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Editor's Note

The ISSRA Papers (The Journal of Governance and Public Policy) 1st Half 2017 is being published. A number of selected Papers in the domains of governance, management, education, food security, administrative re-articulation and public policies are part of this issue. Substantial support in terms of research papers have been received from university professors, Army officers (both serving and retired), ISSRA faculty and number of M.Phil / Ph.D scholars. A brief summary of the published papers and their contributors is given in the succeeding paragraphs.

The First paper Higher Education and Graduates' Career Opportunities: An Emerging Challenge to Pakistan is contributed by Dr. Nargis Abbas and Dr. Uzma Ashiq. The researchers have analyzed the existing gap between the available graduate career opportunities and existing market demands in Pakistan.

Strengthening the Federation of Pakistan through Administrative Re-Articulation: An Urban Sociological Perspective is the Second paper, written by Dr. Waseem Ishaque and Syed Jawad Shah. The authors focus on the notion of administrative re-articulation and creating more provinces in Pakistan, with a view to address popular demands and come up with heterogeneous administrative units, which are economically viable and demographically well carved.

The Third paper, Historical Perspective of Corruption in Pakistan: A Way Forward is written by Lieutenant General (Retired) Syed Muhammed Amjad. The paper examines the causes of corruption, its historical linkages and the inherent drawback of existing laws for corrupt practices. The author also suggests remedies for the eradication of corruption.

'Frontier Militia: Future of Militias under the 2017 Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) Reforms', is written by a Ph.D scholar, Mr. Aamir Cheema. This paper argues that without bringing any reforms in

Provincially Administered Tribal Areas (PATA), any steps taken to eliminate militancy will fall short of their objectives. The paper concludes that FATA is a misnomer and political agencies should be treated as an individual entity. Moreover merger of Tribal Areas in KPK have direct bearing on national and international affairs of Pakistan.

The Fifth paper Governance Reforms in FATA, has been written by Dr. Tahir Ul Mulk Kahlon. This paper suggests governance reforms in FATA to help public officials and political leaders institute appropriate administrative structures and proficient governing policies. It brings out constraints and challenges of governance in tribal areas, where people have been suffering from violence. It also recommends critical choices and public policy options which would lead to good governance with peace and stability in these areas.

Tharparkar Fiasco in Pakistan: A Crisis of Governance and its Future Implications is authored by Mr. Ahmad Khawar Shahzad. The paper gives an overview of the crisis of governance in Tharparkar and suggests that administrative anarchy, bureaucratic inefficiency, government-callousness, dearth of adequate health facilities and corruption in the health sector played a preponderant role in aggravating mortality rate of neo-natal babies, pregnant and lactating women, birds and animals in Tharparkar. Author also discusses implications and remedial measures.

The Seventh paper is Change Management- A Discipline Even Less Understood than Practiced, by Lieutenant General (Retired) Syed Sabahat Hussain. His research shows that Change the hard reality of life is an inevitable and indispensable process in human life. Change is the only variable that is permanent, without change there would be no life at all. The author highlights the importance of change in an organization by critically evaluating various tools required for change management processes. He proves his points by applying various theoretical models to conclude that effects of change have to be maintained otherwise status quo forces will nullify these effects.

The Last paper is Dynamics of Food Security in Pakistan; Threat to National Harmony by Mr. Nauman Hassan. This research shows that there is more violence in ten districts around Pakistan, which are facing extremely poor conditions of food security and consequently, facilitating an environment that is conducive to secessionist movements. The paper concludes with some policy recommendations including some out of the box solutions and vigorous measures to fill the gap between policies geared towards addressing the challenge of food insecurity and their implementation in Pakistan.

In conclusion, the editor deems to extend his profound gratitude to all the contributors, which include academicians, analysts, practitioners and researchers for their contributions in ISSRA Papers. The editorial team always welcomes worth while research based papers on relevant topics from prospective researchers. Wish you all the best and hope this issue will be an intellectually rewarding reading.

HIGHER EDUCATION AND GRADUATES' CAREER OPPORTUNITIES: AN EMERGING CHALLENGE TO PAKISTAN

Dr. Nargis Abbas & Dr. Uzma Ashiq*

Abstract

The drivers of socio-economic growth now in the knowledge economy reside in higher education. The existing gap between available graduates' career opportunities and market demand in Pakistan is an outcome of prevailing patterns in every part of higher education, e.g., its finance, administrative structure, curriculum, adopted instruction methods and potential students. This cluster of patterns has significant impact on the outcome of higher education resulting in high unemployment. To answer the question as to how a sustained economic development of Pakistan can be ensured, in accordance with the technocratic theories and the social exclusion theories address the underlying issue of increased momentum of unemployment among the youth in coming decades is the focus of this paper. Based on a critical evaluation of existing literature, this study suggests that job portal at government level must be initiated by aligning higher education with labour market demands.

Keywords: Higher Education, Graduate Career-opportunities, Job market, Technocratic Theory, Social Exclusion Theory.

Introduction

The concept of knowledge-based economy opened up a debate on the transformation of higher education into the economy of the state by expanding career opportunities. For many years there were substantial grounds for suspecting a significant relationship between higher education and career opportunities. The European Commission emphasized that the efficiency of higher education is determined by the quality of cohesion between education and labour market. The primary interdependence of these two factors prevails and is being recognized so that aggregate

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economic growth of a country caused by an educated and highly trained pool of the population is an important element, which ensures development of a country.

However, the mode of the relationship between higher education and career opportunities is yet to be the matter of discussion and agreement. There are two major axes of this relationship. One is over-education, that is, higher level of education against a specified job. Patrinos (1997) studied the phenomenon of over-education in Greece and suggested that “over-education is a new phenomenon brought about by an oversupply of graduates forced to take jobs in inappropriate fields”¹. The second one is the education-job mismatch, that is, the mismatch between the graduate degree and the skills required in the market for career opportunities.

Higher education system and available graduate career opportunities in all developed and developing countries have transformed during recent years due to an expansion in number of students. Worldwide, educationists, policy makers, employers, organizations and other related jobs providing organizations have recognized the crucial importance of handling the job-skills gap. According to a study by the Center of Education and Workforce at Georgetown University, in 2020, there will be 165 million jobs in total in the economic sector, out of which 65% will have eligibility criteria of post secondary education. Changing global economic trends are redefining trajectories of labour market demands, which are responsible for an expansion in the gap between higher education and employment opportunities. According to the International Labour Organization (ILO, 2015) young graduates are lacking in the 21st century workplace skills, like; collaboration & cooperation, communication, Analytical & critical thinking, multi dimensional approach skills etc.

In Pakistan, the quality of education as well as its availability is the main concern, which has been the focus in all educational plans, reforms and policies. Among the general problems like low literacy rate, insufficient number of educational institutes at all levels and unskilled technical labor etc., graduate career opportunities and its linkage with higher education is a

great challenge that Pakistan is facing today. The major objective of universities in the global market is to develop linkages with persisting industries, unfortunately Pakistan is missing university-industry linkages. According to Global Innovation Index (2015), Pakistan ranks 119 out of 128 countries.

Objective of the Study

This paper was intended to investigate the gap between career opportunities for graduator and higher education in Pakistan. Further, it explored the emerging challenges to higher education in meeting national and international labor market demand for graduates.

Emergence of Research Questions

This paper aimed at investigating what are the causes behind the gap between higher education and job market demand? Further, how far technocratic theory can provide us a strategic plan for resolving the problems of quantity? In addition, addressing the issue of quality, where does the Social exclusion theory stand in ensuring societal harmony through quality of higher education?

Literature Review

In all industrialized societies, there has been an emergence of multinational corporations that have dominated and shaped the character of domestic economics and the global division of labor.² Along-side this process, there has been the growth of state institutions as a result of a need to provide services in such areas as education, health and social welfare. Such organizational restructuring has resulted in requiring new management competencies and skills, which in turn, changes the demands for quality and nature of human skills.³

A number of studies addressing this issue have been conducted regarding Pakistan. Research comprehensively highlighted the main factors which are causing this gap, as inadequate internship programs, weak university-industry-professional nexus, non-availability of youth

development programs, poor curriculum to fulfill market demand and absence of professional training programs for youth.⁴ British council (2009), in a survey conducted in all provinces of Pakistan, concluded that the gap between the skills required by modern labour markets and the acquired skills of graduates is the major reason of limited career opportunities for graduates along with corruption and discrimination present in Pakistan.

Youth in Pakistan and Distribution of Labour

Human capital is the most valuable resource for societies and their institutions. It is believed that the more the young blood a country has, the better the chance of its progress and development. Moreover, if the youth is highly educated and technically skilled, then such pool of population is the key to socio-economic development of the country. In Pakistan, 65% of population is going to have the steering of country in 5 to 10 years (World Bank, 2014). According to the Pakistan Labour force survey (2012-13), 40% of

Distribution of employment shows that major sector of employment in Pakistan is agriculture and related domains.

Pakistan's population is between 0-14 years and 28% of the population is between 15-30 years, whereas adults between 31-50 years are 20%.

Distribution of employment shows

that major sector of employment in Pakistan is agriculture and related domains. About 44% of the economy is generated through this sector, and 28% of the employment is connected with industry of manufacturing, sale and trade. While the services sector shares only 20-25% of the employment (Pakistan Labuor Force survey, 2012-13). Catering for the educational needs and technical skills of such distribution of the population within these employment sectors is a major challenge for Pakistan.

Market Demand and Available Graduates

Evidence from research studies and available figures depicts that labour force participation rate is directly proportional to the level of education.⁵ Therefore, unemployment rate is higher among the labour having low level of education and with little or no technical skills. In

addition, opportunity costs of being out of the labour market are highest for the most educated workers.⁶

Pakistan is facing diverse issues in the field of education. On the one hand, hundred percent literacy rates is a dream yet to be fulfilled. The going ratio of primary education in Pakistan is considered half of the total school going population in that age, only a quarter of the population goes to secondary school and very small percentage, that is, 5% receive any higher education.⁷ On the other hand, proper career opportunities for an educated population are another target to be achieved. Alongside, Graduates career opportunities and its linkage with higher education is a great challenge for Pakistan. Albeit, young passionate people who are true believers of education, usually don't have particular options for essential skills. Universities are producing graduates with not enough skills for modern labour markets. Persons with quality qualifications are facing hardship in finding employment up to the mark due to discrimination and corrupt infrastructure. Mismatched skills is the cause of a gap between graduates' required and the numbers required by labour market demand.

Curriculum and Adopted Instruction Methods: Diversity in Quality of Education

Multiple systems of education have mushroomed on the bases of which different types of school systems exit everywhere in the country depending upon the socio-economic status of the people. This diversification of public-private schools, urban-rural region based schools, missionary school and Madrassah, become the manifestation of diverse curriculum and instruction methods. This multiplicity of education systems generates students having different levels of educational attainment and cognitive skills with different ideologies and socialization background from higher education institutions. Such diversity becomes responsible for different levels of the quality and standard of education in the country. This phenomenon causes further generation of different classes in society, who possess less value in common and have vast gaps in thoughts and modes of life. In developing countries like Pakistan, a particular class consists of a few privileged families, which have the major portion of the country's wealth in

their hands. This situation, results in generation of poverty, which in turn reduces the balance and harmony in society.

Discussion

Pakistan in 2030 is going to face high momentum of urban infrastructures rather than rural.

Pakistan in 2030 is going to face high momentum of urban infrastructures rather than rural. Due to such situation job saturation could quadruple. In this scenario, highly skilled graduates will be an increasingly scarce Resource. Therefore, it is essential that

we address these issues by implementing efforts in attaining the objective of quality education.

From Quantity towards Excellence

Higher Education policy globally is in transition period, it is witnessing changes in its contents, goals, values and meanings as a whole in its manifestations due to increasing market demand. Once there was a debate regarding quantity vs. quality but now in the present decade, this concept has a new paradigm of quality towards excellence. Lewis (2006) in betrayal Ruben's (2003) and De-Corte⁸ did a great work for questioning the excellence of higher education. The other key issue in the emergence of excellence is the university "ranking movement". Excellence is a driver of change for new competitive global environment of higher education.

In Pakistan, a drastic change occurred in the field of higher education after the emergence of Higher Education Commission (HEC) in 2002. At that time there were only 36 public universities to cater to the need of higher education of youth. Major focus of HEC was to initiate dynamic steps in the field of higher education. Therefore, on the one hand, new universities (139 universities till 2014) were launched to increase the quantity of graduates in the country. On the other hand, to ensure quality education, enormous efforts were taken. Following figure demonstrates the transitional period on the momentum of quantity towards excellence in Pakistan's higher education.



Figure 1: Transitional stage on the momentum of Quantity to Excellence

Where are we Standing?

Though, government claims of hard struggle to raise this rate, but, on contrary, allocates minimum budget to this sector. On the average it has never been more than 2.3% of GDP, which indicates that this sector is not the highest priority of the government. Notwithstanding, the increased number of universities, meeting the international standards of quality education is a great target ahead for which Pakistan is struggling. Among top five hundred universities of the world, none of them belong to Pakistan, which reflects one of the reasons behind the unemployment ratio among university graduates.



Figure 2: Position of Pakistan in the path of Quantity to Excellence

Yet, some other issue and barriers are also there, specifically youth related, that are needed to be dealt on immediate grounds. The most striking one is that the unemployment rate is much higher among the highly educated youth/graduates⁹ and moreover, regarding the initial pay scale among graduates, there is not a large gap between these graduates and those not having higher education or any professional degrees.¹⁰ In such situation, a plausible solution to the problem may be the youth-specific interventions that should be implemented in order to create a vast job market offering well-paid and better job opportunities for graduates. In this way it will achieve the objective of smoothening “the transition from school to the labour force, and help youth realize their investment in education” (Amjad, 2013). There would be long-term benefits accruing from these interventions to the country’s economic growth by increasing higher

household incomes and in turn increase chance of investment in education of Pakistani youth.

Emerging Challenges to Pakistan

Economic development of the country can be at maximum level by a paradigm shift of high quality work force. Thus the new emerging economic needs and trends in Pakistan required re-engineering in the national strategies of knowledge production and market demand. White collar jobs are very few and limited, while pool of graduates available in the market for such jobs is huge. On the other hand, for agriculture & forestry sector and manufacturing & trade sectors (as discussed above), skilled and equipped graduates are scarce in number. Such a devastating situation results in high unemployment ratio in Pakistani society.

On the other hand, due to non-availability of skilled educated youth, plenty of already existing occupations are dying out. Due to this mismanagement and misalignment between higher education curriculum and economic needs, small or home industry in Pakistan is not emerging and already existing industries are vanishing. As

Due to non-availability of skilled educated youth, plenty of already existing occupations are dying out

mentioned above, about 40% of the Pakistani youth is going to replace the existing population dynamics in next 5 to 10 years, therefore such a huge mob of emotionally vibrant young blood with very little job opportunities could result in the curse of human trafficking or brain drain.

A blend of Technocratic Model and Social Exclusion Theory

A substantial impact on the quality of education in the institutes cannot be acquired unless reforms based on a broad spectrum of personality development to professional development is introduced. It is a matter, which requires deep rooted and lasting solution. Graduates in Pakistan don't have the skills for a modern labour market. Those who possess good qualifications, are in search of up to the mark jobs and those who are not

having good qualification are vulnerable. Thus, deteriorating conditions of economic growth provide the way to criticize corporate performance and educational structure. A more in-depth acknowledgement of changes is taking place in the economic restructuring of organizations and innovations in the field of technology. The faith in educational structure for the delivery of the economic goods is prevailing. Policy makers, politicians, parents, employers, as well as students view education as an investment rather than consumption due to the influence of “conventional wisdom” model, that is, national economy depends upon the quality of human resource.¹¹ Having said that, the expansion of higher education is evident in recent two decades and initiated the debate of its need and quality in the light of its compatibility with job markets.

To explain the relationship between stratification of occupations and educational systems, the Technocratic theory and the Social Exclusion theory can be employed for comparing identification. The explanation of the Technocratic theory conform very closely to the conventional wisdom.¹²

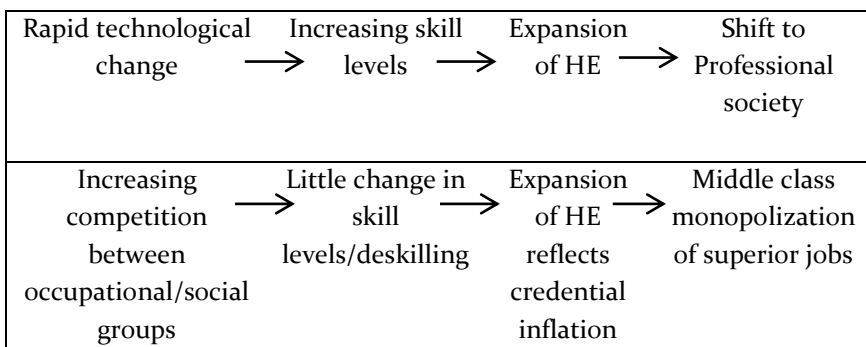


Figure 3: Relationship between Education and occupational stratification
(Source: Brown & Scase 2005; p.13)

During 20th century, the perspective based on the Technocratic model can explain the pressures faced by the governments to ensure the investments in higher education for the supply of professionals and technical workers who can fulfill the needs of “Hi-Tech societies”. To support this view, strength can be gained in the increasing need and

demand of human resource/ human capital. As it is evident that advance industrial societies are economically strong and efficient.¹³ Therefore the ultimate goal of higher education is deemed as industrialism.

However, the social exclusion theory questions the technocratic theory's perspective of higher education. Instead, ideologies, tradition, educational policies, curriculum in education system are multifaceted. In addition, "the power play of competing vested interested groups is vital to a full understanding of the educational change and labour market".¹⁴ Theorists commented that there is limited evidence in favor of the claim that skill levels have dramatically improved during the second era of 20th century.¹⁵ According to social exclusion theory, educational credentials are just producing the hierarchal staff divisions by building specialized professionals. Therefore, the expansion in higher education represents a conflict between social groups.

Though SE theorists are of the view that "conventional wisdom" has failed to address the monopoly of pressure credential groups during selection and recruitment of different ranks, However, Fred L. Block, in his research proved that skill levels have risen in western societies.¹⁶ There may be discrepancies in earlier researchers¹⁷ examining method to technocratic theory, but the adoptive paradigm resolves these issues. To have the full benefit from positive points of both above-mentioned theories, an adoptive paradigm is proposed. According to the adoptive paradigm, the person can be treated as a personality package consisting of technical skills and qualities.¹⁸ In this way, it is suggested that social considerations as mentioned in social exclusion model must be included in the technocratic model.

Recommendations

Quality higher education is the wherewithal to step up economic development in the country. There could be a number of enhancing forces to address the above-mentioned challenges to Pakistan. A blend of technocratic theory and social exclusion theory into adoptive model can

serve to cross existing barriers in the path of quantity to excellence via quality in Pakistan's higher education institutions. In accordance with changing trends and market demands, a series of awareness programs and entrepreneurship skills interventions must be initiated in universities. As it is evident that politically-driven entrepreneurial culture stimulated youth to set up their business in developed countries, therefore, in Pakistan, the curriculum must be designed based on such contents which explore and polish the latent potentials of the students, thus they will be able to create employment not only for themselves but also for others through small industries. Further, career-counseling centre in educational institutions is a compulsory pillar to bridge the gap between the job-market and available graduates significantly. In addition, dual degree programs, as practiced by the developed countries like UK, Australia, USA etc., may improve job opportunities.

Though, graduates in Pakistan are facing various challenges in career opportunities however, some of them are common to all labor markets and can be dealt with through skill enhancing programs. The main focus of such programs must be performance enhancement to broaden the highly educated youth employment opportunities. Moreover, to update the youth with employment opportunities within the country and at international level, job portals at government level must be initiated. In addition, long-term investments (human and financial capitals) and strengthened policies for over all formal and informal education on priority bases will ultimately align higher education with labour market career opportunities in the long run.¹⁹

Last but not least, regarding educational policies and plans, these must be aligned with international standards keeping in mind the existing situation of Pakistan. We observed that neither any policy nor any plan could have achieved its objectives successfully. On the one hand, the reason for this predicament may be the unrealistic approach while setting the goals. These were never based on the reality at grass root levels and hence

couldn't be effective. On the other hand, government never allotted enough funds to realize these goals in reality. Another cause of no success in these plans is the poor system of monitoring and lack of continuous evaluation process for them that could alert governing authorities to take necessary actions to obtain maximum output out of minimum investment for the implementation of these policies. That is why after 69 years of Pakistan's independence, it could not realize the dream of 100% literacy. Besides this goal of UPE and 100% literacy, there is another issue that couldn't be resolved yet; the dilemma of variety of education systems varies from elite class to lower middle class. The injustice and imbalance division of resources can only be controlled by uniform education, which will be provided to all and without any discrimination.

NOTES

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STRENGTHENING THE FEDERATION OF PAKISTAN THROUGH ADMINISTRATIVE RE-ARTICULATION; AN URBAN SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

Dr. Waseem Ishaque & Syed Jawad Shah*

Abstract

This research paper revolves around the notion of administrative re-articulation and creating more provinces in Pakistan, with a view to address popular demands and come up with heterogeneous administrative units which are economically viable and demographically well carved. It encompasses a detailed analysis of background / enabling environments leading to demand for creation of new provinces on various pretexts. The paper also covers smaller administrative units' system being followed in contemporary world. Popular demands and possible options available with suggested course of action have also been explained to address the issue at hand.

Keywords: Consensus, Legislation, Heterogeneous Smaller Administrative Units.

