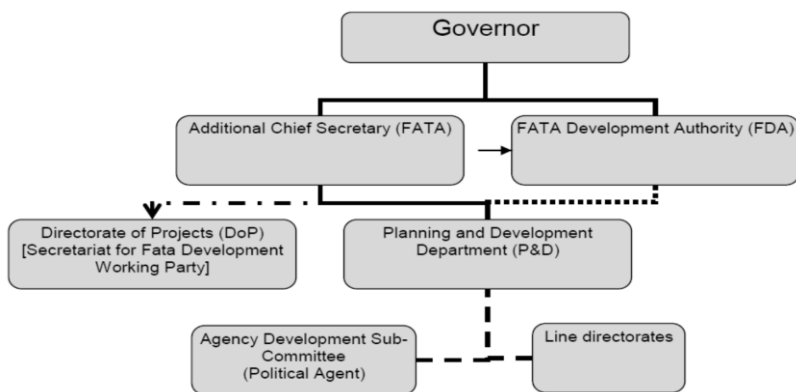
As regards education, a total of three graduate colleges exist across FATA for more than two million people and only one is for women located in the Khyber Agency. The inadequate and skeletal infrastructure is the root cause of such underdevelopment in the area. The infrastructural facilities have been decreasing instead of increasing for last several years. According to education census 2015-16, there were 5,994 schools in the FATA and as many as 1,036 schools (611 for boys and 425 for girls) were non-functional. 3,842 of the total functional schools were of primary level, and 2,219 of them catered to boys and 1,623 were girls' primary schools. 118 schools were being run in mosques, while 169 were community-run schools. The report stated that 32 of these institutions were industrial home centers, 439 were middle schools (273 for boys and 166 for girls),

296 high schools (231 for boys and 65 for girls), 15 higher secondary schools (10 for boys five for girls) and 32 were colleges (21 boys and 11 girls). The data of non-functional schools showed that of the total 1,036 non-functional institutions, 692 were primary schools (418 for boys and 274 for girls), 41 mosque schools, 137 community-run primary schools (54 for boys and 83 for girls), 111 were middle schools (68 for boys and 43 for girls), 39 high schools (27 for boys and 12 for girls) one higher secondary school for boys while three colleges (two for boys and one for girls) were also non-functional. Of the 9 closed institutions, five were primary level schools (four for boys and one for girls) while four community schools (one for boys and three for girls) are also closed.²

FATA reflects a terrible and apathetic picture while looking at its disadvantaged communities and the state of governance. Notwithstanding the cherished tribal traditions like hospitality and stronger social bonds, tribal wars, extremist propensity and tendency of excessive crimes have become the hallmark of the tribal belt today. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the subsequent wars there have had a further deteriorating impact on the increasing crime ratio due to excessive arms accessibility and growing number of warlords in the area adjacent to Durand Line. Women and children are the greatest victim of this scenario, vulnerable to the scarcity of basic resources and amenities. Basic health and education amenities are a far away dream for these neglected strata of society. A total of three graduate colleges exist across FATA for more than two million people and only one is for women located in the Khyber Agency. Lack of access to information and any opportunity to give vent to their views have practically excluded women from participation in the decision-making process, though their names are being used in different documents such as political representation and local councils. The inadequate and skeletal infrastructure is the root cause of such underdevelopment in the area. Ironically, these infrastructural facilities have been decreasing instead of increasing for the last several years.

Numerous development plans have been proposed by different public sector organizations to change this chronic situation and uplift the socioeconomic conditions of the area. The FATA Development Authority established under FATA Secretariat in the year 2006 is the central body that deals with the development activities across the administrative boundaries of FATA. The Authority was established mainly to promote socio-economic development through public-private partnership. Subsequently with the increase in foreign funding, the Directorate of the Projects (DoP) was also established in 2007 in the FATA Secretariat to coordinate these funds and donor activities. The Directorate was set up to design, plan, implement, and monitor foreign funded projects to bring sustainable social and economic development in the area. The new arrangement was aimed at achieving coordinated implementation of various development projects/plans for optimal developmental outcomes. The development framework of FATA can be summarized as given in the Figure 1 below.