Background

Pakistan as a country and nation is under stress due to societal impact of war on terrorism, uneven development, inappropriate distribution of resources and several other human security related aspects. Societal intolerance is another important element affecting the fabric of society, which has been compounded by weak governance structure and lack of appropriate capacity to provide administrative services. Statistically speaking, Baluchistan, the largest province with 44% of country's area houses only 4.5% of the population, while Punjab mainly due to its population size around 56% of total country's population with reasonably well developed infrastructure, education and other related facilities in comparison to other provinces has assumed pronounced role in politics, civil services and security

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establishment. Due to administrative inadequacies, several political parties with their respective political perspectives have been demanding administrative re-articulation by creating more provinces for grass root dispensation of government services and equitable development. With the renaming of NWFP as Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) and counter demand by Hazara inhabitants for separate identity and province a chain reaction in other parts of the country like Southern Punjab and Sindh is in offing, which has created a number of hurdles in national integration. Administrative re-articulation by decentralizing power and creating more provinces with reasonable balance in their geographical breadth, population and as well as administrative capacity will have far reaching dividends on national integration and development.

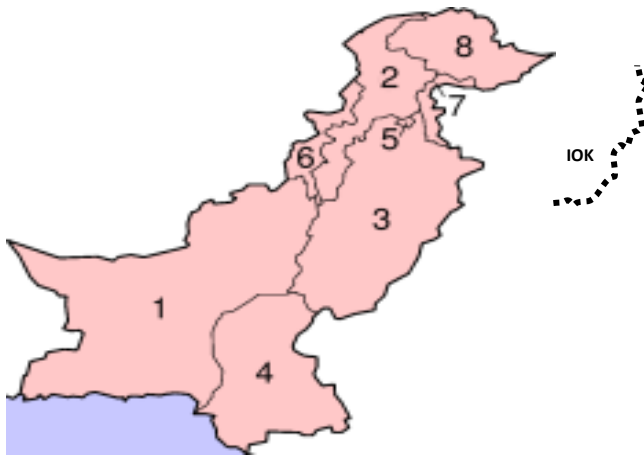
Historical Recap on the Administrative Re-Articulation in Pakistan

The administrative dispensation problems confronting the state of Pakistan can be traced back to the inception of Pakistan as several princely states and territories joined as a result of partition plan in 1947. Therefore, the administrative components of Pakistan derived their inheritance from British India with a set of regulations governing the state from old time British regulations with reasonable degree of amendments suited to our environment were outlined by successive governments. After independence till 1971, Pakistan held two 'wings' as huge and unmanageable administrative units with inherent weakness of lack of contiguity, which were distanced by

In 1952, 4 princely states of Southwest Pakistan were re-designated as Baluchistan States Union.

1600 kilometers from each other. The Eastern wing encompassed one province of East Bengal, while the Western wing contained four provinces namely NWFP now KPK, Baluchistan, Sindh and West Punjab (later-on named as Punjab in 1950), 13 princely states and parts of Kashmir. As an interim measure, Karachi was declared as Federal city. In 1952, the 4 princely states of Southwest Pakistan were re-designated as Baluchistan States Union. In 1955, One Unit was promulgated which implied that the provinces and princely states of the Western wing should

be merged and re-designated as West Pakistan with Lahore as its capital. Simultaneously East Bengal was renamed as East Pakistan with Dhaka as its capital. Capital of united Pakistan was shifted to Rawalpindi in 1960 and later to Islamabad. Resultantly, the Federal Capital Territory was re-designated in West Pakistan. In 1970, then President Yahya Khan abolished West Pakistan by presidential order by creating four provinces, while East Pakistan till that time retained its entity. The unfortunate incidents following 1971 war resulted in the separation of Eastern Wing to an independent country named as Bangladesh. Following the traumatic separation of half of Pakistan, several administrative readjustments were undertaken for dispensation of services and ensuring better governance. The last remaining princely states of Hunza and Nagar were amalgamated into Gilgit Agency in 1974 to form Northern Areas. Similarly, Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) was promulgated in 1975. The status of Islamabad was changed to a capital territory in 1981. In 2009, Gilgit-Baltistan was granted limited autonomy and renamed via the Self-Governance Order issued by the president Asif Ali Zardari¹. In 2010, due to a constitutional amendment the name of province of NWFP was changed to Khyber Pukhtoon Kha (KPK). This change of name regenerated the notion of creating more provinces in Pakistan on various factors and drivers. As per 1973 Constitution², present day Pakistan is governed through four provinces and administrative entities as shown on the following map and table³:-



Pakistan's Administrative Units

Map Ref	Administrative Unit	Population	Area (Km ²)
1.	Baluchistan	4.8%	39.3%
2.	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK)	12.9%	8.5%
3.	Punjab	53.7%	23.3%
4.	Sindh	22.2%	16.0%
5.	Islamabad Capital Territory (ICT)	0.6%	0.1%
6.	Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA)	2.3%	3.1%
7.	Azad Jammu & Kashmir (AJ&K)	2.2%	1.5%
8.	Gilgit-Baltistan (GB)	1.3%	8.2%
Total		100%	100%

Table showing population density of Administrative Units

Drivers for Administrative Re-Articulation for Enhancing National Integration Balance amongst Federating Units

The existing administrative structure demonstrates a reasonable degree of disparity due to four large sized provinces infested with incomparable population, geographical size and infrastructure development. Therefore, the development and economic activities revolve around few cities, which generally attract more budgetary allocation due to obvious reasons. Status quo poses challenges to the integration process since majority of the country and population does not feel connected to the benefits of development and delivery of services. The conclusions drawn from this lead us to formulate policies, which imply the distribution of resources proportionately with sole purpose of enhancing national integration and societal harmony.

Resource Disparities

Muted Disagreements on Distribution of Water. At the time of independence, 500 cubic meters of water was available for each Pakistani, which has now reduced to 100 cubic meters, it shows that Pakistan is facing severe scarcity of water. Since 1980s, smaller provinces have voiced against Punjab for consuming more water than its allocated quota, which is by and

large agreed to by wider segments of society. Consensus building for development of more water storage facilities especially in the context of Kalabagh Dam has yet not materialized despite water accords of 1991 and 1994. Floods and droughts affect agriculture and infrastructure alternatively while the provinces remain embroiled in the turf war for more water. The pie of water storage and distribution is shrinking, especially in the backdrop of Indian illegal construction of dams on the rivers coming to Pakistan in violation of Indus Water Treaty, therefore the water scarcity from medium to long term if not addressed as urgent national emergency will have implications on national integration.⁴

Since 1980s, smaller provinces have voiced against Punjab for consuming more water than its allocated quota, which is by and large agreed to by wider segments of society.

Issue of Royalties from Natural Resources. Each of the federating unit has been blessed with unique blend of natural resources, which if distributed equitably, will not only generate adequate revenue for provinces but will also avail enough money for undertaking developmental activities as per needs of every province. Baluchistan is blessed with abundant gas, Sind has huge reservoirs of oil and gas, while KPK houses major hydroelectric power generation projects along-with mineral deposits. Punjab with fertile land is considered as food basket for the country. All such resources warrant balanced articulation and equitable distribution of royalties to the provinces so that each delivers par excellence for enhancing national integration. However, situation on ground appears to be different and usually, media debates are conducted to generate support for respective perspectives to create political pressure instead of discussing issues at appropriate forums.⁵

NFC Awards: There is a complex phenomenon at work especially after the 18th amendment that the legislative and related administrative powers have been devolved to the provinces with fair degree of flexibility in resource generation and spending, but the aspects of taxes and revenue collection are centralised with federal government. The process is going on for quite some

time now, which experiences trust deficit on account of equitable distribution and appropriate allocation for development needs of provinces. The Federal Board of Revenue (FBR) is the principal organization for collecting taxes at federal level, which are later on distributed among the provinces as per the last promulgated 7th NFC Award. The most intriguing aspect of NFC distribution is that while the debate is consistently going on about allocating the share of provinces based on area, population and under-development, which has not yet been resolved. While the devolution of power through 18th amendment of the constitution has now matured to a satisfactory level, yet the financial devolution is far from reality. Therefore, the provinces are dependent upon fiscal transfers, which have generally created political polarization and friction among the federating units as different parties govern the provinces with narrow room for accommodating other's views or shares. It is worth mentioning that certain aspects should be considered in the next meeting of NFC for trust building and enabling the provinces to feel empowered after the devolution of power. The subjects of revenue collection from sales tax, excise duty and the payment share of provinces on account of royalty should also be devolved to the provinces and provincial FBR structures should be reassigned to the provinces for collecting and spending their allocated share of NFC, while the federal government's share can be disbursed as per agreed formula. Such arrangements will have far reaching trust building impact and positive outlook towards national integration.⁶

Population Density. As per fair estimates Pakistan's population has crossed 200 million with over 60 million alone in Punjab. The condition in other provinces is almost the same when viewed in terms of development needs and economic activities. The mass urbanization in Punjab and urban areas of Sindh, backwardness in FATA and huge swath of land in Baluchistan demand reappraisal of existing administrative capacity and future needs of mushrooming population for administrative redistribution and re-articulation.

National Integration

Quaid-i-Azam described that the existing demarcation and the consequent provincialism as "a relic of the old administration". He said: "We are now all Pakistanis - not Bengalis, Pathans, Balochis, Punjabis or Sindhis,.....and we should be proud to be known as Pakistanis"⁷. There are rational voices for creating new provinces on the basis of administrative grounds⁸ in order to promote good governance, ensure accountability, chance of equal opportunity for all as well as transparency. An important implication of creating new provinces on national integration will come in shape of self-rule. Under provincial autonomy people can better decide their lives keeping in view their resources and needs which will promote healthy local politics with better administration. Creation of new provinces strengthens national integration by bringing welfare to the state as a whole. When a province of country is welfare based, it will surely add to the strength of the state. A nation's integration begins to deteriorate when the issue about the creation of new provinces is un-necessarily politicized. When the political parties begin to measure the creation of new provinces according to their peculiar interests, several controversies emerge. Pakistan People's Party supports the voice for Siraiki province to curb the perceived influence of Pakistan Muslim League (N) in Punjab. To counter this move, the latter political party supports the Muhajir community in making Karachi a province to contain the influence of Pakistan People's Party in Sindh. Thus, this sort of politics keeps on rendering the issues controversial. Country's integration will be effected by the creation of new provinces on ethnic and linguistic lines. A heterogeneous new province created on administrative basis will immensely add to national integration.⁹

Bird's Eye view of Selected Contemporary Countries

For ease of services and provision of good governance, in contemporary nation state systems, most countries have decentralized their governance structure into several small sized provinces. Most importantly, "China has 34 provinces, Iran 30 provinces, India 28 states and 7 union territories, Philippines 80, Thailand 78, Indonesia 33, France 26, Germany 16, Turkey 81 and UK 114 counties, Egypt 26 and Nigeria 38"¹⁰. No country in

the world equal to size or population of Pakistan possesses administrative structure as we have. In Pakistan, successive governments were of the view that language was not an adequate basis or legitimate source of identity for creation of more administrative units, therefore, were continuously opposed to any such initiative. The traumatic experience of East Pakistan where language triggered the separation of Eastern wing is considered as potential cause of political destabilization. However, now-a-days many think tanks, scholars, civil society activists are demanding devolution of power on administrative needs which is gradually changing the thought process in intellectual circles and increasing acceptability of this idea.

Proposals for Creation of New Provinces

In the recent past, the need for more administrative units is making headlines with varying intensity, which contains all the flavours and voices of wider segments of society. Consolidated display of several suggestions reported in the media is tabulated as under:-

Proposal	Exponent	Motive
Reinstatement of Bahawalpur as a separate province with its former status	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Muhammad Ali Durrani, ex PML(Q) • Ijaz-ul-Haq 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political • History
Seraiki Province from Southern Punjab	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mr. Javaid Hashmi • PML (Q) and PPP • Syed Yusuf Raza Gilani • Mr. Shah Mahmood Quereshi 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political • Linguistic
Formation of Christian administrative unit in Southwest Punjab	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dr. Nazir Bhatti, Pakistan Christian Congress 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political • Religion
Creation of Thal Province	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • JUI 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political
Formation of Hazara as a separate Province from existing KPK	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Baba Haider Zaman • Hazara proponents & PPP 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political • History • Linguistic
Devolving Punjab into	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mr. Ayaz Amir 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • History

more manageable administrative units		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Language
Creating province from Sindh for Karachi and Hyderabad	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • MQM (Initial Stance) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political • Ethnic
Administrative re-articulation as per needs for populace	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Imran Khan, Chairman PTI • Mr. Nawaz Sharif, PML(N) • Pervez Musharraf, Ex President¹² 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Administrative

The Challenges and Impediments

National Finance Commission (NFC) Award

The President of Pakistan is empowered by Article 160 of the constitution to institute NFC to review the formula for the distribution of monetary assets among the centre and provinces. Once the consensus has been reached on the proposal for creation of additional provinces, the relevant clauses and existing constituents of NFC award will have to be suitably amended to cater for the needs of new provinces.¹³

Legislation

Intense legislation is required to formalize the creation of the new provinces, which needs to be approved by at-least two thirds majority of both the National Assembly, Senate and the relevant provincial assembly in light of Article 239(4) of the Constitution. Seeing the disagreements among the provinces and political parties, this appears to be a colossal challenge.

Other Major Issues/ Concerns

- Fear of the strain that new provinces may exercise on the unconfirmed foundations of Pakistani nationhood.¹⁴
- Numerous people were killed or injured on mere change of name of NWFP to Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) as across the board consensus building was not resorted to.

- Ethnic aspirations also cause difficulties to identify administrative and political realities. Every ethnic ambition does not justify the need for a separate province. Additionally, creating new provinces on ethnic lines may be detrimental to harmony in society as experienced in former Yugoslavia during 1990s.
- The division of larger provinces may cause inter provincial friction for resource control as 100% acceptable degree of equality in the distribution of geographical and population sizes may not be possible.
- The newly created smaller provinces would be confronted with serious challenges of sustained funding and managing fine quality of human resource from short to mid-term due to inadequate capacity issues.
- Sindhi nationalists strongly oppose division of Sindh, however they have no objections on creation of new provinces elsewhere
- Likewise, ANP demands for Pakhtun province out of Balochistan but against Hazara Province in KPK. In this backdrop, until the delicate grievances of Balochis are not addressed on priority with their full concurrence, the issue of national integration will remain a serious challenge.

Investigation of Possible Options

Based on the evaluation of facts and analysis carried out above, number of options emerges with pros and cons; some are as under:-

Former Commisionerate Divisions. It can be designated / formed into smaller administrative units (provinces). However, this will entail formation of over 30 provinces with huge administrative burden, which the country in present state of fiscal difficulties may not be able to sustain⁵.

Creation of more Provinces on the basis of Locally Popular Cultural, Ethnic and Linguistic Lines. While it has its own merits, but from the perspectives of contemporary international order and own history of separation of East Pakistan, such proposal will have negative impact on national integration.

Creation of new Provinces based on Demography (population and area) and Administrative grounds. Such a proposal may be considered, however, consensus building and all out support is of paramount importance for sustained durability and national integration.

Option 1

Creation of only two new provinces from Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. This will satisfy demands of local populace and will be economically viable under prevailing situation of the country. It will also negate creation of provinces on ethnic and linguistic bases.

Province	Capital	Languages	Districts	Estimated Population	Logic
Southern Punjab	Multan	Punjabi Saraiki Balochi	Multan, Bahawalpur, Bahawalnagar, Rahim Yar Khan, DG Khan, Lodhran, Khanewal, Sahiwal, Vihari, Muzafargarh & Rajanpur	29 Million	Division of Punjab on administrative grounds to facilitate and meet the popular demand of masses. This will set precedence for creation of more provinces. This will also avoid creation of linguistic/ ethnic units and remove such demands in other areas to great extent.
Abaseen	Abbot- abad		Abbotabad, Mansehra, Haripur, Batagram, Tor Ghar, Kohistan, Shangla	12 Million	Division of KPK to fulfill popular demand of Hazaras and for improved administration/ governance and development of tourism industry.

Province	Capital	Languages	Districts	Estimated Population	Logic
					Division is on administrative grounds and will avoid creation of linguistic/ ethnic units.

Option 2

Although this option seems over ambitious and less viable under current socio-economic and political situation in the country, yet, it has more significance as it addresses most of the problems stated above and adds on towards national integration by creation of new provinces¹⁶. Most of the anticipated provinces are linguistically diverse & geographically bonded with each other. This option advocates dividing complete Pakistan territory into 11 provinces and federal capital Islamabad¹⁷. The option is qualified below;

Province	Capital	Language	Districts	Estimated Population	Logic
Cholistan	Bahawalpur	Saraiki, Punjabi, Urdu	Bahawalpur, Bahawalnagar, Rahim Yar Khan	10.5 million	Geographically South of Sutlej river and linguistically diverse. Proposed capital Bahawalpur located centrally.
Punjab	Lahore	Punjabi, Urdu	Lahore, Kasur, Okara, Mankana Sahaib, Sheikhpura, Gujranwala, Hafizabad, Sialkot, Narowal	37 Million	Located on right side of Chanab and quite compact, will allow better development of smaller cities.
Gandhara	Khushab	Potohari, Saraiki, Punjabi, Pashto	Jehlum, Attock, Chakwal, Gujrat, Mandibahuddin Sargodha, Khushab, Jhang, Mianwali, Bhakkar, Laiyya, Chinot & DGK	24.5 Million	Less developed areas of Western Punjab will get benefits from developing cities. Capital Khushab (Joharabad) is in the center of Province. The suggested

					provincial capital will be junction of Punjabi, Potohari & Seraiki cultures.
Punjad	Multan	Saraiki, Punjabi, Urdu, Balochi	Multan, Pakpattan, Lodharan, Khanewal, Sahiwal, Vehari, Faisalabad, TT Singh, Muzaffargarh & Rajanpur	24.5 Million	Multan is considered as the pivot of political and cultural center for southern Punjab. Punjad Province promises the potentials of becoming agriculture and dairy products market. Punjad will be a heterogeneous Province (Urdu, Punjabi, Seraiki, Baluchi).
Bolan	Quetta	Pashto, Balochi, Brahvi	Quetta, Ziarat, Mastung, Qila Abdullah, Pashin, LoraLai, Barkhan, Musakhel, QilaSaifullah, Zhob, Shirani, Harnai, Sibi, Kolhu, Kacchi, DeraBugti, Jaffarabad, Nasirabad & Jhalmagsi	6.3 Million	Suggested Bolan province will be of the size of British era Balochistan. Veteran leaders from Baluchistan, like ex-Prime Minister ZafarUllah Jamali, Mehmood Khan Achakzai have also expressed their consent in dividing Baluchistan in Quetta & Kalat division of 1970s. The heterogeneous Bolan Province will become the combination of Pashtun, Balochi & Brahvi cultures.
Makran	Khuzdar	Balochi, Brahvi	Khuzdar, Kalat, Noshki, Chaghi, Kharan, Washuk, Panjgor, Turbat, Gawadar, Awaran, Lasbela	3.1 Million	The economic health is assumed to be good due to economic activities generated by Gawadar Port, Gadani ship breaking yard, Saindak & Rekodek projects. Khuzdar, the proposed capital is well

					connected with Quetta, Karachi, Larkana through RCD road & M8 Motorway.
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	Peshawar	Pashto, Saraiki, Hindko	Peshawar, Noshera, Charsadda, Kohat, Karak, Hangu, Lakki Marwat, Bannu, DI Khan, Tank	10 Million	Royalty from Munda Dam and Kalabagh Dam if constructed after national consensus. The area is also blessed with natural gas reservoir of Karak which is assumed to make the province economically viable.
Abaseen	Mardan	Pashto, Hindko, Kohistani, Chitrali	Mardan, Sawabi, Haripur, Abottabad, Manshera, Chitral, Torghar, Batagram, Kohistan, Shangla, Sawat, Bonair, Dirbala, Dirpayin, Malakand	13.3 Million	Encompassing the northern areas blessed with its scenic beauty, has vast potentials of attracting tourism. Tarbella & Bhasha Dams can provide considerable revenue with huge prospects of generating hydro-electricity.
Khorasan	Torkham	Pashto	Bajur, Mohmand, Khyber Agency, Kurram, Orakzai, N & S Waziristan	5.2 Million	Creating FATA as a province will usher the era of rapid development and help in its mainstreaming.
Mehran	Sukkur	Sindhi, Urdu	Sukkur, Ghotki, Khairpur, Nowsheroferoz, Shikarpur, Larkana, Kambar, Kashmor, Jacobabad, Dadu, Jamshoro and Hyderabad	17.5 Million	Despite tremendous potentials Interior Sindh is less developed. Sukkur is the economic & cultural hub of the northern Sindh which is also connected with Karachi, Quetta & Northern Pakistan.
Sindh	Karachi	Sindhi, Urdu, Punjabi, Pashto,	Karachi, Matiari, TM Khan, Tandualayar, MirpurKhas,	24 Million	Relatively smaller unit, thus allowing better governance and usage of old/

		Balochi, Gujrati	Umar Kot, Tharparkar, Badin, Thatta, Nawabshah, Sanghar		existing infrastructure. It will continue to host two major cultures of the area and both communities will flourish. However, strict check will have to be placed on any further expansion of Karachi.
Federal Capital	Islamabad and Rawalpindi			2.7 Million	Rawalpindi is hyphenated with Islamabad due to its proximity, therefore, amalgamating it Islamabad appears to be a rational choice.

Recommendations

Creation of only Two New Provinces from Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

In the current political dispensation and economic health of the country, option 1 appears to be more realistic and practicable. This will pave ways for creation of more administrative units in future. Creation of new provinces is likely to complete in 2 years, therefore, following course of action is proposed:-

Establishment of a National Commission. A national commission signifying all political parties and representatives from all walks of civil society should be instituted to scrutinize and deliberate upon the creation of new provinces and the mandate of formulating detailed implementation strategy. Commission should be constituted in the 3rd quarter of next year (after budget) and its recommendations should be finalized before December 2018.

Political Consensus. Consequent to the recommendations of the proposed national commission, the proposals are suggested be debated in both houses of Parliament and all provincial assemblies for arriving at a political consensus. This process should be completed by 2nd quarter 2018.

Legalities. Consequently, there would be a number of legal consequences regarding the establishment of high courts and other administrative infrastructure for new provinces. Similarly, legal issues are likely to arise in land revenue systems, boundary demarcations, water issues, NFC etc and related matters. For handling of such sensitive issue, it is proposed that a high level judicial commission should be constituted to resolve legal impediments.

Legislation (Amendments in the Constitution). The formation of new provinces can only be legalized through constitutional amendments. A powerful parliamentary commission including legal and constitutional experts should be formed to propose amendments before June 2018.

Financial and Resource Management. The financial health of each entity is of paramount importance, which warrants proportionate financial distribution. It is suggested that a financial commission with suitable representation from bureaucracy, politicians and economists should be constituted to recommend financial matters by the end March 2018 to facilitate budgetary requirements.

Conclusion

The voices for creating more administrative units is gaining currency as it has become a popular demand of politician and civil society alike. The pragmatic policy decisions warrant forward looking solutions which can represent aspirations of majority of people. In the backdrop of administrative difficulties and for the sake of proportionate development and representation, the solution lies in increasing the existing four provinces with more administrative units with some balance in their geographical expanse and population size, which should be free of ethnic and parochial brands but still constitutionally keeping their ethnic and national identities together. It is a gigantic challenge but promises enormous opportunities. With collaborative approach and wisdom, the Federation of Pakistan can be strengthened by devolution of power and maximum public participation.

NOTES

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HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE OF CORRUPTION IN PAKISTAN: A WAY FORWARD

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Abstract

Corruption has long been a focus of concern, studies have shown that there can be a huge array of anti-corruption institutions, regulations and laws available in a society but the implementation of these rules and regulations is a key to fight the menace of corruption. Moreover the individual training, governance structure prevailing environment also play an important role in curbing corruption. This paper examines the causes of corruption and its historical linkages with the British Raj in Sub Continent. Paper also scrutinizes the inherent drawback and the exploitation of existing laws in one's own favour for corrupt practices. In the end a way forward is given for the eradication of corruption, in which the foremost requirement is that all government office holders, from minister down to the lowliest, be given remuneration, which should be commensurate with the power they wield.

Keywords: Corruption, Infrastructure, Misperception, Administrative, Investigation.

A Historical Perspective

It is said that the determinants of the quality of discipline of a nation state are rather simple. Stand by the roadside and observe the traffic from pedestrians to cyclists to motor cyclists and to all kinds of four wheelers. It is a safe bet that on any road in any city (there are two exceptions) at last 90 per cent of the people on the road violate traffic rules. Whether its pedestrians crossing the roads, cyclists, motor cyclists, auto rickshaws, and four-wheelers, no-matter they are changing lanes, violating red lights, and parking illegally. This happens even in the presence of traffic police, who

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seem indifferent or helpless. The two exceptions, as experienced, are Islamabad and the motorway. As far as Islamabad is concerned the reasons seem to be compatibility of infrastructure with the volume of traffic and the ratio of traffic police to the volume of traffic, fewer pedestrians, cyclists, or auto rickshaws, much fewer pickups, wagons and buses, resultantly better enforcement of traffic discipline. Almost all the above reasons apply to the motorway as well. However, there are possibly a couple of additional reasons. Motorway police are better equipped in term of transport, communication and speed radars. Also, at least one of their procedures helps the system to work i.e. fine is levied immediately on the spot by one person but, is collected by another at the toll-gate. The punishment is swift, you pay for the lapse before exiting the motorway.

Another area to observe the nature of society is its behaviour on places, where there is a requirement to queue up, such as airports, cinema halls, railway stations, bus, wagon stands, malls, banks and so on. We all want to get in front by hook or crook. There are many other examples for e.g. involvement of boards in organized cheating in board examinations; issuance of fake degrees even in medical colleges, spurious medicines as substitute for actual life saving drugs. One can go on and on. No list can be termed exhaustive. All this is the outcome of corrupted minds, this corruption of minds starts very early in life. A five year old notices his father breaking the red light. The same father, on being told by his child that there is a phone call for him from someone whom the parent does not wish to talk to, he tells his child to tell the person on the phone that father is not home or asleep or whatever.

Students observe their teacher correcting their homework during classes, instead of teaching them. A young child might realize that their family is living well beyond their means but by the time he/she reaches mid-teens the mind has already been corrupted sufficiently to not just ignore the fact of living beyond means but also to accept it with the justification that everyone else is doing the same. On reaching his / her adulthood, the corrupted mind will be able to justify every misdeed unconcerned with how it will impact the entire nation.

A question arises here, were we always like this; no we weren't always like this. About five decades ago, when one bought something for a few annas (pennies) the shopkeeper automatically made out a receipt. Traffic was regulated and, even bicycles and horse carriages sported lights at night or were challaned. The automatic violations today, of every conceivable law at any and every opportunity is not only due to the fact that the population has multiplied manifold and policemen / women remained the same. Nor is it due to the fact that a far greater number live below the poverty line today.

There are deep-rooted causes in our socio-politico-economic and judicial systems which have led us to fall as low as we are.

Comprehending Corruption

What are the causes of initiating corruption, which results in justifying and nurturing corruption in future generations? Most of the people would list poverty as the primary reason. The argument is that the vast majority of the citizens of this country cannot make ends meet in their legitimate earnings. Consequently petty bribes, overloading in public transport, violation of traffic rules, jumping queues are but a natural consequence. However, if we observe carefully, a large number of people violating social norms are educated and belongs to well-to-do middle or upper class. Hence poverty may be a minor reason and certain other strong motives lead to this menace.

Education is a state of mind; a state of awareness, an understanding of the balance between duties and responsibilities.

However, before we go on to these stronger motives, let's address another misperception. An oft-quoted explanation in this regard is the lack of education. The term education has somehow become synonymous with formal schooling, degrees and literacy, which is a very flawed definition of education. Education is a state of mind; a state of awareness, an understanding of the balance between duties and responsibilities. An

educated mind is one that, on the one hand, questions and, on the other tries to reason. But, in our society, one can see university / college going adults and degree holders littering in public places, jumping queues, violating traffic regulations with the certainty of impunity. On the other hand, I have frequently observed the dirt-poor labour cleaning streets after hours, which is not even part of his duty. A college / university degree is no guarantee of an educated mind unless the mind is enlightened and aware. If education is a state of mind, not dependent on the degrees you hold, the majority of our degree holders would not qualify to be considered 'educated'.

When I was appointed Chairman NAB on my promotion to three-star, it was a newly created assignment. I spent my first months in studying banking laws and the NAB Ordinance. After comprehending both, I realized that, the enormous authority has been vested in this person. Soon after acquiring some understanding of how white-collar crimes are committed, I was able to formulate methods of nabbing the perpetrators. However, with the passage of time, while holding that office and, after retiring from it, I began to understand that the malaise was far deeper. In my earlier paragraphs I merely listed the kind of things visible to us all. But when trying to eradicate corruption, I began to look at the bigger picture. I was astonished to discover that, in seeking answers, I found myself facing more and ever more myriads of questions. Our system, I discovered, was geared to promote corruption, due to numerous factors. We were still functioning under Anglo-Saxon concepts and laws. However, these concepts, laws or systems are not practiced by the British government within their own country. These were developed with sole purpose of governing their colonies effectively.

To do so effectively, they needed to wean us away from the socio-cultural norms under which we had lived successfully for centuries. But they also needed to ensure socio-economic schisms within us; the colonial governed. The best way to do that was to corrupt our minds. To that end the balance between power/authority and income needed disruption, on one hand, and on the other, the system of justice had to be so modified that

a perpetual state of distrust of fellow colonials would prevail. One example of this is a planned move to suborn our socio-politico-judicial system, devised by the British in the notorious office of the Deputy Commissioner. Nowhere in the world are the duties of revenue collection and magistracy combined in one office, except in the Deputy Commissioner in the British colonies. This made him, in-fact, the judge, jury, and executioner. However the creation of this post was not just a happenstance. It was an extremely well deliberated move. In 1869, Sir James Fitzjames Stephen, legal member of the Colonial Council in India wrote to Westminster, recommending that it is imperative that revenue collection and magistracy be combined in one office and that failure to do so would be dearly purchased by the Crown. To explain the rationale for this move he wrote:-

“The first principle to be borne in mind is that the maintenance of the position of the district officers is absolutely essential to the maintenance of British rule in India and that any diminution in their influence and authority over the Natives would be dearly purchased even by an improvement in the administration of justice”.

The move suited the purposes of the Raj since this one appointment could destroy the socio-politico-legal framework on which the Indian society was built. This resulted in the creation of the Deputy Commissioner, around whom the Commissioner above, the judicio-policing and revenue system was created. To complete the “flawed” bureaucratic setup for the Raj to perpetuate itself, one more officer, the lowliest of lowly in the revenue collection and landholding demarcation department was required, which was named as the Patwari. He is the all-powerful but [deliberately] underpaid officer necessary to corrupt the bureaucracy, whose demarcation of land is beyond legal recourse.

What is touted as a true story, a Commissioner wanted to construct his private residence on his parental land. Numerous polite messages were conveyed to him that the Patwari’s ‘cut’ was due. Being miles above the Patwari in the bureaucratic hierarchy, the arrogant Commissioner rebuked the Patwari. The next day, he received notice that, on measurement, a third of his under-construction house was being built on state land. Not only was

he required to demolish the portion violating state holdings but, he also was required to pay a fine for the violation. After chasing his tail fruitlessly for a few months, the Commissioner paid the Patwari his 'due'. The very next day the Patwari issued another notification ordering a re-measurement of the property. Another day later, the land was officially the Commissioner's. No wonder the other tale. An illiterate old village lady appealed to the Deputy Commissioner on a dispute of her very small landholding. When the DC ruled in her favor she thanked him by saying, "May Allah appoints you a Patwari.

Reviewing the legal process, from crime to presentation of challan in the court through registration of FIR, investigation, prosecution and preparation of prosecution, the whole system is warped and skewed. There is no reason why the investigator and the prosecutor should belong to the same office. Why should the police have the authority to even temporarily refuse registration of FIR? Why can't any common citizen using the Freedom to Information Act demand to be told the entire process followed in the award of a contract.

What we are witnessing today is a consequence of these distortions of governance and justice. Our society has become 'elitist' in a manner that can only come from a colonial background. Every single citizen seeks to enter the ranks of the elite. Not only to enrich his/her person but far more importantly, so as to wield power/authority. The moment he/she can, he/she begins violating laws with impunity. Even some, apparently mild-mannered, self-effacing individuals will, if apprehended by a law enforcement officer for a minor violation, identify themselves by rank, appointment etc. with the hope that no fine or punitive action results. Having reached this conclusion, I began examining our laws. The more I studied these, the deeper became my conviction that our laws were flawed.

Understanding the Concept of Laws

Upendra Baxi, an Indian professor of law made an analytical study of the case of Abdur Rahman Antulay², an Indian politician of the Congress

Party, who was convicted of corruption in 1982³. The Indian Law Institute had the following to say about Baxi's book:

“Baxi's book is a good case study that throws much meaningful light on the working of the judicial system in India. It shows how a resourceful litigant can frustrate a litigation for corruption against him and how he benefits from the over-pluralistic nature of the court processes. It also tells you how and why litigation gets bogged down in technicalities”⁴.

In his fascinating work, Baxi concluded that,

“If laws of the land are not conforming to the character of the society they are made for, these laws will defeat their purpose. It will no longer be merely the lack of a will to implement laws, their incongruity will make render non-implementable”⁵.

While corruption might take many forms, it is invariably a consequence of concentration of power, whether political, administrative or judicial, and whether in the public or the private sector. The magnitude of corruption will usually be in direct proportion to the quantum of concentration of power. However, corruption can flourish brazenly only in a society where injustice is either available or readily purchasable. Consequently, one possible prerequisite which facilitates corruption is that either laws are flawed or inadequate. Once that prerequisite exists, if this is combined with overflowing bags of wealth, it becomes a lethal combination which can only continue to make corruption spread as wide and deep as imagination permits. As Baxi concluded about India, I did about Pakistan; this lethal mix exists here and, while it does, the spread of corruption cannot be contained.

In my duties I did my humble best but, in my attempt at an academic understanding, I continue to struggle to-date. It was in the course of my duties to understand from where and how illegal wealth could be amassed. Let me quote an example of an unbelievably amazing clause in our Banking Laws 1992 that cannot but promote corruption. If foreign currency is remitted to an account in Pakistan from any foreign country there will be no inquiry as to where it came from, how it was earned, or its legitimacy or otherwise⁶. Quite obviously, the clause was intended to encourage remittances from abroad to local accounts. In all likelihood, it was targeting

remittances from our expatriates, mostly in the gulf. But, equally obviously, no upper limit was set to the remittance within the span of a specified time e.g. a proviso for the same clause could have stated, “for a maximum of \$ 1000/- a week”. The fact that there is no limiting proviso implies that either the entire lot of individuals who viewed this clause and approved it unconditionally or, they colluded to make hay from the opportunity that had arisen and colluded in its unconditional approval.

In my official capacity as Chairman NAB, I learned that illegally earned money in Pakistani Rupees is given to money changers who, after taking their percentage, transfer funds from their accounts abroad, in Pounds Sterling or Dollars to local accounts and the money is “whitewashed”. The only link for NAB to target was the Money Changers in Pakistan. Some of these moneys being moved back and forth internationally were by individuals who took loans from banks, who could also be identified but, not all. A number of mega projects in Pakistan, mostly in the public sector are approved without due process i.e. there is neither tenders nor a transparent process of selection. The funds flowing from these are also whitewashed by the same process. There have been, and still are, instances where state land is sold at ridiculously low prices to individuals or Real Estate Companies (Karachi Bagh-Ibne-Qasim was almost sold recently to Bahria Town in just such a deal). These lands are then sold at market prices and, the huge profits that accrue then have to be whitewashed or taxes paid. These too are routed similarly.

Tax evasion is a universal and permanent headache for tax enforcing agencies of all governments. But, when flawed laws facilitate tax

Tax evasion is a universal and permanent headache for tax enforcing agencies of all governments.

evasion and collusion by governmental taxation departments, again an inevitable increase in corruption follows. In Pakistan, there is no tax on agricultural income. On the other hand, where an official Industrial

Estate exists, Industrial units get tax rebates on suffering losses. As if the non-existence of agricultural tax was not enough, coupled with the tax exemption, and these are almost certainly a deliberate commission and not

an error of omission, are a God-send for tax evasion. On the one hand, huge agricultural land-holders set up an industrial unit in an industrial estate. But, when they declare their incomes for tax purposes, the industrial unit is invariably shown to be running at a loss. The income of the industry is also reflected as agricultural income for tax purposes; which is exempted from tax and the income tax department has no problem in accepting this. Since our attempts at land reforms have also been deliberately flawed, huge land-holders continue to possess vast agricultural lands, but not all of it in their own name. When questions are raised about their huge incomes from the limited agricultural land holdings, they conveniently claim a huge profit that particular year from their industrial unit. The tax collectors being different can conveniently accept these continuous dichotomies every alternate year.

Our Customs Act provides another priceless opportunity. The Customs act is an act of the parliament where customs duties on various imported goods are indicated in various lists which are part of the budget passed by the parliament. Very surprisingly, This Act gives the Executive (government) the authority to play around with duties through Statutory Regulatory Orders, SRO. The executive can issue a SRO exempting customs duty on any item. There is, however, no restriction on his revoking the exemption after any period of his own choice. Nor is there any restriction on the number of times that he can exempt and revoke customs duties; not even on the same item⁷. Consequently, he can exempt custom duties on e.g. cars over 2500 cc engines for only one shipment and then revoke it. Then keep repeating this every week, every month, of every year, for as many specific items as he likes as long as he is in office.

It is an absolutely amazing law, this, perhaps, is the best example of a law carved solely to promote institutional corruption. With this understanding, the challenge of doing my duty in NAB rose to ever greater heights than before. But, it also became increasingly obvious to me that the entire system was deliberately rigged to support corruption. Any bureaucratic system can only function efficiently if a system of checks and balances is inbuilt in every department; effectively a permanent ongoing

process of accountability in each department. Any external imposition of accountability, like NAB is supposed to deliver on, will face departmental organized resistance. This is inevitable since, being corrupt, each part must protect the whole. By no means it is intended to imply that every individual is corrupt. There is a huge majority striving, even struggling, to remain honest and uncorrupted. It is the distorted system that challenges these individuals, daily and at every step.

A Possible Way Forward

The parliament has to review all our laws and enact laws that suit the psycho-social features of our system is an obvious conclusion. But that is not all. The entire bureaucratic system, structure, and rules of business under which our governmental structure is built, need to be reconstructed foundation upwards.

Revenue collection and magistracy must be separated. Today, instead of being under a DC they are under a DCO. The judicial system also needs to be overhauled to provide swift, sure, and transparent justice. While policing and investigation is the function of the policing agencies, prosecution must be independent of the police.

An inbuilt system of perpetually ongoing accountability, obviously, one cannot conclude on such sweeping statements. Until this happens and, it is hoped that, in time, it will, governance must go on and justice, in however inadequate and flawed a form be delivered. What then needs to be done to at least partly remedy the obtaining situation? In this limited space it is not possible to go into details but, some recommendations are possible. First and foremost we must accept where our society stands in terms of moral values. There is however a paradox in place. There is a very small percentage of the population that has power which allows them to insure it. Let me make it clear that not all persons endowed with such power are corrupt. There are exceptions but exceptions merely prove the rule. However, vast majorities of our population are not in possession of such powers and one finds that this vast majority is blessed with the right set of

values. The tragedy is that this vast majority is victimized by the elite or they fall prey to the systemic flaws and surrender to force majeure. Let's take a couple of examples, when Lee Kuan Yew, become Prime Minister of Singapore, he changed a basic precept of laws and corporal punishments. He introduced public caning as punishment. The foremost contribution was a realization that, to eradicate corruption, it is imperative that all government office holders, from minister down to the lowliest, be given remuneration commensurate with the power they wield. If the Patwari is the all-powerful revenue officer in his domain and the police SHO within the limits of his Thana, he must receive pay which precludes the lures of corruption. If he still succumbs, his punishment should be swift and exemplary.

Conclusion

Life is a process of learning. And every opportunity offers its own challenges and lessons. During my formative years and, later, my years in uniform were 'sheltered'. While conscious of the steady deterioration of society, life gave me no opportunity to bear personal witness to this. In that respect my posting to NAB was fortuitous. It gave me an opportunity to increase my understanding of the malaise that is cancerous to our society. In conclusion I wish to leave the reader with a question. It's a question that came to my mind when I began to understand punitive laws. But it's a question to which I have no answer. Probably because it is well beyond any realm of my study. A question that even a jurist might find difficult because it delves into the philosophy of law. I am hoping some better mind than mine might read it and be tickled enough to seek and share an answer. Should laws be punitive; that is the question? Is punishment and reward the natural balance for all creation? Can we possibly have "Preventive" laws?

NOTES

- ¹ Gupta, A. *The Police in British India, 1861-1947* (New Delhi, Concept Publishing Company:1979):pp 17-18.
- ² <http://www.printsasia.in/book/liberty-and-corruption-the-antulay-case-and-beyond-upendra-baxi-817012395x>
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- ⁴ <https://www.jstor.org/journal/jindilawinst>, *Journal of the Indian Law Institute*(Indian Law Institute:2013).
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FRONTIER MILITIA: FUTURE OF MILITIAS UNDER THE 2017 FEDERALLY ADMINISTERED TRIBAL AREAS (FATA) REFORMS

Mr. Aamir Cheema*

Abstract

Pakistan cabinet has approved in principle the merger of FATA with the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province, in an attempt to eliminate militancy. The raising of Levies has been proposed to provide policing facilities. This decision of the government has sparked a debate within tribes. This paper argues that without bringing reforms in Provincially Administered Tribal Areas (PATA), any steps taken to eliminate militancy will fall short of objectives. The role of Militia is fundamental in the development of FATA and PATA. The division of militias under various ministries by itself is a major cause of friction in the war on militancy. The paper concludes that FATA is a misnomer and political agencies should be treated as an individual entity.

Keywords: FATA, PATA, Frontier Region (FR), Militia, Levies and Civilization.

Introduction- Frontier and Tribes

Tribes etymologically convey a form of politics and society, before the origin of modern states; politically tribes were anarchist in nature.¹ Tribe is a small group of people who have common ancestry, share common language and customs. Frontier tribes are Aryan in nature, millenniums ago they migrated downstream from Oxus towards Indus through the narrow passes of Hindu Kush; few of these settled at the passes which at present are known as tribal areas (Afridi, Wazir) and others in the plains of Peshawar and surroundings (Yousafzai, Uthmanzai to name a very few). These tribes emerged in history during their resistance against Alexander the Great. Later with settling of Greeks in Indus Valley, the tribes of Khyber were

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influenced by Greek philosophy and culture.² The earliest empires (Greek, Persian and Roman) were built around cities. It was Islam, not only as a religion, but as a civilization, which came from tribal society. In Indus Valley, Mahmood of Ghazna was the very first Muslim emperor³ who established the empire built on tribes; followed by Genghis Khan and Tamerlane.⁴

Mongols and Tamerlane adopted different routes of invasion and retreat; Tamerlane marched back through Waziristan. From 1300 AD, onwards the Khyber Pass (Afridi territory) became central to control of India, a link between Oxus and Indus; whereas Waziristan remained in oblivion. Mughuls and later Afghans had to negotiate with the Afridis in order to maintain their line of communication. Sikhs in 17th Century emerged as a new force, they were also grouped on tribal pattern in terms of Misl⁵; thus the conflict between mountainous civilization and that of the plains also became a clash between religions. British like Sikhs advanced from East towards West and in 1849, after a disastrous military campaign in Afghanistan (1839-1842), succeeded in defeating Sikhs and annexing the frontier as part of Punjab.

From 1850 till 1947, British frontier policy revolved around Forward Policy i.e. to check the advance of Russia towards Indus Valley. They initiated administrative reforms in Frontier keeping in line with Forward

From 1850 till 1947, British frontier policy revolved around Forward Policy i.e. to check the advance of Russia towards Indus Valley.

Policy.⁶ Major towns like Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu, Dera Ismail Khan and Hazara tract were termed as settled frontier districts and territory ahead of and around them as tribal areas.