Figure – 1 - FATA Development Framework



Source: Planning and Development Department, FATA Secretariat, Peshawar

Situation Analysis of FATA

In FATA, currently the development activities are carried out through three types of project designs:

- The projects in first category are implemented by the Government of Pakistan under Annual Development Plans through its own funds and according to the procedures prescribed in annual budgets and by the Federal Planning Commission. These projects are planned, executed and monitored by the executing departments according to the rules, procedures and principles laid down by the Government of Pakistan.
- The second are the rural development projects funded by multi-lateral or bi-lateral donors. These projects have their own project office/project management unit and staff. Although, these projects follow the procedures laid down by the Federal Planning Commission, but they are also bound to follow the procedures laid down by the donor agencies.
- The third types of projects working in FATA are the ones, which follow their own procedures and rules, independent of the Government of Pakistan. The FATA secretariat in this case only coordinates these projects through Directorate of Projects.

Although all the three types of project designs are following different execution mechanism, they have one thing in common. They all concentrate on activities that are overlapping rather than supplementing each other. All of their developmental efforts are focused on working in the same areas like provision of new facilities, maintenance and repair, capacity building or provision of food and non-food items to the people hit by war or natural disaster in the area.

Major Issues in FATA Development

Currently, the following issues are seriously hampering the overall development process led by international community, government and government officials and development sector organization towards bringing any change in the FATA:-

Lack of Vision

The development initiatives by the Government of Pakistan and the donors are based on old techniques and methodologies. Every year a number of schools, health institutions and other related infrastructure are

built but without any visible amelioration in the condition of common people. There is no vision or a development model devised for the peculiar situation of the area due to War on Terror. The efforts undertaken by the Government and Donors would have made a meaningful improvement with their current style only if peace had existed there. Recently FATA has been passing through a difficult time and therefore needs an extraordinary vision and a different development approach to yield fruitful results. The government must work more effectively by designing a SMART (Specific, measurable, achievable, realistic, and timely) plan to rebuild the lives of natives.³

Resistance to NGOs and Foreign Donors

Government of Pakistan restrained foreign NGOs and their representatives' entry to FATA and allied areas due to serious concerns and security issues.⁴ The NGOs and foreign donors do not have any acceptability in the social system throughout the country. But they face sever resistance

Government of Pakistan restrained foreign NGOs and their representatives' entry to FATA and allied areas due to serious concerns and security issues.

and conflict in FATA. The tribesmen consider NGOs as anti-religion and un-Islamic. Due to liberal environment of NGOs, their progressive and open-mindedness and mixed

cultural activities make them socially alienated in FATA and other conservative societies. People consider them foreign agents who have vested interest in conflict with their religion and homeland culture. Thus, most of NGOs and donors are considered as a source of foreign occupation.

Weak Capacity of Government Executing Agencies

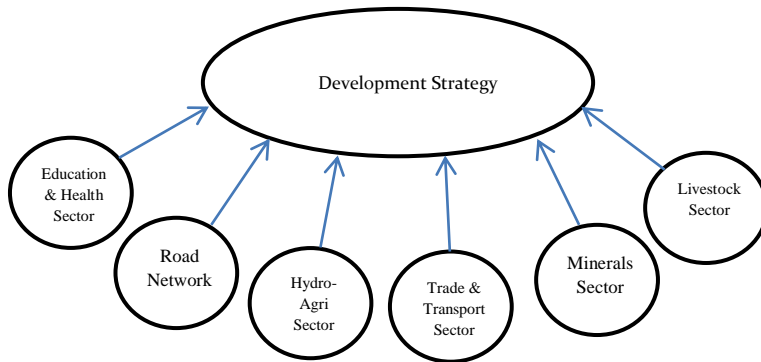
On one side, the role of NGOs is not acceptable to the people and on the other side, the government executing agencies which are acceptable to the people have little capacity to design and execute projects to bring meaningful change in the area. There is a serious need for improving the capacities of these executing agencies.⁵ The administrative reforms instituted by the successive governments, directed to bring change in the

working of the civilian administration have failed as these reforms did not take into consideration the culture, traditions, social system and economic status of the area. Although the development sector organizations have been paying millions of dollars for getting technical assistance and other non-development expenditures to their foreign consultants but, due to local administrations' poor capacity to deliver, no visible results have been achieved yet.

Proposed Development Strategy

As discussed above, today FATA needs a unique multi-pronged development model based on reverse engineering and limited to a few important sectors that can help people of FATA improve their economy, build their stakes in the national mainstream and help them improve their social status. The model should propose a comprehensive socio-economic plan developed through participatory process. The suggested development dimensions of the proposed model are given in Figure 2 below.