In other words, the people whom they could not defeat militarily they accepted as equal. Politically it was Peshawar Frontier region which was more populated and prosperous. Apart from tribes, states were also in existence like Chitral, Dir and Swat; whereas in South Waziristan there was no central ruler, authority or feudal system.⁷

Thus the present FATA comprised of two distinct political, social and economical cultures, namely Waziristan (present day North, South Waziristan and Kurram)⁸ and Khyber (Afridi, Mohmand, Bajaur)⁹; the Turi tribe in Kurram became prominent in 1890s as they follow Shia faith thus, they are the odd tribe alongwith clans of Bangash and Orakzai. At present, in the proposed FATA reforms, all tribes have been treated at par with no regard to the sensitivities of tribal customs and culture.

Frontier Policy; 1947-2000

In 1947, the system in frontier remained the same, George Cunningham a former political agent was appointed as governor, former officials linked with Forward Policy were in key positions. All tribes less Waziristan were friendly with the new dominion. There were no less than 15 battalions deployed in Waziristan. In September 1947, Governor George Cunningham wrote his very first note on future Frontier Policy.

*'Military should be withdrawn from Waziristan in 1948, use of propaganda to make Pakistan and Islam as synonym in the eyes of tribes to pacify them, retention of allowances and khasasdri¹⁰ system, keep the Militia and Scouts in frontier. Affairs of tribal areas should be handled by the provincial assembly of province.'*¹¹

The commander in chief of Pakistan Army, Lieutenant General Frank Messervy, although agreed with George Cunningham, however he pointed out that Pakistan Army is under strength, under officered and as such cannot, even if occasion arises, face a tribal onslaught, thus advocated an early evacuation from Waziristan. The minister of interior Abdur Rab Nishtar, also agreed with George Cunningham's proposal, but differed that affairs of tribal areas should be handled by the centre rather than the province, his logic was based upon the defence requirements of the country. Another issue was the frontier states of Chitral, Swat and Dir; whether to treat them as states or tribes.¹²

On 2nd October 1947, the defence committee agreed on an early evacuation of military, starting from 1st November 1947, simultaneously the tribes were to be pacified, Fakir of Ipi the main thorn and leader of

insurgency, in North Waziristan was to be given a pardon along with his followers.¹³ The allowances of tribes were to be maintained conditioned to their supporting defense cause of Pakistan. Prime Minister in principal agreed to vacate all of Waziristan less Militia posts at Wanna, Miran Shah,

Quaid-i-Azam expressed his apprehension that if Afghan army and air force backed by tribes smashed through Pakistan Army, then India will also face their wrath.

Boya, Dossali and at Thal. Similarly in Malakand Agency, the numbers of Levies were to be increased and military was to be pulled out. On the delicate question of the future of tribal areas, Prime Minister, raised

the question whether to merge them with the province, or to make a federation of the tribes, but in the end, it was agreed to keep the decision pending till a suitable time.¹⁴ Quaid-i-Azam expressed his apprehension that if Afghan army and air force backed by tribes smashed through Pakistan Army, then India will also face their wrath. Quaid-i-Azam also highlighted the Russian backing of Afghanistan and, asked for as much military equipment as United Kingdom could spare'.¹⁵

Quaid-i_Azam, the founding father did not spell out a policy on the frontier; rather through his gestures, speeches and instructions laid down the post - British policy on frontier. Quaid-i-Azam made his first and only official tour of Frontier in April 1948, he toured Khyber Agency and shook hands with Afghan sentry at Torkahm. He also visited Dera Ismail Khan and Bannu, addressed public rallies; the high point was the grand Jirga at Peshawar on 17th April 1948. ¹⁶

The leading Maliks spoke, first the Mohmand 'we the independent Mohmand tribesmen ... pledge our loyalty to Pakistan...our relations with Pakistan Government should remain as they had been...we want to retain old system...our allowances should be increased...we should be dealt with by the centre and not the province'. Next was, Afridi 'we the independent tribes of Afridi pledge our loyalty...our allowances should be increased...we should be given more jobs in services...we should be dealt with by the centre and not the province...we lack education institutions...we have been exempted from income tax, it should continue'. Mahsud, also pledged in

similar pattern, they however highlighted that, by vacating the frontier the army, has caused economic hardships on the tribe 'we had jobs, our men worked on road repairs, small contracts were available'; they also pledged loyalty and reiterated the same, that they should be governed by the centre and not by province. Wazir were the last to address and reiterated the same. Turi, were also initially asked to address but later were denied the opportunity. Quaid-i-Azam, in his address expressed his thanks and praised the tribesmen, and said 'government will follow the existing system, your allowances will continue, provided you remain loyal to Pakistan'.¹⁷

Thus it can be seen that the very first covenant made with tribes revolved around, retaining their freedom and traditions, and administering allowances, in lieu of which the tribes were to maintain their loyalty to the States. This system continued and was adhered to by all successive rulers and constitutions. It was Prime Minister Bhutto who in 1973 initiated the very first constitutional reforms in tribal areas by segregating them into PATA and FATA and also creating Frontier Regions and raising new political agencies.¹⁸

Tribal Militias – Peacekeepers of Frontier

The very word Militia,¹⁹ at present has lost its original meaning and is quoted more in terms of anarchy. Militia and its concept were first postulated by Nicolai Machiavelli, who favored, natives taking up arms in defense of their country rather than the military. In England, Militia was granted the umbrella of parliament, principally it was accorded the right to bear arms and carryout training in their own specific shires and counties.²⁰ Later Militias were raised in Scotland and Ireland. However it was in America where the concept of Militias was formally more regulated, every individual of the town had to be a member of the local militia, ranks, organization, pay and command structure was specified. In the last century, all such Militia in United Kingdom and United States were reorganized into national guards and auxiliary forces but retained their basic charter.

In North West Frontier, after annexation of Punjab, British raised Frontier Irregular Force (PIFFER) which was the very first militia, but not in

true sense. Later in 1878, the Khyber Jezailchi and in 1890 Levies were raised in Zhob, Gilgit, Malakand, Waziristan and Kurram. In 1901-1903, these Levies were upgraded to Militia (North Waziristan Militia, South Waziristan Militia, Kurram Militia, Chitral Scouts).²¹ A liaison headquarters was also raised in 1907 as Frontier Irregular Corps, the forerunner to present day Frontier Corps. In these militia men were recruited from local tribes, with British army officers in command. In 1915, Frontier Constabulary was raised by upgrading the Border Military Police, which was raised in 1904. The constabulary differed from Militia, in terms of the charter, they were being commanded by British police officers but they also recruited from the same tribes. Constabulary was employed in the border belt between the political agencies and settled districts.

In 1922, after the Third Afghan War in which majority of Militia rebelled, less Chitral Scouts and Kurram Militia, they were reorganized into Scouts, therefore NWM (North Waziristan Militia) became Tochi Scouts and SWM (South Waziristan Militia) became South Waziristan Scouts. It was not merely a change of nomenclature but men from tribes other than the Wazir and Mahsud were also enrolled. Khassadar were introduced in this time period, they were recruited from native tribes, not provided with any weapons or ammunition and salary was paid through the tribes. Khassadar were and are the tribal police, managing local affairs and facilitating government officials only within their tribal territory. Thus each tribe had its own Khassadar.

Lashkar, truly is the militia of tribes, it is the oldest form of tribal military power. Each tribesman is bound to carry arms, when ever his tribe requires him to do so. There is no pay or salary, each lashkari has to arrange his own weapon and ammunition and neither there is any central command nor organization. Clans join each other for a common cause, which is mostly a campaign against a rival tribe. A Lashkar relies on loot and plunder apart from indemnity or payment from the defeated tribe as compensation; which is divided among the lashkar.

George Cunningham highlighted that, he has resisted the moves of military to incorporate the militia into them. 'All these corps are of high quality, as good as anything in regular army; and ought to be maintained as they are'.²² On Khassadar, he pointed out that scholarships have been initiated to induct tribesmen from an early age into the khassadari. Cunningham further wrote, 'function of army on the NW Frontier is to oppose (if extreme necessity arises) the tribes as a whole; the function of the Scouts is to work daily with the tribes and to help them control their own individual malefactors'.²³ Pakistan, at that time was spending Rupees 10 Lakhs (one million) on allowances to tribes and overall spending Rupees 90 Million on the tribal areas; whereas the income of the province was merely 20 million Rupees.²⁴ It was emphasized to the tribes, that Militia is part of them and not an occupation force, it is here to help you as brothers, in building schools and hospitals.

Presently, The Frontier Corps and Frontier Constabulary are under the Ministry of Interior and Narcotics and can be employed anywhere in Pakistan. Levies and Khassadar are controlled and paid by the Ministry of Frontier and States and are employed only in FATA and PATA. The pay structure is varied and so are allowances and privileges. None of these militias have a constitutional cover. Levies were constituted in 2012 through a regulation²⁵, whereby a detailed structure has since been drafted. Levies were the very initial force to be raised on the frontier thus, a century later they have been raised on almost identical pattern as the Frontier Militias were raised. Their charter of duties is wide; encompassing almost all duties as presently being performed by the militia and constabulary such as raids, ambushes, anti-smuggling, protection of roads, and general maintenance of peace. Thus these militias have overlapping duties under different ministries; a time tested hypothesis under which, misunderstanding often leads to friction among multiple organizations in the same geographical area.²⁶

FATA 2017; Convolutd Reforms

In March 2017, the cabinet has approved in principle the most drastic reforms since 1901, whereby FATA will be merged into the Khyber Pakhtunkhawa province in next five years.²⁷ Immediately tribes have raised their voices over this merger. These reforms were initiated by the prime minister in 2015, in the wake of military operation launched in North Waziristan; he set up a six member committee to recommend reforms in FATA. Fundamentally, the committee was headed by Ministry of Foreign Affairs, alongwith the Ministry of States and Frontier (SAFRON) which governs FATA; however the Ministry of Interior and Narcotics Control was excluded. Thus the very composition of the committee later paved the way for major shortcomings in terms of security and border management in relation to the reforms recommended. It must be kept in view, that these ministries work on Weber's bureaucratic system. This intricate and irrational distribution of responsibilities on frontier among ministries is perhaps the basic flaw in our structure. Religion²⁸ and narcotics²⁹ have been the two constant causes of violence in frontier since 1900, thus any committee which probes FATA should have both ministries (Ministry of Religious Affairs and ministry of Interior as components).

One of the basic flaws in reforms since 1973, when the tribal areas were segregated into PATA and FATA, has been to take the FATA as a single entity rather than a conglomerate of independent tribes. From 1935, Government of India Act till 1973, Forward Policy dictated that these tribes and tribal areas should not be subject to the normal course of legislature and judiciary. Subsequent constitutions like 1956, 1962, 1970 Legal Frame Work Order, 1972 Interim Constitution, all kept the judicial and legislative orders and acts and their implementation in tribal areas subject to the approval of President of Pakistan. This special treatment of the tribal areas has been presented by liberals, democrats, idealists and feminists as draconian and a negation of fundamental rights as enshrined in the constitution. What is overlooked is the fact that, Forward Policy ultimately caused the demise of Russia in 1990. These tribes as such are not discriminated against, rather they are the only area in Pakistan where

people are allowed to live according to their customs, possess arms, decide disputes among themselves and possess duty free vehicles, and live tax free. In 1947, there were only 7 schools in FATA, at present over 5300 schools are operating in FATA.³⁰

PATA encompasses two provinces, as Marri, Bugti and Chagai are part of Baluchistan province, where -as Chitral, Dir, Swat, Malakand, part of Manshehra, Kohistan falls into Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province (KPK); all being part of PATA.³¹ Thus it can be seen that term PATA is heterogeneous in nature and as such no law, act or reforms can be applied across the whole of PATA. While entire, FATA lies within the KPK, it not only comprised of seven political agencies but also the six Frontier Regions. To treat all of these tribes with a uniform reform and act has been the cardinal error in these reforms of 2017. Only recently, in 2010, two new areas were included (Lakki Marwat and Tank) as frontier regions,³² thus present reforms are in fact a reversion of the earlier reforms.

The premise of the reforms revolves around idealism, where democracy is taken as a cure of present violence. This very concept of democracy, treating all as equal in selection of representatives, by granting adult franchise, is another major cause of prolonged violence in tribal areas. Thus in those political agencies where a single tribe is inhabiting, as in Khyber Agency which is overwhelmingly Afridi democracy has not been able to alter the centuries old system and riwaj. Same holds true for Orakzai. In Kurram the factor is sectarian affiliation; thus Turi are elected. In case of most troublesome, North Waziristan, Daur are more in terms of voters³³, thus Wazir the real players have been side lined.

The end result is that the very representatives of FATA which have voiced in favor of reforms, in terms of merger with KPK and repealing of FCR are in-fact not the true representatives of FATA. The Western system of democracy, which was applied in FATA from 1998 has shrouded the political representation of the tribes; the major and minor tribes have been placed in same category.

The committee recommends induction of 20,000 Levies. Political Agent as an institution that has been criticised by the committee; not because of his inefficiency but on the principle of one official enjoying legislative, judicial and law enforcing powers. In the eighty odd pages of the report, the word Militia is used only once, there is no mention of how this Militia will work in coming years.³⁴ The most glaring omission in the committee reforms is the Militia (Frontier Corps). Levies have been highlighted at length; providing them with standard uniform, new equipment and training, while the Frontier Corps has been overlooked in totality. It seems as if the committee has been unable to grasp the philosophy behind these two outfits. Whereas, Levies are enrolled, trained, paid and commanded by the political agent directly, the Frontier Corps on the other hand, although comes under command of the political agent, yet its command structure is on deputation from military. Thus Militia has more firepower, manpower and more importantly it enrolls all tribes (without exception) who live and work together in the form of Qaum, Levies on the other hand are recruited only from the specified political agency and remain within the political agency. The present Militia in reality took birth as Levies and were upgraded to their present status. The Committee has hinted at restricting Militia only along the Pakistan-Afghanistan frontier, by increasing the number of wings, however unlike Levies the number is not specified. The whole purpose of these reforms is based upon establishing a no war zone in FATA, thus by overlooking such vital component in war against militancy (Militia) the committee has defied its own logic. Despite the decade and half campaign on frontier and against the militancy, no effort has been made to bring all under one ministry. This diffusion results in lack of equipment, weapons, facilities, and sharing of intelligence among them.

Why FATA, Why not PATA?

The preamble of the present reforms are based upon the fact that 'insurgents have used FATA to train and recruit fighters...it is planned to transform FATA into a region free of war...FATA has been governed through colonial era system'.³⁵ To envision an area free of war is denying the basic

element of human nature, any reforms which aim at absolute elimination of war is not based on reality but hoping for Utopia. To single out FATA as the breeding ground of fighter's recruitment is also not true; it is not only FATA but also PATA as well which contributes in terms of violence, recruitment of fighters and challenges to the writ of state.

The major operations of military were not only launched in FATA but also in PATA. The very first uprising in post reforms started in Marri area in Balochistan in 1974-1977. Again, major uprising in Malakand and Swat in 1992. In Post 9/11, Bugti area in Balochistan (2005-2007), Swat (2007-2009).³⁶ Upper, Lower Dir,³⁷ and Chitral (2011), Kohistan (2002-2003). Thus to aim at reforms in FATA exclusively, thereby overlooking PATA, in an effort to eliminate violence and militancy is void of rationality and logic. As

far as the colonial era legislative and judicial system is concerned, the very fact that the legal system of Pakistan, The Pakistan Penal Code itself is based upon laws of 1860 and 1898 negates that assumption. Among the 182 laws

Among the 182 laws in operation in Pakistan, no less than 50 laws and acts date back to colonial era including the Arms Act (1878), Explosive Act (1884), Boilers Act (1923), Official Secret Act (1923) to name few.

in operation in Pakistan, no less than 50 laws and acts date back to colonial era including the Arms Act (1878), Explosive Act (1884), Boilers Act (1923), Official Secret Act (1923) to name few. Thus the connotation of relating the violence in FATA to colonial era act defies logic. If this logic is accepted, than all laws that date back to British era should be repealed. It is better to debate the clauses of a certain law or act, rather than discarding them on the basis of being colonial in nature. Frontier Crimes Regulations (FCR) has been cited as the major irritant, which the committee through its interaction, meetings with local and native tribes in FATA has reached. Interestingly, the committee has highlighted and noted the difference of opinion among the tribes as far as FCR is concerned, 'elders are in favour of retaining FCR whereas youngsters are in favour of its repealing'.

The Scientific Method of Irrationality

The present committee, like all other studies, seminars, papers dealing with FATA has relied heavily upon mathematical figures as the scientific data to give support to its hypothesis. Through this supporting data the committee has attempted to highlight poverty, deprivation and lack of infrastructure in FATA and resultantly applied the Marxist theory, assuring the public that as soon as gap between numbers (in FATA vs rest of Pakistan) are narrowed, the graph of violence will also drop. The data itself is contradictory in nature, and leads to incorrect deductions. For instance, to deal with the whole of FATA in terms of area, population, density, per capita income, education and literacy rate, is irrational in nature. Bajaur, Mohmand and Khyber have more population thus they have high density whereas Waziristan on the other hand has more area but less population; therefore all the data based upon these facts will be dichotomous; and may favor only the Frontier Regions.

Agency	Area sq km	Population	Militia	Major Tribe	Minor Tribe	NA Seat
Khyber	2,576	5,46,370	Khyber Rifles, Mahsud Scouts .Khassadar ,Levies	Afridi	Shinwari, Mullagori , Shilman	NA 45,46
Kurram	3,380	4,48,310	Kurram Militia, Thall Scouts. Khassadar, Levies	Turi	-	NA 37, NA 38
North Waziristan	4,707	3,61,246	Tochi Scouts, Shawal Rifles.Levies, Khassadar	Wazir	Daur, Saidgi	NA 40
South Waziristan	6,620	4,29,841	South Waziristan Scouts, Levies, Khassadar	Mahsud	Dottani, Sherrani,	NA-41, NA -42
Mohmand	2,296	3,34,453	Mohmand Rifles, Levies, Khassadars	Mohmand	Safi	NA 36
Bajaur	1,290	5,95,227	Bajaur Scouts, Levies, Khassadar	Utmankhel	-	NA 43,44
Orakzai	1,538	2,25,441	Orakzai Scouts, Levies, Khassadar	Orakzai	-	NA 39

Frontier Region	Area sq km	Population	Militia	Nos of Villages	Tribes	Levies Strength	Khass adar
Peshawar	261	53,841	Frontier Constabulary	39	Afridi	357	107
Kohat	446	88,456	ibid		Afridi	1067	405
Bannu	745	19,593	Ibid	160	Wazir, Bhattani	294	777
Lakki Marwat	132	6,987	Ibid	44	Bhattani, Marwat	577	200
Tank	1221	27,216	Ibid	13	Bhattani,	757	506
Dera Ismail Khan	2008	38,990	Ibid		Sherrani	561	309

Table I. Showing the political agencies and frontier regions (FATA). Data has been compiled with the help of Ministry of States and Frontier³⁸.

Recommendations

First and foremost is to treat FATA in terms of individual political agencies and tribes rather than under the acronym of FATA. Each tribal agency, when ontologically perceived as a territory belonging to a specific tribe, is bound to create a different perception as compared to other tribes and their territories.

PATA before FATA. Reforms only in FATA without any deliberation on PATA will fail to address the core issue of militancy. Tribal Areas should be treated in totality, at present, concentration has been only on KPK, whereas tribal areas are in Balochistan also, and they too have been as volatile as those areas in KPK, thus to bring reforms in KPK only may aggravate the situation. The 90 Billion Rupees package should not therefore only be spent in KPK. Experience of reforms in PATA, which are in place since 1973, acts as guiding principle, if despite all the reforms in last four decades, the state has failed to curb militancy in PATA, thus to assume that by bringing same in FATA will have different results, only validates 'history repeats itself, first as tragedy and second time as farce'.³⁹ Logically, as a first measure, PATA should be merged with the KPK province and brought at par with other districts, similarly, in Balochistan PATA should also be merged with the mainstream. Frontier Regions (FRs) are a buffer zone between the settled districts and political agencies; they should be either merged with KPK or

with the political agency. These FRs gain nothing prominent by retaining status quo.

Militia	Balochistan (PATA)	Khyber Pakhtunkhawa (PATA)	FATA	Ministry
Levies	294	4,528	9,126	SAFRON
Khassadar	Nil	Nil	17,914	SAFRON
Frontier Constabulary	3,498 (Balochistan Constabulary)	Nil	15000	Interior & Narcotics
Frontier Corps (Militia)		4500 in Chitral Scouts, 1500 in Swat Scouts, 2500 in Dir Scouts Total 8000-8500.	40,000 approximately	Interior & Narcotics

Table 2. Showing the Militias in FATA and their controlling ministries.

Figures based upon data provided by Ministry of Interior and Ministry of States and Frontier.

Structural Reorganization. The division of affairs regarding frontier and tribes are distributed among no less than three different ministries. This has grossly undermined the efforts to curb militancy in FATA and in PATA. As stated earlier the militia and constabulary falls under one ministry where as levies and khassadar are under another ministry. Militia (Frontier Corps) should be provided with constitutional cover, similar to the Levies. Uniform of Militia since 1998, has been changed thrice, in an attempt not only to modernize it but also to Westernize it; in the process it suffered culturally. This tendency of abrupt decisions can only be safeguarded through constitutional cover. Militia must be governed through its own Militia Act and Laws. Their employment, deployment, training, pay, allowances, privileges, pension should be streamlined. It was only in 2004, after they put up a redress of grievances, that the Militia were allowed free medical treatment in military hospitals and entitled to same ration scale as enjoyed by military. In Frontier Constabulary, a soldier has a chance to rise higher in rank to become a gazetted officer, but no such option is available in Militia or Levies. Militias are governed by 1904 Border Police Act, 1915 Frontier

Constabulary Act and Frontier Corps 1959 Ordinance; it may look odd but no Syed, Pir or kamin is allowed to serve in Frontier Corps.⁴⁰

Political Agent as an institution has lived up to its reputation (they did not allow violence between 1947-2004 in FATA), however it has been criticized incessantly on every forum. The fact that in 2010, among 39 political and assistant political agents in FATA, seven had only bachelor degree, two had only a faculty of arts certificate and one had only attended the school (matric). Not a single political agent had an educational degree higher than masters. Only three political agents were in grade-19, eleven in grade-18 and remaining 25 were in grade-17. It must be kept in mind that constitutionally Frontier Corps units are under command political and assistant political agents and these Militia corps are commanded by brigadiers, colonels and lieutenant colonels, who all are in grade 18 and 19.⁴¹

Tribal Representation. Seats reserved for FATA in national assembly and senate also require adjustments. At present, a few agencies have two seats and others have only one seat; thus seats should not be based upon the population or geography but on the basis of tribes. Furthermore the Tribal Area XII (NA 46) which encompasses all six Frontier Regions, requires rethinking, as the length of the constituency stretches to 400 Kilometers from Peshawar in the North, to D.I.Khan in the South. Presently, SAFRON is spending money on development in FATA on the basis of population, 65% and 35% on area basis. Under this system of division, Waziristan agencies have suffered; will suffer and continue to feel deprived as compared to the more populated northern agencies (Bajaur, Mohmand and Khyber).