Figure-2 - Proposed Development Dimensions



Education and Health

In the current scenario, it is difficult to provide advance health and education at the door steps. Due to large amount of financial and logistical resources required to provide such facility at the doorstep, it is more feasible to provide quality educational and health facilities at the divisional, sub-divisional and tehsil headquarters levels. The centralized education and

health facility arrangements can bring better results instead of providing security to each school and health center in the far flung areas. There is a need to build residential schools for both males and females from sixth to twelfth grade. In these schools, there should be free education and free accommodation.

It has been a common claim of respondents that illiteracy is the major cause of extremism in FATA. The provision of free education, accommodation and food in *Madrassas* (religious seminaries) is the main charm for the poor tribesmen to send their children *Madrassas*. If the government provides such facilities in residential schools within a controlled environment, it can counter the trend of sending the young ones to *Madrassas* and, as a result, can counterbalance extremist approaches and mechanisms. This will encourage students to come to such schools. It will be easy for the administration to have a check on these schools and quality education can be given to the residents of FATA.⁶ Similarly, the teaching staff should be provided residential facilities near the school in a secure environment to ensure their attendance.

The same procedure should be adopted for health facilities. Rather than constructing health facilities across FATA, the health facilities at the Headquarters should be improved and uplifted. More than 800 health units and 30 hospitals are already working in FATA. Approximately 3000 professional and trained staff is employed by these basic health units.⁷

The international development organizations are pouring their funds for health and education facilities in the FATA but not in a systematic way.

Access to good quality of care is limited and acknowledged barriers include unequally distributed health infrastructure, staff absenteeism, lack of drugs and lack of clinical skills among the health professionals

leading to poor quality of services. The international development organizations such as World Bank, UNICEF, UNDP, JICS and USAID are pouring their funds for health and education facilities in the FATA but not in a systematic way. All these funds, combined with the efforts of the government, can easily equip existing health and education facilities at

headquarters rather than putting these resources at stake by constructing new buildings in unsecured areas.

Road Infrastructure

The infrastructure especially roads had never been so vulnerable and destroyed before the coalition forces came in Afghanistan. Now, all connecting roads in the tribal belt and border areas were damaged due to mortar shells, movement of heavy equipment and natural disasters. When the education and health institutions are centralized, good quality road structure is required throughout FATA to connect the far-flung areas with the headquarters. The main roads that connect FATA to the settled districts are required to be reconstructed and connections to local areas be provided to initiate socioeconomic development activities. Civil and military organizations including Frontier Works Organization (FWO) are already working for the construction of road infrastructure. According to FWO Project Director, a portion of 550 kilometers is being built by FWO in FATA and other projects are under construction.⁸ This infrastructural arrangement, on the one side, will help develop the trade and mineral sector of the area and, on the other side, provide quick response time to the students and tribesmen needing to reach for their needs and health services available at the headquarters.

Hydro-Agri Sector

FATA has a rugged terrain with short span of a rainfall. Mostly rainfall occurs in off-season and results in flooding that destroys land and the water goes waste. To boost agriculture sector, this water is required to be stored and the lands protected from soil erosion due to flash floods. It will be very useful to have water retaining structures all across FATA like check dams, water storage dams, reservoirs, retaining structures for land along with water distribution systems for agricultural purposes. This will help in not only boosting the agriculture sector but also saving the erosion of land.⁹ The area is blessed with unlimited quantity of natural resources. The minerals, livestock, precious flora and fauna and pure natural water are the potential economic resources that can be tamed towards development of the area.

Such resources can be very vital to eradicate poverty that makes people vulnerable and oppressed.

Trade & Transport Sector

Trade is the major source of Tribal economy. FATA has three of the four major trade routes connecting Pakistan with Afghanistan. These trade routes should be developed and facilities are required to be provided to the tribesmen that can increase the trade turnover in the area. Similarly, the second sector that needs to be organized and improved is the transportation

The access to market, health, education and other basic municipal services can only be ensured if proper transportation system is provided and road infrastructure is developed.

sectors, a main source of employment in the tribal areas. This sector also needs to be supported. Transportation is the key to the development of any area. The access to market, health, education and other

basic municipal services can only be ensured if proper transportation system is provided and road infrastructure is developed.¹⁰ A major impediment in the development of trade sector in FATA is the nonexistence of proper banking system. With the exception of agency headquarters, a major part of FATA is still without any banking and financing facility, thus hindering business activities there. In order to boost economic activities and trade, proper and state of the art banking system with reasonable financing facilities is required in FATA.