Pakistan-Afghanistan; Open Border. Pakistan and Afghanistan cannot change history; however both can regulate cross-border movement. In Europe and the Gulf, movement across the borders is free and the same should be attempted between these two Islamic brotherly countries. Suppression of militancy is more due to inefficiency on the part of law enforcing agencies and structural mismanagement, than due to free movement across the border by tribes. There is a difference between free

movement and illegal settlement. The frontier tribes (Afridi, Shinwari, Wazir and Mahsud) have clans living on both sides of border, they should be allowed as in past to move freely across borders. By imposing restrictions, free trade gets affected which in turn affects economic indicators of the tribes.

Conclusion

The proposed reforms in FATA, and its merger with KPK are based upon one scarlet thread; it will eliminate militancy. However, PATA, where similar reforms were introduced in 1973, has been an equal partner in the growth and spread of militancy. Thus to expect that the merger of FATA will bring peace everywhere defies logic. Militia, Levies, Constabulary and Political Agents have played a key role in maintaining peace in FATA since 1947 and more significantly from 2001 onwards, these institutions by themselves are being governed by multiple ministries. The primary reforms in FATA should start with the rationalisation of these institutions and by bringing all of them under one ministry.

FATA region is sensitive as it shares a border with Afghanistan, thus unrest in FATA has implications on international affairs and resultantly on domestic politics as well. By merging FATA with province of KPK, the federation will lose its control over a territory that runs across borders. In Pakistan's history, provincial governments of frontier and federation have seldom enjoyed cordial relations. Thus it will be better to keep FATA under federal administration rather it handing them over to the provincial government.

The perception of FATA being underdeveloped and suppressed is void of reality and facts. On the contrary, there are special concessions and privileges which are endowed upon the tribes in terms of duty free vehicles and tax free zone. They are the only citizens of this republic who are allowed to practice their customary laws and traditions; thus by merging them, they will be deprived of all these and will be bound to follow the laws as interpreted by courts. FATA should be restructured on tribal basis, where tribes must be categorized in terms of traditional power and influence rather than on mere population.

NOTES

- ¹ "tribe." Encyclopædia Britannica. *Encyclopædia Britannica Ultimate Reference Suite*. Chicago: Encyclopædia Britannica, 2015.
- ² Herodotus *The Historia*, translated by George Rawlinson, ed Manuel Komroff, {Tudor, New York, 1928}, p-182, also² Arrian *The Campaigns of Alexander translated by Aubrey de Selincourt* { Penguin, 1971}, p-261.
- ³ Mahmood adopted the title of Sultan, it were the Mughuls who from 1530 AD onwards called themselves as emperors.
- ⁴ Roger D. Long *A History of Pakistan* (Oxford, 2015).
⁵ Misl, a group of armed Sikhs.
- ⁶ Brandon Douglas Marsh. *Ramparts of empire, India's North-West Frontier and British Imperialism 1919-1947*. Austin: University of Texas, 2009. Bruce , Issac., *The Forward Policy and its results or thirty Five Years work amongst the tribes on our North Western Frontier of India*, first edition 1900. Quetta: Gosha -e-Adab, 1977.
- ⁷ Major H.G. Raverty "The Afghan Wazirs and their Country" in *The Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review, Volume IX, Nos 17 and 18, January - April 1895 (Oriental University Institute, Woking,)* page 153.
- ⁸ In 1895, edition of Constable Handbook for British Empire, the entire area south of Afridi territory is depicted as Waziristan.
- ⁹ From 1878 -1951, there was only Khyber Political Agency, west and north of Peshawar, Mohmand Agency in 1953, Bajaur and Orakzai political agencies in 1973, were carved out of Khyber Agency. Malakand Political Agency was raised in 1890.
- ¹⁰ Payment to tribes for maintaining peace in respective tribal areas.
¹¹ See F-112-GG/37-50, *Jinnah Papers, Pakistan Fangs of Birth, 15th August-30 September 1947, Volume V*, Culture Division, Government of Pakistan. , pp, 285- 310.
- ¹² See letters serial F-112-GG/37-50, F-112-GG/22-31,, F-112-GG/16-8, *Jinnah Papers*, pp, 285-310.
Jinnah Papers Pakistan Battling against Odds ,1st October-31st December 1947, Volume VI.
- ¹³ Mirza Ali Khan {Fakir of Ipi} was engaged in an insurgency against British from 1936 in North Waziristan.
- ¹⁴ See serial F-112-GG/32-4, Minutes of Defence Minister's meeting held at Circuit House Rawalpindi on 2nd October 1947. *Jinnah Papers Pakistan Battling against Odds ,1st October-31st December 1947, Volume VI*. pp, 17-21.
- ¹⁵ Jinnah papers, Volume VI, PRO-PREM 8/558, Record of a conversation between H.L. Ismay and M.A. Jinnah on 3rd October 1947, pp, 30-34.
- ¹⁶ *Jinnah Papers ,Pakistan Struggling for Survival, 1st January -30th September 1948, Volume VII*. Culture Division, Government of Pakistan. F-216{III}-GG/166-8, & F-216{III}-GG/168-9 ; pp, 426-433.
- ¹⁷ *Jinnah Papers*, Volume VII, 17th April 1948.
- ¹⁸ Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan, Articles 246, 247.
- ¹⁹ 'Militia' is a group of citizens who are organized or capable of providing paramilitary or policing service, namely: An army reserve composed of part-time soldiers (organized militia). A nation's able-bodied citizens

who can be called upon to defend it (unorganized militia). A non-government military force (private or public militia).

²⁰ Lieutenant General Sir Howley Goodenough and Lieutenant Colonel Cecil Dalton *The Army Book For The British Empire, a record of the development and present position of the military forces and their duties in peace and war*. London: printed for Her Majesty stationery office, 1898.

²¹ Lord Curzon was the Viceroy and Governor General of India 1899-1905, Thomas Raleigh *Lord Curzon in India, being a selection from his speeches as Viceroy and Governor General of India, 1898-1905*. {London: MacMillan, 1906}, pp, 415-432.

²² *Jinnah Papers*, p-535.

²³ *Ibid*,

²⁴ *Ibid*.

²⁵ Federal Levies Force Regulations, August 07, 2012.

²⁶ Victoria Henshaw *Scotland and British Army 1700-1750*, unpublished thesis for Ph. D, {University of Birmingham, 2011}, p-214.

²⁷ <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1343825/federal-cabinet-approves-fata-reforms/>

²⁸ Sectarian hate among Sunni and Shias is the cardinal factor of violence in Kurram Agency and in FR Kohat.

²⁹ In 1988 and also in mid-nineties, minor and major operations were carried out in Khyber Agency, FR Peshawar, and in FR Kohat, by Ministry of Interior and Narcotics

³⁰ FATA Education Atlas, 2011-2012, FATA Directorate.

³¹ Article 246 and 247 of Constitution of Pakistan.

³² Eighteenth Amendment in constitution, Section 91.

³³ Majority of Wazir did not even fill the census forms in 1998, neither majority of their women have identity card, nor they vote, where as Daur are more law abiding and liberal. For more see Tochi Scouts reports on 1998 Census.

³⁴ <http://202.83.164.29/safron/userfiles1/file/Report%20of%20the%20Committee%20of%20FATA%20Reforms%202016%20final.pdf> chapter 4{f}, p-37.

³⁵ Government of Pakistan Report of the Committee on FATA Reforms 2016', pp, 1-3.

³⁶ In Swat, military launched Operation Rah-i-Haq in November 2007, again in July 2008 Rah-i-Haq II was launched, in January 2009, Rah-i-Haq III was conducted, Rah-i-Najat and Rah-i-Rast were also launched in 2009 in Swat.

³⁷ Operation Black Thunderstorm was launched in Dir and Buner in 2009.

³⁸ For more details, see the 1998 Census Reports .

³⁹ Karl Marx, *the Eighteen Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, chapter 1, p, 10.

⁴⁰ Frontier Corps Ordinance 1959, SRO 588{K}81, dated 24th May 1961, Chapter II, 5{2}. The exception being Kurram Militia, Pishin Scouts and Chagai Militia. This rule was incorporated in 1922.

⁴¹ Senate Secretariat, 11th May, 2010, reply to question of Mr Hafiz Rashid Ahmed, notice received on 21st April 2010.

GOVERNANCE REFORMS IN FATA

Dr. Tahir Ul Mulk Kahlon*

Abstract

This paper suggests governance reforms in FATA to help public officials and political leaders to institute appropriate administrative structures and proficient governing policies. It brings out constraints and challenges of governance in tribal areas, where people have been suffering from violence. Several themes are expounded, which cut across linkages among government legitimacy, effectiveness, security, formal and informal governance systems in the terror hit areas. Government of Pakistan needs to formulate and blend policies based on nationally and locally shared values. This paper recommends critical choices and public policy options which would lead to good governance and hence peace and stability in the area.

Keywords: FATA, Reforms, Terrorism, Governance, Public policy, Peace and Conflict

Introduction

Governance milieu of Pakistan accentuates the significance of good governance in creating peace in FATA. Scholars and practitioners have substantial understanding of governance in peace, but there remains a paucity of knowledge on effective governance in violence prone, terror hit, and war-torn societies. Such environments make it difficult to grapple contours of designing functional institutions especially in countries like Pakistan, which have been going through internal violence perpetrated also by regional and international non-state and state actors. Unless diligently responded to, internal conflict could lead from failure of governance to a failure of 'state'. It is hence imperative to show a sense of urgency to construct or reconstruct weakened and collapsed institutions of governance in FATA.

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Pakistan faces complex security challenges. Most of these challenges arise from the crises that have been produced by terrorism, which itself is rooted in different politico-socio-economic contexts. The policies to encounter terrorism and put this country on a path of retrieval, growth and peace have therefore to be diverse. The national leadership should use equitable and accountable governing tools for economic growth, peace and prosperity which will usher in national cohesion. Academics have found some universally shared values and principles like committed leadership, solid governing structures and community participation as a sine qua non for peace and to create government legitimacy and confidence in national institutions.

This paper outlines major governance challenges and proposes reforms and policies based on societal values and fair governing practices. These are critical for FATA for its recovery from terrorism. It takes cues from diverse national and international literature and explicates as to how institutionalized governing mechanisms improve relations between government and the people and how policies can be designed in a peace-sensitive manner. The role of public administration to foster a sustainable peaceful recovery is explored. It impresses on how to nurture popular discourse and build consensus for social cohesion. The role of international actors also deserves mention for aiding national efforts for peace and harmony. The paper stays away from politics and economy of terrorism or fixing responsibilities for action or inaction.

Governing Fundamentals

Governance and government are generally used interchangeably in societal discourse. Academically, however, both are interconnected but are not synonymous. Government refers to the structural dimension of state while governance portrays a modern concept of shared responsibility of multiple public and private actors in running the business of the state. A detailed tour of both concepts is beyond the scope of this paper. It is however pertinent to lay a common framework for understanding. Some recurring terms are explained as under:-

Governance: Governance has numerous definitions and explanations describing government roles and their application. World Bank is its undisputed originator, having first used it in World Development Report that primarily covered its experiences in Africa. The Bank defines governance as, “economic policy-making and implementation, service delivery and accountable use of public resources and of regulatory power.”¹ USAID considers it, “pertaining to the ability of government to develop an efficient, effective, and accountable public management process that is open to citizen participation and that strengthens rather than weakens a democratic system of government”². DFID says it is “how institutions, rules and systems of the state executive, legislature, judiciary and military operate at central and local level and how the state relates to individual citizens, civil society and the private sector”³.

Governance Failure: Governance failure has been employed to depict a Hobbesian anarchy of all against all. A government fails or risks failing if it cannot assure public welfare, provide life security or a just economic growth. How far FATA displays the above physiognomies is left to the perception of readers. One could at least view a lesser extreme of failure where it has become impossible to distinguish between institutional feebleness and capability/capacity fissure. Governance failure in a nutshell means:⁴

- No institutional monopoly on legitimate exercise of power, absence of law and order, and / or government unable to safeguard life and instead oppresses people.
- Weak or crumbled ability to meet basic needs of population or its inability to assure normalcy of public activities.
- State or government lacking international respect or representation.

Conflict-Post Conflict: Peace, conflict and post-conflict terms are assumptious and with shades. Post-conflict may not mean end of violence everywhere. Doyle and Sambanis say that “no peace is perfect. Public violence never gets completely eliminated. We should thus consider peace to be a spectrum ranging from insecure to secure”⁵. Leatherman et al say

that “conflict interventions need a rehabilitative dimension oriented to the past, a resolute dimension oriented to the present, and a preventive dimension oriented to both the present and future”⁶.

FATA has been through a prolonged phase of terrorism leading to the destruction of basic governing infrastructure and disruption in the lives of people. The resultant war economy and governance vacuum has altered the delicately nurtured power balance of traditional power relations, giving rise to a new elite comprising warlords and itinerant holy warriors⁷. It has

FATA has been through a prolonged phase of terrorism leading to the destruction of basic governing infrastructure and disruption in the lives of people.

caused extensive misery, vast population displacement, and devastated ‘whatever’ there was left of government. Successive governments have failed to deliver basic public services and usually have promoted policies favouring

the elite. Unscrupulous budgeting, cronyism and corruption constrained opportunities for common people, whereas the powerful siphoned off public assets. FATA is thus not a case of mis-governance but of an absence of governance.

People do not support or trust a government which is averse to their needs. Government’s incompetence can contribute to governance failure, terrorism, eruption of conflict and ultimately a state failure. The crucial task for any government is thus to first establish and gain its legitimacy. It must connect to public security and wellbeing to deny recruits to insurgency and violence.

How and from where should one begin rebuilding government effectiveness in FATA? Resumption of public services confronts the implementers with questions of sequencing and prioritizing such services. Should tasks follow one after another or be done simultaneously, is a fuzzy area. In Pakistan and especially in FATA, donors and NGOs have taken the lead in meeting public demands. However, Brinkerhoff observes that⁸ “quick-fix approaches that ignore existing local capacity and/or put off

attention to institution-building are accused of creating dependency, reducing the chances for sustainability and squandering opportunities for nascent governments to establish their legitimacy through providing services to citizens.”⁹ Governance issues of FATA are therefore multi-dimensional and convoluted. Evolving structures, policies and procedures is edgy and cumbersome. The principal and critical issues are to establish government’s ‘legitimacy’ and to ensure public ‘security’.

Critical Issues

The environmental context helps identify the foundations of crucial sectoral strategies and management gaps for responsive and congruent public policies. It is essential that reform policies be created in phases; initially for emergent peace responses and then other phases of rehabilitation, governance reconfiguration and development. The phases depend on the specific idiosyncrasies, the nature of the conflict that has affected public administration, the extent to which this has been destroyed and what aspects of it have been destroyed¹⁰. Public bureaucracies and political leaders need to acquire capacities and be empathetic. Policies should be formulated beginning with a situation analysis followed by a dialogue and agreement with stakeholders on their choices and priorities. Such public policies may then be implemented comprehensively in a sequence or simultaneously. Having done that, there should be effective governance for success of reform policies. Critical governance issues demanding strategic focus in FATA are:-

Legitimacy of Rule. Legitimacy means recognition of a government as appropriate and/or right. Deprived of legitimacy, a state will not function. This question is extensively debated with sharp contrasts and opposing opinions. Legitimacy can be acquired through public participation and by taking steps to reduce inequalities, ensuring accountability and eliminating corruption etc. Provision of basic services is extremely important for establishing legitimacy. It exhibits that government responds to citizens’ needs.¹¹ FATA democratization has remained intricate with traditional powers vying for legitimacy and thus becoming a ‘state’ within a state. The dilemma however, is that outside interference to democratize is

extraordinarily difficult.¹² Experts have expressed apprehensions that democracy enforced from without can never be amenable to local culture, despite being benevolent.¹³ Some have reservations that societies like FATA can absorb the demands, complexities and responsibilities of democracy¹⁴ or whether prevalent models of democracy fit in societies with strong local traditions and ideologies.¹⁵

Human Security. It is a precursor to peace, stability and normalcy. For most post-conflict societies, civilian oversight of security forces becomes weak or non-existent. In addition, civil rights, judicial system and the operation of the courts need reconstruction. Unaccountable, corrupt and/or subversive government forces are major barriers to human security and state legitimacy, and often contribute to reigniting conflict.¹⁶ Government must immediately grapple with absence of security in terror hit areas. The literature provides an acronym DDR (disarmament, demobilization and reintegration) as its remedy. But it must remain in perspective that security without economic and employment opportunities will raise the possibility of banditry and terrorism. Role of security establishment is critical for governance and is deeply tied to legitimacy as well.

Leadership Integrity. The leading objective of governance in terror hit areas has to be national cohesion. Mere creation of policies and government structures will not lead to peace and nation building. It demands a sanguine political leadership having an integrated approach for consensus solutions; something which cannot be achieved through bureaucratic channels. FATA's quagmire is due to the traditional roles of elite leadership which lacked popular support. Crucial to success of peace is a leadership committed to reforms and peace. Such leaders must become interlocutors to coagulate sustainable governance through inclusive processes, keeping public welfare foremost by shunning parochial gains. Only such leaders will be able to overcome tribal differences on resource distribution without expediency.

Reforming Governance

Population Mainstreaming. Governance reforms in FATA means disturbing centuries old systems. Niccolo Machiavelli warns that,

“It must be remembered that there is nothing more difficult to plan, more doubtful of success, nor more dangerous to manage than a new system. For the initiator has the enmity of all who would profit by the preservation of the old institution and merely lukewarm defenders in those who gain by the new ones.”¹⁷

Unless public participation and cooptation is ensured at all stages of reforms, it will wane government trust and social cohesion. FATA has IDPs (Internally Displaced People), former terrorists and unemployed youth, who could become victim of vicious propaganda. Government must stimulate societal cohesion by population mainstreaming and promoting wellbeing of public at large. The best option for FATA is to exploit its culture and traditions for the initial transitory phase for inclusion of people. Government should achieve this by sharing power and dialogue among different tribal and religious groups. Lealem advises that,

“Government should enable and encourage dialogue between government and the civil society as a key goal of consolidated peace in the long run. It should establish civil society umbrella bodies to create a structure through which civil society organizations can collectively engage in advocacy and monitoring of development polices.”¹⁸

Governance reforms in FATA should be executed with minimal intervention from public bureaucracies, which should take its role of rowing, instead of steering. Intervention must be peace focused, multiethnic and religiously neutral. Instead of past policies of ‘expediency,’ it should proactively comprehend and resolve the root causes of terrorism. Dialogue for resolution of routine differences within tribes should be built and reinforced for peace. Religious and tribal leaders should not be shunned but instead co-opted to play productive roles in nurturing a peaceful environment. There is however, a need to be vigilant that societies, which have suffered unequal access to opportunity, are prone to divisions and tensions leading to reemergence of violence.

Reconciliation. This should never be taken as a synonym for capitulation or retreat of state. Despite failure of such efforts in the past, it will be catastrophic to delay or ignore available opportunities for peace. Security forces need to be rationally persuaded for supporting reconciliation, lest it dampens their morale. It is hard for battling soldiers to accept peace initiatives with groups they have been at war with. Embedment of civil servants and local leadership in the reconciliation process will pay dividends if conducted convincingly and sensitively with the consent and participation of the security establishment. Effective humanitarian, political and economic interventions will resolve contentious issues and produce conciliatory environment. The lack of coherence in reconciliation process, shortsighted peacekeeping actions and desultory development efforts can trample efforts of reconciliation.

Trust in State. When the government collapses, the remaining structures of government lose their legitimacy leading to political and economic disintegration. The main governance task in FATA should be to establish public trust in government and hence the state. Arguably this means changing the population mindset to voluntarily engage with public institutions. The critical determinant for its success is a committed civil-military leadership that should create a representative structure to ensure equitable public service delivery. Government should move fast to improve education, social services and by imparting skills to people to earn normal living. If that is done, people will look towards and trust government for their needs and be ready to face hardships that may be necessitated due to resource constraints. In the early stages, government (as it will be created without popular support) would have to bear with lack of trust. During this period, government has to devise plans for resettlement of former terrorists and make them acceptable to their antagonists. It should exercise limited control over public assets to avoid controversies and should not lose hope from deadlocks and lack of consensus at early stage of reforms. Public policies in initial stages must be negotiated with all relevant stakeholders to make these palatable.

Environmental Security. Provision of security to people is the primary function of state. An effective and well managed security structure is a prerequisite for peace, development, and stability. Governance reforms must originate in a security perspective. It should not mean downsizing security services on Western standards or the advice of Western donors and consultants. FATA has characteristics without similarity elsewhere in the world. The solution should be purely home grown / designed and security governance should fall under a popular and pluralistic oversight. Security reforms will engender goodwill, overcome violence and protect economic development in FATA. Some misconceptions should be conscientiously removed by policy makers, that:¹⁹

- Military and para-military forces are their enemies and want to interfere in their lives.
- Security forces represent Western interests.
- Government consumes economic resources meant for people.
- Security forces and government institutions are incompetent, abusive and corrupt.
- Gangs and armed factions will resurface and punish them for cooperating with government.

Absence of institutional authorities like police will create mistrust and lack of state legitimacy leading to the re-eruption of violence. Following reforms are recommended to “facilitate supporting environment:”²⁰

- Restructuring of the security structure by right sizing.
- Capacity building and training of security forces.
- Well defined and clear institutional roles.
- Absorption of battling gangs in government jobs.
- Livelihood assistance to vulnerable and poor tribes.
- Strict control of immigration/cross borders movement.

Government will be reluctant to withdraw security forces because it provides stability to incumbents and deterrent to criminal behavior. Thus, it should seek alternatives like reorientation of tasks and providing them roles in humanitarian relief and labor intensive development projects. Security, however, is a necessary but not sufficient component of durable peace.

Equity and Justice. Selective application of laws severely undermines the legitimacy of the state. FATA portrays a loose administration and application of laws turning judicial institutions into a meaningless entity. Consequently it has left people to look elsewhere for resolution of their disputes and provides a breeding ground for non-state actors. Equitable access to justice is a key to sustainable peace. Reforms must provide a judicial system that is accessible and effectual. It entails capacity building of judicial and non-judicial institutions which have been tuned into feudal, tribal and public traditions working in tandem, against public interest. The legislative power is philosophically rooted in the interconnectedness of judicial, political and cultural norms. While national law making should continue to be pursued by the Assemblies with firm commitment and must be sensitized to the special needs of FATA. Public representatives must play an active role in the fair application of laws, monitoring the government infrastructure and public accountability system. Strengthening of Parliament is critical for holding the executive branch accountable. It also contributes to peace building while restoring legitimacy and trust in the legislative power.²¹ Reforms must take special care of people with vulnerabilities and former belligerents who want to start normal peaceful life. Finally, FATA not only needs rule of law but laws that rule for peace and development.

Devolution. Devolution means shedding power; taking it from one and giving it to some other. People of FATA should not beg federation for share in power and resources. It should be a major public policy initiative to

Devolution can also create a zero-sum situation with winners and losers.

promote inclusion. There is however evidence that devolution without complimentary reforms cannot resolve intractable problems of a conservative

society, and conversely may produce more violence and conflict. FATA situation is very sensitive in the aftermath of violence and will make such power adjustments extremely baffling. It could raise suspicions among the public which will still need to accept government as its benefactor and not an extraneous entity. Devolution can also create a zero-sum situation both

winners and losers. FATA agencies have to pass control from federation to province to locals. It represents a loss of territory for one and gain by other. The loser may seduce people to remonstrations through misinformation. Bureaucracy will be the biggest losers and thus a prominent player. It will strike back with a go slow policy or lack of cooperation. Misgoverned devolution will make peace insecure; therefore its enthused management is critical.

Public Administration. Sustainable peace in FATA would hinge on transformation of a governing super structure entailing constitutional changes for a new social contract with the people. Societal conflicts breed on socio-economic and cultural environments, of which public administration is a contemporary component. It is the agent of change from peace to conflict and from conflict to peace. Terrorism and violence can only grow on its destruction and generally it is the first casualty of a conflict. FATA public administration must be capable of implementing reform policies, regulations and decisions of the government and the management of community services.²² To do that it should focus on the creation of a system of merit; which itself has to be grounded on justice and equality. It is thus paramount that governance reforms focus on reconstruction of the devastated public administration. Reforms must take into consideration the human, technical and financial capacity of governmental institutions that have to undergo a simultaneous self construction. Modern public management tools and practices should guide the reform process. Literature is replete with advices like engaging civil society, consensus building, compromise, transparency and accountability as the keys of successful public administration for peace. Care must be taken that it does not draw the attention of the government away from other simpler and urgent reforms. This is not an easy task and is linked with financial capacity of the government, improved situation of fundamental rights and above all the environment of freedom of expression.

Accountability. FATA will provide lucrative corruption opportunities as the reforms would pump in money for reconstruction and rehabilitation. Governance reforms have to pay special attention to the ethos. People must

recognize that resources are being utilized fairly on their wellbeing. A robust system of transparency and accountability must be instituted to prosecute and punish swindlers. This system must be cognizant of tribal factionalism and especially the warring parties who have opted to return to the mainstream. Success of accountability would hinge on equitable management of ethnic sensitivities and tribal interests.

Economic Reforms. Economies of FATA have long existed and flourished in periods of peace, but vulnerable means of life and family support lead to violence and terrorism. FATA has suffered from a declining economic confidence, brain drain, and falling capital, leading to economic collapse. Economic resuscitation for poverty alleviation is therefore a panacea for peace and stability. It demands creation of vibrant institutions and capacity-building policies. Tribal elders will always look towards their immediate private gains and as such can create legitimacy deficit and reduced public acquiescence. Unless government moves rapidly, these elders would inherit and then subvert attempts to reform. Predatory national and/or foreign actors will also try to grab and swindle resources, unless vigorously stalled. Reform and rehabilitation must regulate ownership and oppose 'war economies'. Immediate creation of employment opportunities through government development projects and the stimulation of small enterprises are crucial. Government surely faces a deep financial burden due to prolonged security operations. It may get attracted to a solution in promoting private business development, entrepreneurship training and SME development. Such policies must balance between monetary hegemony and rapid stimulation of the economy. This will make people realize the benefits of peace and inspire them to participate in reform process. Government should have strong anti-corruption regime and may involve its security agencies in the provision of public services in FATA.

Information Management. Reliable and objective information dissemination is vital. Information promotes better accountability and prevents the relapse of conflict.²³ It allows improved financial management and increases transparency. Manipulation of information by anti-peace forces will trigger tensions and violence. Government should create a

mechanism of information management as a powerful tool for economic and social development, to improve efficiency and deliver transparent, high-quality services to citizens.²⁴ It will help government to fight corruption and build public trust. Classic information dissemination through public controlled channels must be avoided as it would be construed as propaganda.

Foreign Influence. While isolation is not an option, international assistance must not concede national security and sovereignty. Financial and technical international help should only be sought in specific and critical areas and should not overwhelm government with imposed priorities. It must be flexible, un-bureaucratic and based on joint consultation. Heavy reliance on foreign assistance endangers state legitimacy and becomes counterproductive to reforms. All governance players should work collectively by utilizing their exclusive expertise to achieve endogenous goals. It must be remembered that influx of international aid is generally in the beginning of reforms when government's absorptive capacity is at its weakest. It gradually dries up, as donors' intrinsic objectives are achieved.

Conclusion

This paper has provided insights for reform in FATA or similar terror hit areas. It has focused on this crucial issue to demonstrate that successful government interventions can lead to sustainable peace which has been elusive in the last decade. It exposes vital areas of governance that should form part of reforms in FATA. Successfully implemented reforms will bring peace, stability and security in FATA. It will establish writ of the government that is based on trust instead of fear, leading eventually to legitimacy of the state. It is critical to engage committed bureaucratic and political leadership for comprehensive reform package crafted through a participatory dialogue and implemented equitably. Reforms must abolish inequalities, manage religious diversity, and eliminate social exclusion. Effective public administration built on rule of law is a prerequisite for stability. All government agencies therefore need to self-transform and become an agent of change in the overall political and socio-economic

landscape. It must reinforce trust of people in the state. Pakistan should manage external influences and forge associations with international actors within synchronized policies that center on evolving national peace.

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THARPARKAR FIASCO IN PAKISTAN: A CRISIS OF GOVERNANCE AND ITS FUTURE IMPLICATIONS

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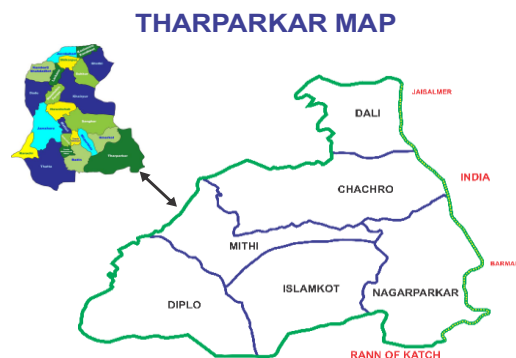
Abstract

Tharparkar, is one of the poorest districts of Sind province and one of the fertile deserts of the world. Long before the inception of Pakistan, droughts, famine and poverty were the salient features of parched Thar. Economy of Thar is referred to as ‘gambling on the monsoon’ but it revolves around livestock, small agriculture income and handicrafts. During 1950’s, colonization of Badin district with the construction of Ghulam Muhammad Barrage, Jumrao canal system and encroachment of gowcher lands dwindled the life style of Thar dwellers by depleting pasture lands. Thar Desert receives around one trillion liters of rain annually, sufficient to cater to domestic needs of Thar dwellers and animals for three years. Thar coalfield was discovered in 1991 and is the 6th largest coal reserve in the world, which ranked Pakistan at seventh among the top twenty Lignite-Coal possessing countries of the world. This paper gives an overview of the crisis of governance in the bureaucratic circles concerning Tharparkar.

Keywords: Drought, Poverty, Diseases, Deaths, Carcasses, Water and Governance

Introduction

Tharparkar consists of parabolic sand dunes blended with desert and varieties of vegetation. Genesis of Thar Desert is controversial, some believe it to be 4,000 years old while others consider it 10,000 years old (Idris et al., 2009). The name Tharparkar is composed of Thar and Parkar; Thar is from Thal means “sand ridges” and



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Parkar means “to cross over”. Tharparkar in Sindh, with an area of 19638 Sq Km (7582 Sq Miles), comprises of six Talukas (Tehsils) namely, Mithi (as headquarter), Diplo, Islamkot, Chachro, Dali and Nagarparkar (15 km from Indian border). District is bounded in the North by Mirpurkhas and Umerkot districts, on the South by Rann of Kutch, on the East by Indian districts of Barmer and Jaisselmir and on the West by district Badin up to fertile alluvial plains of the Indus.¹ According to 1998 Census, its population was 955,812; Muslims constitute 59% while non-Muslim (Hindus) consist of 41% of the total population. Currently population of Tharparkar is quoted as 1.4 Million approximately.² It has population density of 47 persons per Sq Km. Tharparkar is located just above the tropic of cancer (23.5°) between Latitudes 24° 10' to 24° 44' 24" N and Longitudes 69° 04' 0" to 71° 06' E (24.74, 69.8).

Today Tharparkar has 2357 villages, 44 union councils and 166 dehs, only nine dehs are located in the commanded area of barrage while 157 dehs exist in the desert wherein people are dependent on precipitation (rain) for food and fodder crops. Only five percent of population has access to water supply, rest 95pc depends upon wells. Water table is deep and ground water is salty and brackish with high levels of Fluoride ions. No river or stream exists in Thar terrain except two perennial springs (Acbleshwar and Sardharo) and two temporary streams (Bhetiani and Gordhoro) flowing after rain in Nagarparkar. Thar receives rainfall in monsoon season which witnessed annual rainfall of 1306 mm, 227 mm and 190 mm in the years 2011, 2012 and 2013 respectively, recorded at Meteorological Observatory, Mithi.³ Rain deficit coupled with less harvesting of water resulted in scarcity of food and fodder for human-being and animals.

Poverty and droughts were prevalent in Thar Desert (22,000 Sq Km) since many decades but one heavy rain transformed the desert into green again, a pleasant reality of this hard terrain. Colonization of Badin district the construction of Ghulam Muhammad Barrage (Kotri Barrage), extension to the 'Jumrao canal system' and encroachments on gowcher (community grazing-land) lands lopsided the life of desert people.⁴ By 1990's, Thar became a major supplier of meat to Urban-Sind as animal population in

Thar amplified by two hundred percent but the pasture land decreased due to colonization.⁵ Depletion of pasture land restricted the animals to survive on shrubs and trees. These economic constraints impoverished Thar dwellers to cope with droughts. Tharparkar is considered as the most backward area of Pakistan with poverty ranking of 32 at national level wherein 28.92% people live under poverty line. Poverty leads to vulnerability. Poverty is endemic in the sparsely populated district with acute malnutrition rates in children as high as 20% well above the emergency threshold of 15%.⁶ It has the lowest Human Development Index (0.314 in 2005) among 23 districts of Sind Province in Pakistan.⁷ Livestock is the mainstay of the desert economy, where 80% of the population rears cattle for their livelihood.⁸ Dearth of proper health facilities and inadequate livestock vaccination resulted into unremitting deaths of neonates, lactating mothers and livestock. Malnutrition is the main cause of high vulnerability to disease. Sindh was declared as the poorest and the food deprived province of the country where 72% were found food insecure.⁹

Livestock is the mainstay of the desert economy, where 80% of the population rears cattle for their livelihood.

Due to chronic malnutrition in combination with deficiency of effective health facilities, official death toll of people who died in Mithi Hospital-Tharparkar rose to 439 people in 2011, 588 in 2013 and 234 by Apr-2014.¹⁰ Private media channels in Pakistan reported on 17th Nov, 2014 about the deaths of 11 children in a day due to malnutrition in Tharparkar.¹¹ Initially, extermination of peacocks started. Scarcity of fodder dwindled immune system of animals which rendered them prone to viral diseases. More than 5,000 sheep decimated of viral disease 'sheep-pox'.¹² Government agencies referred it as routine drought cycle and spoke high of political and official endeavors for effective service delivery. But the unremitting series of deaths posed grave challenges to the governance style of Sindh authorities. Now the questions are how to avoid recurring deaths of neonates, pregnant and lactating women, birds and animals? Is it really a drought, drought-prone famine or a crisis of governance? What steps can perk up the agro-socio-economic life of Thar dwellers as short-run and long-term measures?

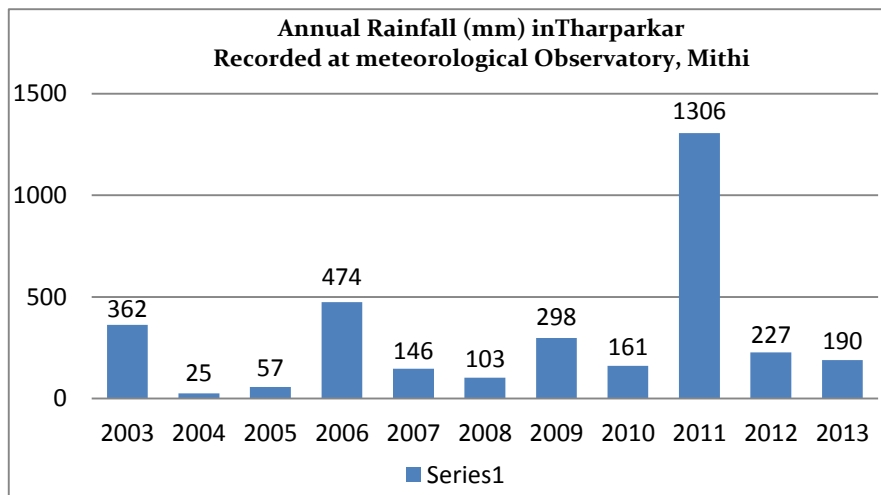
Analysis of Prevalent Issues in Tharparkar

Critical analysis of prevalent issues in Tharparkar may enable us to devise future plan to avoid unremitting deaths, improve health conditions and transform socio-economic life of the people. Significant arenas of drought, famine and governance have been selected to analyze the persistent scenario.

Drought and Famine in Tharparkar

Drought: Tharparkar Desert (stretching from Cholistan to Nagarparkar) expands over eleven million hectares (1 Hectare=2.471 Acres) in Pakistan.¹³ Drought is a common phenomenon in Tharparkar affiliated with monsoon rain. Worldwide 95% rainfall is harvested, whereas in Pakistan it is less than 20% and still much less in Thar Desert in the light of this fact that 10 mm of rainfall over one hectare of land produces 100,000 liters of water.¹⁴ The drought of 1998-2002 has been considered the worst drought in the last fifty years in the history of Pakistan.¹⁵ Let us analyze annual rainfall in Tharparkar from 2003 to 2013.¹⁶

During the year (March 2013-Feb 2014), 189 mm of rainfall was recorded against normal of 277.2 mm in Mithi (-31.8% deficit); however no significant



(Source: www.thardeep.org.pk)

rainfall was recorded in Tharparkar from November 2013 till March 2014.¹⁷ Tharparkar district receives average rainfall of 100 mm annually.¹⁸ However, neighboring district Barmer of India receives average annual rainfall of 267.7 mm approximately.¹⁹

According to the study of Pakistan Council for Research in Water Resources (PCRWR), entire Thar Desert receives around one trillion liters of rain annually, sufficient to cater to domestic needs of Thar dwellers and animals for three years.²⁰ According to various studies, the total domestic requirement of Tharparkar is 0.25% of the total rainfall that the district received but only 0.06% rain water is harvested by Tharis in household cisterns or other indigenous ways.²¹ PCRWR also proposed rain-water harvesting techniques like piped roof harvesting, hamlet level chonra pond and nadi pond, challo pond and dug well recharging system which required one time primary investment by the government. Construction of ponds with a geo-membrane sheet lying underneath was also proposed.

Due to dearth of harvesting techniques of rainfall water, people of Thar use groundwater which is deep, brackish and saline in quality. Camels are utilized to pull up water with buckets from wells. According to a study, 80% of ground water in the district is unhealthy for human consumption.²² PH value of groundwater is between 7.1 and 8.6.²³ Average value of salt ranges between 3,000-5,000 parts per million (ppm) and even some samples were found with 9,000 ppm in Chachro.²⁴ Another study divulged that normal fluoride level in water was supposed to be 1ppm²⁵ which is as high as 13 ppm in Tharparkar.²⁶ Chachhro and Mithi talukas are severely hit by fluoride contamination. Even to collect such brackish water, children, men, and pregnant women cover long distances of four to five hours travel to fetch 50 to 60 litres of water daily. In sizzling hot days, even more time is consumed in this activity. Children desert schools for this exercise. Rainwater collected in depressions is used for three to four months and Thari people depend on brackish water of wells for rest of the eight months. Another study recommended installation of defluoridation and desalination plants by concerned authorities on war footing basis in the affected areas.²⁷

Thar coal-field hydro-geological studies, apart from 175 billion tonnes of lignite coal, mentioned three possible aquifer zones (above, within and below Coal Zone) at varying depths. According to Sindh government, Tharparkar desert has 1.5 billion acre feet of groundwater reserves.²⁸ Despite extensive groundwater, crisis of water couldn't be resolved.²⁹

Famines: Famines were witnessed in 1899 and 1939 in joint area of Thar of Pakistan and India (Rajasthan) which wreaked havoc in the area at a large scale when there was not a single drop of rain in the area. Tharparkar of Pakistan faced deaths in drought-prone famines of 1951, 1968, 1969, 1987 and 1988.³⁰ Some believe that after every few years, Tharparkar experiences a severe drought and one famine almost every decade.³¹ It is also argued that until March 2014, famine affected 175,000 families and caused deaths of 100 due to famine and malnutrition.³² Certainly, droughts were not first or new in the history of Tharparkar but it fetched unprecedented demographic and socio-economic changes. Depletion of pasture lands killed the old subsistence economy of the desert which used to make it possible for the people and the land to withstand the regular cycle of dry years.³³

Sindh Arid Zone Development Authority (SAZDA), established in 1985, was abandoned in 2003 on the basis of probity cum commitment issues, which could not develop silvo pasture, socio-economic life and desertification reduction strategies.³⁴ In view of 7th National Finance Commission (NFC) Award and huge development projects in Sindh, how can we imagine of a famine in 2014. It is imperative to mention here that more than twelve departments were working in District Administration Tharparkar comprising of more than 10,700 regular incumbents (Gazetted-415 & Non-gazetted-10316) to serve the people of Thar.

According to Sindh government, Subsidized and free wheat worth Rs.2 billion was provided to the residents during the past six years.³⁵ In 2014, District Government claimed distribution of 126,790 wheat sacks among 253,580 families. On the direction of Chief of Army Staff (COAS), Army Relief Camps were established wherein two helicopters deployed for

immediate evacuation and ration distribution.³⁶ Provincial Disaster Management Authority (PDMA) Sind established camp office at Tharparkar in coordination with district administration for relief activities.³⁷ Sindh Government also claimed allocation of Rs.484 million for food items and other necessary commodities.³⁸ Sindh Government also decided to establish Kohistan Development Authority to deal with drought in the area.³⁹

Governance in Tharparkar

Amartya Sen said, 'Famine can never occur in the democracy of 21st Century. Despite government's efforts to provide food, prevalence of famine is implausible rather confusing. But primacy of drought may succeed disaster which can be triumphed over by proactive management, quick response and good governance. Governance is said to have three legs: economic, political and administrative.⁴⁰ Thus governance refers to behavioral disposition in different political regimes. '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 dictate.⁴¹ Governance in Tharparkar can be analyzed with reference to social development in the form of rainfall harvesting and water supply schemes, health sector, livestock, irrigation and agriculture.