Minerals Sector

The other important sector that needs to be invested in is the mineral sector. This will provide a good economic opportunity to the people of FATA and help them improve their economic conditions. The area has a great potential of minerals that is a billion-dollar industry these days. The mineral sector is also linked with engineering and technical education. Establishing and providing such connected facilities can bring a faster and effective change in FATA. Pakistan Council of Scientific and Industrial Research (PCSIR) can also play vital role in the development of mineral

sector in FATA.¹¹ Once the things are settled down, the international investors can be invited by using diplomatic marketing and peace diplomacy.

Livestock Sector

Livestock is a source of food, transportation and household income in FATA and is an established industry. The number of ruminants in FATA stands at 4.89 million, consisting of 1.01 million cattle, 0.12 million buffalo, 1.37 million sheep, 2.22 million goats, and 0.17 million camels, horses, asses and mules (Government of KPK, 2005). The figure is even holding in the period of war and extremism in the area that can be multiplied many a times if peace and harmony comes back. The household animals of Afghan refugees are not included in the abovementioned estimates.

Poultry is another source of earning livelihood in FATA that meets local and Afghan market demands. It is evident from the research that the 15% population has full time employment provided by the livestock industry. This industry can be furnished and regulated by introducing investment plans and inviting local and international investors. This kind of initiatives can be very helpful to normalize the peace and security situation and bring socioeconomic development that would ultimately uplift the living standards of inhabitants of FATA.

Role of Military, Donors and NGOs

The role of Military, donors and NGOs in FATA, especially in a situation where the Political Administration and the executing agencies has serious deficiencies cannot be ruled out. In the current scenario, these agencies can play a very positive role in planning, monitoring and evaluation for development of FATA. Similarly, their role in financial management, human resource improvement and capacity building of the agencies involved in the development sector of FATA will be an added advantage to the Political Administration and Government of Pakistan. According to the President Pakistan Businessmen and Intellectuals Forum, Mr. Zahid Hussain, Pakistan

Army is playing an important role in the development of the infrastructure and people of FATA.¹²The NGOs and donors can play this role effectively, sitting in the capitals of KP and Pakistan and the army in the field. This will also reduce the security risk prevailing in FATA for these agencies besides providing a system of check and balances and monitoring and evaluation.

Conclusion

The fate of FATA had never been so-affixed with Afghan politics as it became after Russian invasion of Afghanistan. The third generation of FATA is brought up in the environment of guns and bullets. They are witness to

The dignity, self-respect, social pride, and cultural richness of the area and its inhabitants have blurred in the current circumstances. The meanings of development

the extremity of bloodshed that has never been seen by their forefathers. The dignity, self-respect, social pride, and cultural richness of the area and its inhabitants have blurred in the current circumstances. The

meanings of development have entirely changed. The onus of responsibility for their plight does not rest solely with the People of FATA, especially the young generation. The international community, especially those who have remained involved there for the last three decades, are also answerable along with the extremist elements for this gloomy period of FATA.

Today FATA is receiving huge funds mainly from international development agencies, donor organizations and from the federal government. However, available funds are not properly utilized towards the development of FATA. The situation in the area has changed a lot considering its social hierarchy, cultural traditions and living standards due to longstanding war on terror and equally increasing extremism in the area. New approach towards development and social uplift is required. In order to mainstream the area and people, somewhat reverse engineering will be required and a fresh start is needed to be taken. The resources are required to be pooled and utilized in a proper way which can change the fate of the

people by providing them a workable infrastructure, standard health facilities, education, security and basic amenities of life.

Apart from the blame game, sustainable measures of development through SMART (Specific, measureable, achievable, realistic, and timely) rule are still missing. The capacity of the local administration to deliver needs to be improved a lot, especially in terms of public consultation, community engagement and trust building. In this scenario, the required development and its discourse is not what the international standards require but it should correspond to what is needed by the local people, suiting the prevailing situation; only that can bring some positive changes in the lives of the inhabitants of FATA.

NOTES

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List of Publications

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6. World War -1: The Western Front
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8. NSP: Non-Kinetic Challenges to the State of Pakistan, 2012
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11. ‘World War -I and Its Impact on South Asia’ - 02 Dec 2014 Post Symposium Report
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