Rainfall Harvesting and Water Supply Scheme. In Thar Desert, 10 mm of rainfall over one hectare of land produces 100,000 liters of water.⁴² It is quite astonishing that out of one trillion liters of rainfallwater, government is unable to harvest

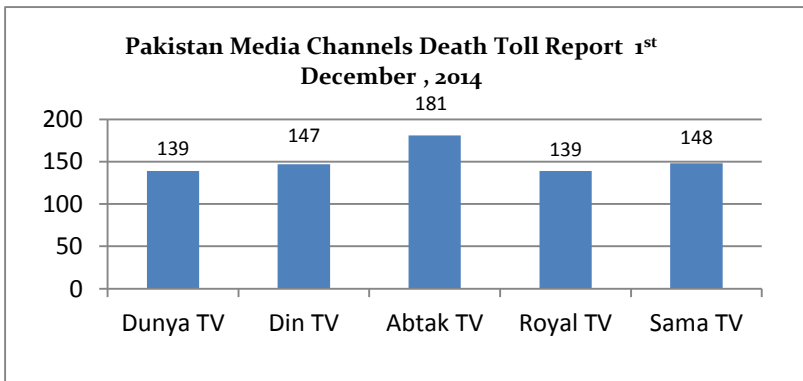


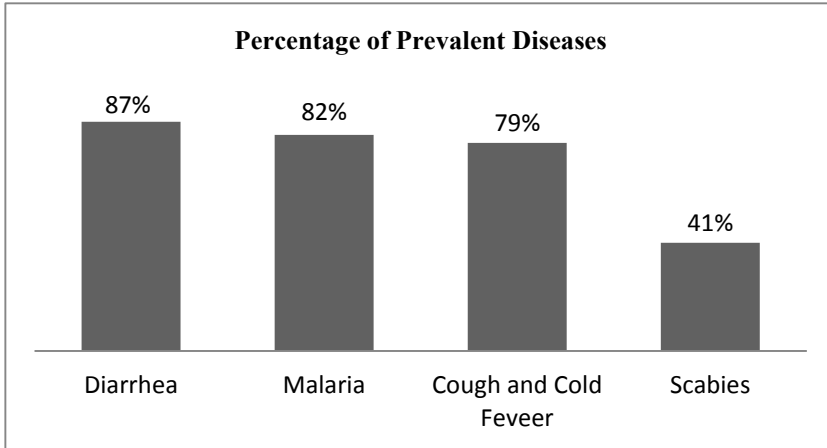
even 0.25 pc either by storage and preservation in the ponds or recharging the dug wells. Despite unlimited resources, government is not scaling up harvesting of rainfall water and frittering away essence of life (water) in

atrocious manner. Simultaneously, government expressed its callousness in reinstating the already existing 200 km long water supply scheme in Tharparkar up to Islamkot via Mithi which is connected with concrete ponds; prevalent scenario emerged owing to non-maintenance of this line.⁴³ Deputy Commissioner Tharparkar claimed that pipeline was functional up to Islamkot.⁴⁴

Health Sector Infrastructure and Endeavours. Immunization in Pakistan has always been underachieved with 86% in Punjab and 68% in Sindh. According to WHO's new Global Measles & Rubella Strategic Plan 2012-2020, outbreak of Measles epidemic started in Sindh in December, 2012 which killed 321 in 2013.

Elusive health care is a major issue in Tharparkar which resulted into recurring deaths of neonates, pregnant and lactating women due to poor infrastructure, destabilized immunization, shortage of vaccinators and above all, malnutrition in the area. Children nutrition status in Pakistan is predominantly related to their exposure to illness (diarrhea), the nutrition status of their mothers, provision of healthcare services and environmental factors.⁴⁵ Children under the age of five are classified as malnourished according to three anthropometric indices of nutritional status: height for age, weight for height and, weight for age.⁴⁶ Many of the deaths were caused by pneumonia, septicemia (blood infection), birth asphyxia, diarrhea, hemorrhagic fever and NN Sepsis.⁴⁷ A study on Thar depicted percentages of prevalent diseases of diarrhea, malaria, cough and cold fever and, scabies as under.⁴⁸





Government of Sindh displayed inefficiency to launch public awareness campaign about adverse effects of measles, rubella and other diseases.⁴⁹ District Administration Thar officially announced 319 deaths occurred from January-2014 to October-2014 including deaths of 188 children of less than five years. Mortality rate did not subside in the area till January-2015.

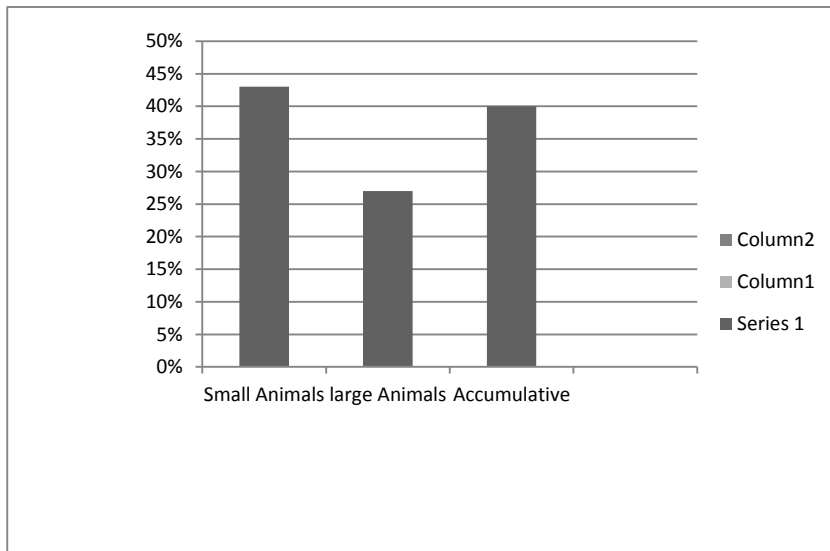
On 1st December 2014, electronic media in Pakistan reported death toll of neonates to be 139 within two months of Oct, Nov-2014. Express TV and Geo TV reported 102 and 77 mortalities in the month of November-2014 respectively.⁵⁰

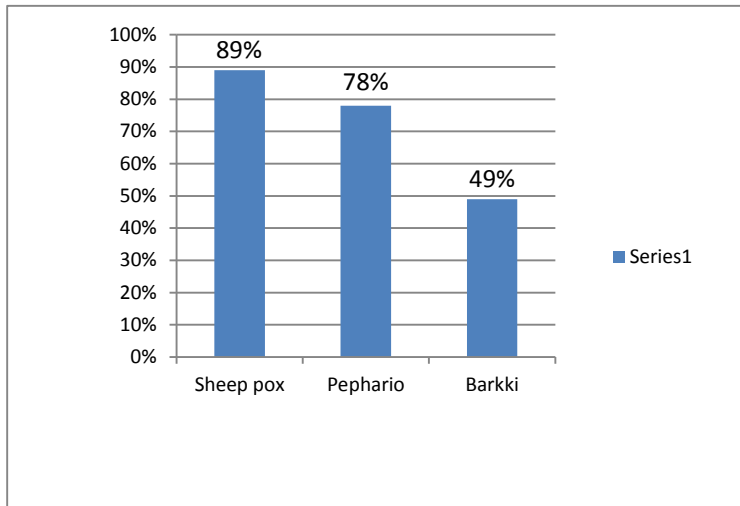
Livestock and Animal Husbandry. According to Livestock and Animal Husbandry Department Tharparkar, Government of Sindh, cows, buffaloes, camels, horses, mules, donkeys, sheep and goats comprise the livestock wherein no. of livestock heads are 6.2 million (projected figure of 2006 growing @3.5% annually) approximately in district Tharparkar which is 15% of total livestock population of Sindh Province. The current animal to human population ratio is 5:1 equivalent to New Zealand.⁵¹

Taluka	Cow	Buff.	Sheep	Goat	Camel	Horse	Mule	Donkey	Total
Mithi & Islamkot	182416	9604	387606	553889	39210	1593	338	71103	1245759
Diplo	237339	21738	359835	601804	24447	2410	0	52018	1299591
Chachro & Dali	184645	6378	175841	513702	40556	1835	410	78014	1001381
Nagarparkar	147865	8608	261840	548481	31143	2681	727	45522	1046867
Grand Total	752265	46328	1185122	2217876	135356	8519	1475	246657	4593598

Source: Livestock and Animal Husbandry Department, Tharparkar issued on 21st November, 2014

A study divulged that 80-95% of population depended on seasonal agriculture and livestock products. On a cumulative basis, 40% livestock decimated due to diseases occurred in 89 pc villages from Sheep pox (MATA), 78 pc from Pephario (Pleuropneumonia) and 49 pc from Barkki (Anthrax) coupled with nutritional deficiency / acute scarcity of fodder.⁵²





According to the report of monitoring judge Tharparkar, almost 3,789,741 animals have been provided with medicine and vaccine from December-2013 to June-2014 whereas 2993 animals died. During July-2014 to Nov-2014, almost 841,976 animals were vaccinated against 972 deaths.⁵³ Drought scenario, prevalent since a decade, forced 50 pc of population and 60-70 pc animals to migrate to Badin, Mirpurkhas and Sangarh.

Birds. Tharparkar birds commonly comprise of peacocks, vultures, hawks (eagles) and common crows. Reportedly, no census was made in respect of vultures and eagles; however, Thar Desert of India reported seven species of vulture, out of which four species were permanent in and around Jodhpur while three were observed as migratory species.⁵⁴ Population status of pea-fowls was recorded as 100,000 by Sindh Wildlife Department, Tharparkar in 2006. The main cause of death of pea-fowls was epidemic of New Castle (locally called Rani Khet) coupled with drought and climatic change which resulted into fragile immune system of birds.

Year-wise Mortality of Pea-fowls

Sr.#	Year	Mortality	Medicine/Vaccination
1	2011	10	150 villages
2	2012	71	627 villages
3	2013	53	705 villages
4	2014 (till October)	60	155 villages
	2014 (November)	Reportedly, no survey was conducted	

Source: Assistant Conservator Wildlife Tharparkar @ Mithi on 25th November, 2014.

Irrigation and Agriculture. Eighty percent people depend on rain-fed agriculture for their livelihood.⁵⁵ Main crops of the area are millet, 'moong' pulse, bulgur, wheat, chili and oilseed. During drought-like situation in Tharparkar, majority of people eat red pepper, onion or rabri (mixture of milk and boiled grains).⁵⁶ As the groundwater is saline, it needs change in crop pattern of the area. In this regard, saline agriculture must be introduced in Thar Desert. In addition to this, canal irrigation can bring revolution in the agriculture sector of Thar. Sindh Province has 37% share in 30 million acre feet (MAF) water of Indus River System, discharged below Kotri barrage which is wasted into Arabian Sea annually.⁵⁷ This water is more than the average annual discharge of Colorado River (12 MAF) and comparable with Nile River (47 MAF).⁵⁸ It is imperative to mention that

As the groundwater is saline, it needs change in crop pattern of the area. In this regard, saline agriculture must be introduced in Thar Desert.

only 8.6 MAF is required below Kotri Barrage as delta requirement.⁵⁹ A study about Thar Desert of India concluded that irrigation and cropping sequence

together may be one of the management options for improving physico-chemical condition of the soil and reducing desertification in Thar Desert of India and other similar deserts.⁶⁰

Inefficiency and Corruption. Health care has always been a victim to corruption in Pakistan.⁶¹ Corrupt behavior in health sector can be financial, procedural, or ethical in nature.⁶² Corruption and inefficiency were observed as rudimentary factors for the crisis of governance in Tharparkar.

Anti corruption department Tharparkar received complaints of embezzlement in budget of FY 2013-2014 to the tune of Rs 50 million, primarily allocated for purchase of medicine but furniture was also purchased to the level of Rs 26.4 million.⁶³ Due to lack of accountability mechanism, five fully equipped and mobile medical dispensaries worth Rs 250 million (imported from Japan) were misused by government functionaries; one mobile dispensary was used by Deputy Commissioner Tharparkar as air-conditioned car.⁶⁴ Out of 110 dispensaries alongwith one trauma centre at Diplo and maternity home at Mithi, none of the dispensaries were functional.⁶⁵ Report of the monitoring Judge Tharparkar highlighted that: (i) AC Diplo received thousands of complaints regarding negligence and misappropriation in wheat distribution to favoured persons (which was admitted by AC Diplo-Khurshid Alam-DMG official). (ii) Thousands of cartons of mineral water bottles expired while dumped in the district warehouse, Mithi. (iii) Expired medicines were found in the hospitals. (iv) Animal fodder was provided by Livestock Department, Government of Sindh from March-2014 to June-2014 only which suffered from dereliction thereafter. (v) During inspection of wheat godown, 300 wheat bags were found mixed with mud (earth). (vi) Reverse Osmosis plants were installed on the basis of favoritism. (vii) Vacancies of specialist doctors (male/female) were not filled up in hospitals and dispensaries as per sanctioned strength.⁶⁶

Recommendations. Few recommendations are: -

Short-Term Actions

Rehabilitation Centre for Neonates and Lactating Women.

Malnutrition is the basic cause of deaths of neonates and pregnant women in Thar. Thus, mother and child health care require focal importance. Department of Nutrition for Health and Development, WHO, Islamabad has already established rehabilitation centre (fifty beds), functioning at Lahore and Multan in Punjab, with the assistance of World Health Organization to ameliorate nutritional standards of neonates and lactating mothers. Similarly, establishment of six Rehabilitation Centers (run by experienced doctors) is the rudimentary requirement to improve the elusive

health infrastructure of Tharparkar. It can surely curtail the recurring deaths of neonates, babies, pregnant and lactating women as malnourished mother and child are kept under strict surveillance keeping in view their vitamin standards and micro-nutrient levels.

Administrative Actions. Bureaucracy is an imperative arm of governance as governance is said to have three legs: economic, political and administrative. Desperate times call for desperate measures. Thus crisis of governance can only be ameliorated through the following immediate administrative reforms in the emergency-declared area: (i) Tharparkar, badly hit by drought, wherein emergency was declared by the official authorities who still enjoy two and half holidays (Friday, Saturday and Sunday). It is glaring mockery with poor, deprived and depressed people of Thar. Hence, '20/7 Policy' is recommended for implementation immediately to render services by more than 10,700 officials of Tharparkar (working for 20 hours a day and seven days a week with two casual leaves a month as usual). Emergency must be treated as emergency and it may be continued till normality prevails in the area. (ii) 'Rotational Policy' of Committee of Concerned District Officials (CCDO) may be introduced to dispense services in every Tehsil headquarter. Under this policy, CCDO would shift its camp at each Taluka fortnightly according to an approved program. CCDO would be held responsible for provision of health facilities, food and fodder and, proper functioning of Reverse Osmosis plants in respective Taluka. (iii) 'Accountability Mechanism' is the dire need of the day in Tharparkar. Stern accountability mechanism must be introduced to fire inefficient and corrupt officials. However industrious officials may be rewarded in recognition of their meritorious and relentless services (if any).

Relief and Rescue Operation. (i) Assistant Commissioners in each Taluka must take desperate measures to continue relief and rescue operation zealously. CCDO Committee must monitor and assist the operation of other Talukas in addition to the camp Tehsil. Daily Progress Reports must be monitored by the Chief Secretary and Chief Relief Commissioner, Sindh for further in-put and assistance. (ii) Chief Secretary, Chief Relief Commissioner and all concerned Secretaries of administrative departments

of Government of Sindh must coordinate proactively with Army to streamline the operation for effective results. Commissioner Mirpurkhas may be assigned special tasks in this regard.

Availability of Medical Officers at Health Centers. Diseases are moving fast, we must move faster. It is strongly recommended to fill up all the sanctioned posts in all Taluka Headquarter Hospitals and Basic Health Units on emergent basis. Special packages and security may be offered to highly skilled doctors to remain available at far flung dispensaries and BHUs (located in rural areas) for effective service delivery in the vicinity of sparse population. This strategy would curtail travelling impediments of the dwellers.

Network of Water Supply Lines and Reservoirs. A network of water supply lines is urgently required from (i) Badin to Diplo, (ii) Umerkot to Chachro and Dahli, (iii) Mithi to Diplo. In addition to this, water supply line from Naukot to Mithi-Islamkot-Nagarparkar must be rehabilitated urgently. These lines must be connected with reservoirs.

Provision of Food and Fodder. Animal deaths were caused by dilapidation in fodder supply by the government. Scarcity of fodder also concluded into migration of animals. Hence, unceasing supply of fodder must be ensured through Livestock Department Tharparkar at each Union Council level. Public check may be established through a committee of nobles at each union council level.

Decentralization of Authority. Most of the problems emerged due to centralization of authority and absence of accountability mechanism at all levels. Keeping in view the principle of subsidiarity and governance parameters, decentralization of authority must be introduced at six Talukas and 44 Union Councils (UC) of Tharparkar District. All decentralized authorities may be held accountable to CCDO committee and the committee at UC level.

Long-Term Measures

Reduction of Thar Desertification. It's mournful to mention that 30 million acre feet (MAF) of water, discharged from Kotri barrage, is wasted into Arabian Sea against Delta requirement of only 8.5 MAF annually. Desert area of Tharparkar possesses ample scope of rehabilitation like the Rajasthan Canal of India and Imperial Valley Canal of South California have done for their respective areas. A man-made disaster in Tharparkar desert (22,000 Sq. Km) in Pakistan can be transformed into a man-made oasis through the construction of 'Thar Desert Canal'. This canal would fetch a green Revolution which is the most viable way out to improve the socio-economic life of Thar dwellers. A network of distributaries canals equipped with lift irrigation schemes can irrigate this fertile desert of the world. Only then, Thar would not be merely autonomous and self-sufficient from the moral burden of subsidies, free food and charities sponsored through government agencies, NGO's and philanthropists, but play a significant role in the economic development of Sindh Province.

Factories at Nagarparkar. Hilly area of Nagarparkar has plenty of Granite stone and China clay for which new factories for Thar people could be set up. Provision of jobs to local people would open new vista of economic prosperity in the district.

Clustering of Sparse Population. Government has two options; either to provide transportation facility to each and every house of the desert or sparse population may be assembled in the form of new clusters to be attached with union councils. This clustering would provide multi-dimensional benefits to the people. It would reduce long distances of pregnant women and children to fetch water in dry season and enable the government to dispense food and fodder, and health facilities (mobile dispensaries) to animals and human-being in a schematic way. Children would also be able to find ample time to attend schools.

Harvesting Rainfall Water. Plenty of rain water is squandered in the desert soil without harvesting. Proper harvesting of rainfall can bestow people with ample water to use for more than a year. Following proposals

are recommended in this regard: (i) Low cost harvesting ponds (Tarai) be constructed in different catchment areas. (ii) Reduce the seepage and evaporation of harvested water through underneath geo-membrane and plantation of trees. (iii) Government must devise mechanism to repair and rehabilitate harvesting ponds. (iv) Local councils may be instituted for capacity building of people for efficient management of harvested water.

Purification of Deep Water Wells. Deep groundwater is found in abundance but multi-pronged efforts are required in the form of extraction, purification, desalination and de-fluorination (removal of Fluoride ions). Hence, following actions are required immediately: (i) Deep water wells or boreholes must be installed with reference to a specific ratio of clustered population and distance. (ii) Already existing deep wells must be equipped with bio-sand filters. (iii) For desalination and de-fluorination, installation of fluoride ions removal plants are immediate requirement of the day. (iv) Capacity building of Thar Dwellers is necessary to handle filtering gadgets. (v) Solar Photovoltaic technology can curtail running and long-term expenses.

Conclusion

Air, water and food are pre-requisite for life in the desert but water and food opportunities were depleting quickly in Thar due to dearth of rainfall harvesting and unhealthy groundwater. Despite availability of extensive groundwater (1.5 billion acre feet), water woes of dwellers couldn't be revamped probably due to lack of systematic exploration and development of deep groundwater potential. Harvesting of rainfall water (1 trillion litres) was unproductively minimum @ 0.06 pc against actual requirement of only 0.25 pc while average rainfall was 100 mm annually (1 million litres per hectare). Government showed its callousness cum slow-responsiveness in the primary phase of drought in respect of introducing harvesting techniques and provision of food and fodder which resulted into malnutrition. Most women and neonates died of malnutrition, poor infrastructure, destabilized immunization, and shortage of vaccinators, while animals decimated due to viral diseases coupled with nutritional

deficiency . Almost 50 pc of population and 60-70 pc animals migrated to barrage areas (Badin, Mirpurkhas and Sangarh) due to this drought.

Administrative structure was highly centralized which crippled at union council and Basic Health Unit level. Sparse population was an impediment in transportation of facilities. Glaring instances of corruption, inefficiency and malpractices were observed during 2014 but no stringent action was initiated against culprits due to political postings of officials. In this scenario, corrupt officials who minted money in delivering services to the pitiable and impoverished people behaved like vultures of the desert scavenging on carcasses. Inefficiency was the trademark of public servants who failed to reinstate existing water supply lines and even ensure timely provision of food and fodder.

Tharparkar is situated just above the tropic of Cancer (23.5°), prone to hot climatic conditions. A little rise in temperature may diminish rainfall and exacerbate drought in the area. Global warming will surely lend impetus to aggravate the prevalent problems in future. Global warming may accompany much larger climatic changes and their adverse impacts in Thar in coming decades.⁶⁷ Depletion of groundwater caused by climatic change and erratic rainfall may fan the flames of scarcity of food and fodder.

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CHANGE MANAGEMENT- A DISCIPLINE EVEN LESS UNDERSTOOD THAN PRACTICED

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Abstract

Change is the hard reality of life, which is an inevitable and indispensable process in human life. Change is the only variable that is permanent, without change there would be no life at all. Change management can be referred to any approach which is used for transiting individuals, teams and organizations using methods to redirect the use of resources that reshape an organization or society. Author highlights the importance of change in an organization by critically evaluating the various tools required for the process of change. Author proves his points by applying various theoretical models with a conclusion that the effects of change have to maintained otherwise status quo forces will nullify these effects.

Keywords: Change, Organization, Management Programmes, Institutionalized Approach.

Introduction

Change which is the hard reality of life is an inevitable and indispensable process in human life. It is like an ECG fluctuation on a monitor reflecting life, change is the only variable that is permanent, without change there would be no life at all. Life without change will be sterile and stagnant. Change is always good but it varies from individual to individual and for some changes are good, for others they may be bad.

Changes are unavoidable, some may occur at individual level, while others at an organizational one. Some are natural, while others are human created. There are two dimensions to any change initiative, first, the change itself, while second is how to change (the Management), which is rarely

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understood and practiced and therefore often results in failed change programs. Whereas in Military life, we constantly endeavour to bring about reforms and changes in our respective spheres of command, throughout service, for furthering efficiency and output. Most of our initiatives succeed, while some do not. We undertake improvement focused ventures, based upon our experiences of command and management at various tiers. In practice, we become Change Practitioners, as we rise higher in ranks and command, without getting any formal education/training in the Management of Change, which is the key to any successful Change project.

Change Management is a relatively new discipline of Management Sciences, which was formally recognized in early 90s, and is gaining its rightful place in all spheres of professional life. Simply it means how to plan and manage a Change, without which no initiative can create the desired effects. Having been a change practitioner myself during my Military career, I studied this subject after my retirement and was pleasantly surprised to learn that whatever theories and philosophies one read, were mostly being practiced by us in one way or the other, however, I did realize that, in order to maximize the benefits of any major change initiative, all change leaders, must study this important subject, and hence through this article an effort has been made to sensitize and generate interest in this discipline. I would like to clarify that I do not have only military readers in mind, as this subject is more applicable to other walks of life, like Public, Private, and Corporate sectors.

Change Management

It is a process to bring a transition in individuals, groups and organizations to a future desired destination, employing a structured approach to ensure that change is brought about smoothly, thoroughly and lastingly. It deploys processes, tools and techniques to manage the human side of change. A question rises in this regard is; why organizations need change? Some of the reasons are:-

- To keep pace with the rapid technological growth, organizations need technology up-gradation or inflow to keep abreast with the latest developments.

- Due to large sizes and prevalent cultures, organizations may be under performing and need improvement in service delivery.
- Out dated business processes, could be one of the reasons for below par organizational output which necessitates a reappraisal.

Pre requisites for Change Management

Following are the pre-requisites for change management:-

- **The Need to Change.** Change may be a constant but, without a well-established need, it could be counterproductive.
- **Change Projects Pose Daunting Challenges, and Frustrations.** These challenges demand a strong will, commitment, perseverance, passion, and high level of competence from the sponsors.

Approaches to Change Management

There are two approaches to change management

- **Personality Centric.** It is an approach in which boss conceives an idea for change and implements it on his own. This may deliver partial results, but is usually unsustainable, short lived and dies away with the departure of the person.
- **Institutionalized Approach.** In this approach all stakeholders are taken on board, which makes it long lasting and produces the desired effects. Readers can draw their own conclusions regarding the better one.

Barriers to Change

The most difficult barrier a change practitioner faces is the human mind, which by nature, is change resistant. Since change challenges the status quo, hence, there is a continuous struggle between the two at individual and organizational levels and needs a well thought-out management plan, which is the crux of this article and will be discussed in detail below.

The Change Management Process

Bringing change in the organization reflects its cultural part in order to maintain a competitive environment, since it helps organizations to facilitate growth. Some of the current contemporary theories on the subject are as under:-

ADKAR Model

The ADKAR Model by Prosci¹ actually talks about a goal-oriented management that guides individuals along with the organizational change. This proposed model actually highlighted five certain outcomes that an individual needs to achieve for a successful change. It includes:-

- Awareness
- Knowledge
- Reinforcement
- Ability
- Desire

Whenever this model is applied to study organizational change, it guides the leaders and the team to focus on certain aspects that will ultimately bring change in individuals but will target organizational results. This model provides direct goals and results for activities that could

In order to bring a change at organizational level there is a need to begin by bringing it at individual level first.

regulate change management. It provides a simple framework to every participant like managers, employees and the senior leaders of the organization to bring a positive change.

It also helps the team to understand what are the actual needs of an individual that have to be fulfilled and in what ways to bring a successful transition.

Understanding Change at an Individual Level

In order to bring a change at organizational level there is a need to begin by bringing it at individual level first. It is not necessary that the best project could also bring a successful change. As this change is based on how

one facilitates the process of change. Therefore, to bring about a change in our business community or any organization, we need to understand how to bring it at individual level for further progress. However, how to help individuals change is often confusing and the best possible guidelines and structure is being provided under ADKAR model.

Using ADKAR with Traditional Change Management Activities

ADKAR actually provides outlines about the individual's journey through a successful change. Hence, it can be said that each step under this model follows certain typical strategies that are associated with change management. This has been highlighted step by step with examples:

- **To bring Awareness** among the participants, about why these changes are required. Awareness is considered as the outcome of early communications that are related to an organizational change
- **Desire** to be involved and participate in the change. Desire is the goal of sponsorship and resistance management.
- **Knowledge** about how to change is the most important requirement. Knowledge can be considered as a result of training along with coaching.
- **Ability** to realize or implement change at the required performance level. Ability is the result of additional time, practice and coaching.
- **Reinforcement** is the outcome of adoption measurement, corrective action and recognition of successful change. It is required to ensure that change remain intact.

The target goals and the outcomes defined by ADKAR are sequential and cumulative, they must be achieved for effective and sustainable change. This Model is effective, easy to comprehend and can be applied in different organizational settings. For example, if one is ready to bring a change he has to develop such a result oriented approach that it will be helpful in bringing awareness about the need of such change rather than just sticking to an old pattern.²

McKinsey 7-S Model

The McKinsey 7-S model proposes a glorified approach to an organization. This model was created by Robert Waterman, Richard Pascale, Anthony Athos and Tom Peters in 1978. This model has 7 factors that are needed to operate collectively for change³:

- Shared values
- Strategy
- Structure
- Systems
- Style
- Staff
- Skills

The Primary Benefits of McKinsey 7-S Model

- It is an efficacious way to understand an organization in a better manner.
- Provides guidelines for organizational change.
- It is a combination of both emotional and rational components.
- All factors are essential and need to be addressed for a better development.

Disadvantages of the McKinsey 7-S Model

- Being integral in nature, change in one part will affect the overall change process.
- Differences could be ignored.
- It is a complex model.
- It has been observed that companies, which have applied this model, faced higher rates of failure.

Kotter's 8 Step Change Model

This model, was created by Professor John Kotter, according to him cause for a change will ultimately lead to a campaign. Using this model, leaders of the organizations usually convince their employees about the

need for a change to obtain target results. This model comprises of 8 basic steps which are ⁴:

- Need of increment for change.
- Construct a group committed to change.
- Make the vision for change.
- Impart the requirement for change.
- Engage staff with the capacity to change.
- Construct short-term objectives.
- Remain pertinacious.
- Roll out improvement changes.

Advantages of the Model

- Easy to pursue.
- Perception building.
- Easier development.

Drawbacks of the Model

- Every step must be followed to ensure the change for the desired result.
- Model takes great deal of time, there is no short cut according to this model.

It doesn't make a difference if the proposed change is an adjustment during the time spent in the venture of arranging or general operations. Acclimating to change is troublesome for an association and its workers. Utilizing any model is useful, in the light of the fact that it offers pioneers a rule to follow, alongwith the capacity to decide on the expected outcome. This is useful because the change is hard to execute and oversee.

Bridges Transition Model

The Transition Model was proposed by William Bridges, the fundamental quality of this model is that it concentrates on move and not on change. The distinction between these is inconspicuous yet critical. Change is something that happens to individuals, regardless of the

possibility that they don't concur want it. Move, then again, is interior: it is the thing that occurs in individuals' brains as they experience change.

Change is something that happens to individuals, regardless of the possibility that they don't concur want it.

Change can happen rapidly, while the move mostly happens gradually. The model elaborates the stages of transition that people experience when they go through the change, these are⁵:

- Letting go, ending and losing.
- The neutral zone.
- The new beginning.

Bridges says that people will go through each stage according to their potential. Those who are comfortable with the change will abruptly move ahead directly to stage three, while others will linger at earlier stages

Stage 1

People are confronted with this step which reflects the change. This stage usually faces hurdles and resistance because people usually are not willing to change so easily, especially when they are comfortable with the existing status. People usually experience the following emotions while encountering a change process:

- Fear.
- Denial.
- Anger.
- Sadness.
- Disorientation.
- Frustration.
- Uncertainty.
- A sense of loss.

In order to begin something new people have to let go of the past. So, it is very important to consider such emotions in order to avoid any resistance in this entire process.

Stage 2

The Neutral Zone. This stage often finds people in the state of confusion and uncertainty. People might find it difficult as they have to opt for a new system. This stage is considered as the link between the aforesaid stages while adapting to a new one. Here, people might experience:

- Resentment towards the change initiative.
- Low morale and low productivity.
- Anxiety about their role, status or identity.
- Skepticism about the change initiative.

Beside the loopholes, this stage is considered as, a way to the creativity. It is regarded as the best stage to motivate people towards new thinking and ideas.

Stage 3

The New Beginning. The last transition stage deals with the duration of acceptance and energy. It caters to how people embrace the change and take steps toward the process of change and how they pursue the process of change. At this stage, people usually experience following emotions:

- High energy.
- Openness to learning.
- Renewed commitment to the group or their role.

Lewin's Change Management Model – Understanding the Three Stages of Change

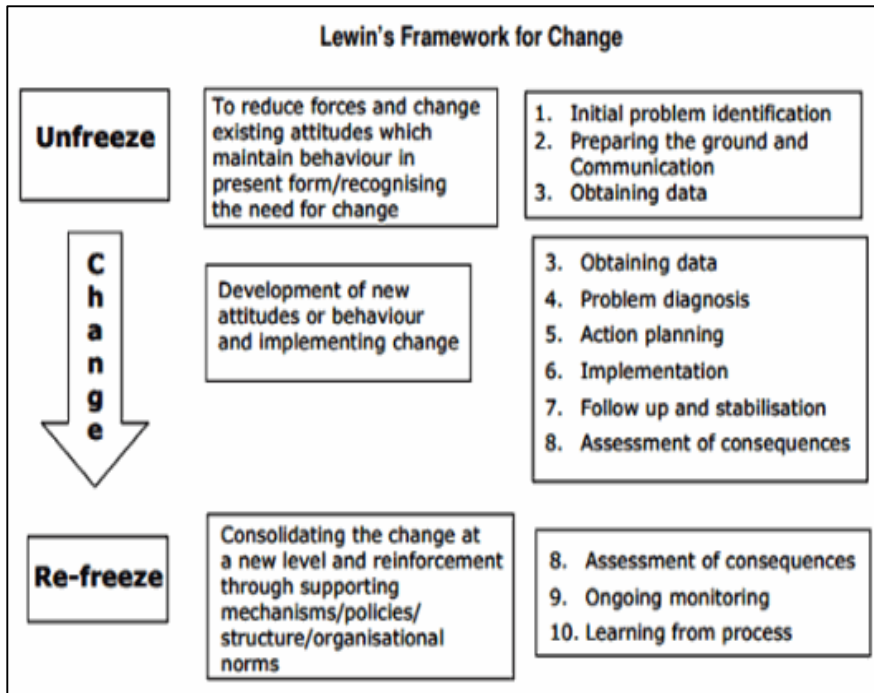
In the present day global village, each and every organization wants to progress to the changing requirements. However only those organizations prosper, which understand the importance of change and accept it as and when required. Organizations that handle change well, flourish in the community, while those that don't may battle to survive. A key to this portion relies on how far individuals inside the association comprehend and manage the change procedure. Kurt Lewin proposed a very effective model to understand organizational change in 1950s for understanding hierarchical change and that model is still in use. This model

provides a simplistic framework for managing the whole process. It elaborates three distinct phases which are:-

- Unfreeze phase.
- Changing phase.
- Refreeze phase.

This model is a straight forward system for overseeing change such as; Unfreeze–Change–Refreeze. Lewin, a physicist and also social researcher, clarified authoritative change utilizing the relationship of changing the state of a square of ice, i.e. unfreezing a substantial 3D square of ice to change it and change it back into ice-cone.

By perceiving these three distinct phases of progress, one can plan to execute the change required. One has to begin by making the inspiration to change (unfreeze) as it is important to change existing mentalities towards working practices to set up the ground work. Correspondence about the proposed change is crucial at this stage if individuals are to comprehend and bolster it. One has to go through the change procedure by advancing successful interchanges and enabling individuals to grasp better approaches for working and learn new values, states of mind and practices. Most extreme adaptability is required in the arranging and usage of the change. The procedure ends when the association comes back to a feeling of soundness (refreeze) and the advantages of the progressions are acknowledged which is fundamental for making the certainty that you emerge improved following unavoidable change. Acclaim, rewards and other support by administrators are required on an individual level and a more compelling execution at an authoritative level. Not until the change has turned out to be fused into the way of life would it have able to be said to be solidified.⁶



Understanding the Change Management Process

Having gone through the various theorists' approaches to the subject, now the readers will be in a better state of mind to understand the Process as explained in succeeding paragraphs. Any organization subjected to a change program undergoes a Four Stage Cycle. Firstly, there is an immediate shock and denial when status quo is broken, then there is disruption in performance, which leads to anger and fear among personnel, and they start inquiring / exploring from each other as to what is happening. Organizational efficiency during this period goes into a deep dip. Once they get some information about the change program, through mutual inquiries, and its reasons and benefits dawn upon them, that they start accepting it slowly and restart working, ultimately, recovering the organization from the downslide and moving it upwards, but not without huge losses and waste of time and effort. Improvements achieved ultimately may be marginal and disproportionate.

Change Management is all about managing this Four Stage Cycle in such a way that the disruption and down slide, during the transition period is minimized and the organization comes out of the dip and transcends into

Improvements achieved ultimately may be marginal and disproportionate.

upward graph of efficiency and output rapidly. Success will be determined by the shape of the curve on a graph, shallower the negative, and higher the positive curve,

within a short span of time, will reflect a brilliant plan. As mentioned earlier, change can be brought about both at individual and organizational levels, however it must be remembered that individual behavior remains central to any change. There are two components to change at organizational level, the Individuals' Approach and the Business Process. Organizations do not change per se, it is the individuals who change and start functioning differently after a successful change program, leading to improved organizational efficiency and output. Once this difficult part is done, the next component, The Business Process, is reappraised and changed. How to achieve the two aspects, mentioned above, is explained in the Change Management Process in three phases, for ease of understanding. It is worth mentioning that in practice, it is one continuous process.

Phase 1 – Preparing for Change

Change without a need is counterproductive, it is the first step that a change practitioner must take, i.e. to carry out diagnosis of the organization to establish the need, for which he must give himself sufficient time to get to know the key personnel, understand the prevalent organizational culture, psyche, and the business process, which will help him identify specific areas for improvement. Having done that, next he should connect and Communicate with the people, to share his assessment of organizational shortcomings and their fallout effects, both at individual as well as organizational levels. Extensive interaction with the people will help in sensitizing the people about urgency for change. Then the change leader should define the changed destination, i.e. as to where does he want to take the organization. Simply put, it means what changes does he want to bring in, both at the individual and organizational levels, for which

deliberate planning needs to be done. Individual change is more of a mindset re - orientation, while for organizations, business processes have to be revamped. It must be kept in mind that a good change plan must be simple, practical, and easy to understand, communicate, and implement. It should be well structured, systematic, logical, comprehensive and holistic. Next is to build a good change team around himself to not only help during planning but in implementation as well. Every organization comprises three types of personnel, the Organizational silver/jewels of the crown, who should be thoroughly involved and made stakeholders, the fence sitters who need to be sensitized through continuous communication, and the trouble creators/disgruntled ones, who should be side lined, if impossible to get rid of. The personnel of any organization bring permanency to it, hence the more their involvement in the change program, the more sustainable the change becomes. In addition, the key word for converting them into stakeholders is through continuous interaction, explaining the pros and cons of status quo and the advantages that intended changes will bring for them. The Jewels (the sincere and willing ones), will work as catalysts for motivating/coercing others to join in, once convinced themselves. The point to remember is that this Connection and Communication with the personnel must remain a Rider Clause throughout the process. Depending upon the nature of change programs, the next step would be Capacity Building of personnel, through training/retraining/specialized courses/workshops etc. to prepare them for implementing the changes, without which results could be under achieved.

Phase 2 – Managing Change

Having made all the required preparations, the plan should then be implemented in stages, for which objectives along with time lines should be laid down for subordinate organizations. The Leader must put in place an effective monitoring mechanism to constantly review the progress and apply mid - course corrections wherever needed. Throughout the implementation stage, the leader must continue to remain connected with the people and keep communicating. Change process is painfully slow moving, and bound to have many obstacles and challenges. People are

bound to commit mistakes, may continue to have attitudinal problems and capacity shortfalls, therefore the change leader has to raise his tolerance threshold to absorb errors and deal with such pressures.

Phase 3 – Reinforcing Change

As mentioned earlier, during the implementation period, there will be problems, missing deadlines, errors or even occasional blunders, and grumbling among personnel. Continuous and effective monitoring will provide enough cushions for timely interventions and corrections, wherever needed. Change leaders may even have to go two/three tiers down to keep connecting with more and more people to not only communicate but also obtain a firsthand feedback, pulse and must respond accordingly. It would be prudent to put in place a user feedback system (applicable more to those departments in the military where service deliveries are involved), for added improvement related inputs. An important part of reinforcing change is to have a good and optically visible reward and punishment system, to acknowledge the good workers and admonish the resisters/retarders. Small successes and achievements, how so ever insignificant, must be announced/notified for morale boosting.

Avoiding Pitfalls

Organizational change is challenging, hazardous, time consuming and fraught with pitfalls, some of which are mentioned below, for consideration of change leaders:

- Incorrect timings.
- Inadequate planning.
- Arbitrary decision-making.
- Go-it-alone approach.
- Unsuitable team selection.
- Lack of communication with people.
- Incorrect dealing with resistance.
- Lack of skills and resources.
- Focusing only on the long term.
- Failing to acknowledge small successes

- Using wrong indicators to measure success.

Conclusion

Change is difficult, creates ripples, disruptions, raises eyebrows and stalls organizational output, if not planned and implemented thoroughly. Onus rests entirely on its sponsor, the change leader. Change is a mind game. Leader has to play with the minds and hearts of people to convince them. Success of change management depends on how each individual works differently after the program. If individuals of an organization can claim that they have the awareness, desire, knowledge, ability and reinforcement to make the change happen, the leader can expect success. In my analysis, if the change leader can respond in the affirmative to this question, the organization he leads is bound to change for better.

NOTES

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DYNAMICS OF FOOD SECURITY IN PAKISTAN; THREAT TO NATIONAL HARMONY

Mr. Nauman Hassan*

Abstract

Food security is crucial for all nations. It is imperative for poverty eradication, economic progression and sustainable development. Since its independence in 1947, Pakistan has continuously been confronting food insecurity, which consequently leads to numerous glitches within the state's territory resulting in violent extremism. This research shows that there is more violence in 10 districts around Pakistan, which are facing worse conditions of food security. The paper aims to highlight the gaps and how food insecurity can erode national harmony. The paper concludes with some policy recommendations including some out of the box solutions and vigorous measures to fill in the gap between policies geared towards addressing the challenge of food insecurity and its implementation in Pakistan.

Keywords: Food Insecurity, Pakistan, Poverty, Violence, National Harmony.

Prelude

Food security means the availability of hygienic, safe and nourishing food to everyone all the time. Being a fundamental necessity of mankind, it has vital significance in social culture. It is a very essential component to form a moral and vigorous society. Nations with empty bellies could never be in a position to ensure sovereignty, independence and prestige. Realization of food security dynamics is vitally essential for good governance and stable political order of a state. Food insecurity always augments existing discrepancies like oppression and disturbed law and order due to intensifying pressure by citizens.¹ Not only developing but also some developed countries are confronting this issue. On the other hand, the dynamics of food security are equally influential at state as well as global

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level. Around the world, more than 800 million people are unable to get sufficient food to fulfill their nutritional needs as concluded in World Food Summit declaration in 1996.²

According to the World Food Summit-1996, the notion of food security has four main dimensions. The first one is the physical availability, which focuses on supply side. It considers the stock level (based on production) and global net trade. This concept is basically used to address food security in best possible way. The second one is concerned with access to food by considering the economic and physical factors that is called accessibility. It identifies that guarantee of food security at household level cannot be assessed by gauging the supply at domestic or international level. The third dimension clearly focuses on the nutrients availability in the food and it is called utilization of food. It is a compulsory element to provide sufficient energy level for consumers. Economic condition of the state inflation and unemployment, unstable political environment and unfavorable weather can be the main concerns that have potential to impact on food security.³ Stability of all these factors is the final dimension of food security.

Geographic boundaries of states can be transcended through the issues posed by food crises. These issues have the potential to disturb the cooperation between different states. Scarcity and inflated prices of food commodities has always been a major source of unrest throughout history.⁴ Bread or Blood was one of the main slogans by protestors in French Revolution. In 1905 and 1917, peasant violence boosted because of the issue of poverty in Russia. There were riots in different regions of the world

Bread or Blood was one of the main slogans by protestors in French Revolution.

specifically in Middle-East due to spiked global prices of food items in 2007-08 and subsequently all these states faced political instability again in 2011. When it comes to socio-economic and political solidity, almost all developing nations don't have a good record. Sudden food inflation has damaging impacts for all these countries. For example in Delhi, state elections of 1998,

the ruling Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) lost, as it failed to control the inflated price of onions in India.⁵

Contextualizing Food Security

Through reviewing local, regional and global prospective, it is obvious that food security is posing a number of challenges to ensuring the availability of enough food in every house at domestic or regional level. International organizations such as World Food Program (WFP) and Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of United Nations are key players, which are contributing towards food security. This subject is under consideration since the 1970s and officially for the very first time it was defined by the United Nations World Food Conference 1974 as⁶:

“The availability at all times of adequate world food supplies of basic foodstuff to sustain a steady expansion of food consumption and to offset fluctuations in production and price”

Later on in 2001, the concept of food security was further elaborated and well defined by the United Nation’s Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO).⁷ This definition emphasizes more on the significance of social, economic and physical access of undernourished and poor people around the world.

Food Sovereignty is a key concept that emphasizes proactive attitude towards food security by considering agricultural operations.⁸ Its primary objective is to enhance the agricultural production at small scale in developing states to support their social community system. Through this they are focusing on increasing the production level and consumption to benefit producers and distributors. One of the most important aspects of this idea is the effectiveness of addressing food insecurity outside the commercial phases of supply and demand chain. On the other side, it also has some weaknesses as well. It mainly deals with the concerns of producers, distributors and consumers but rejects the significance of cooperation along with other market driven factors.⁹ Through ensuring environmental sustainability in the context of climate change, it thoroughly observes the challenges involved in providing foodstuff to most hungry and

poor people. In short, the concept of food sovereignty provides comprehensive understanding regarding the concern of food security.

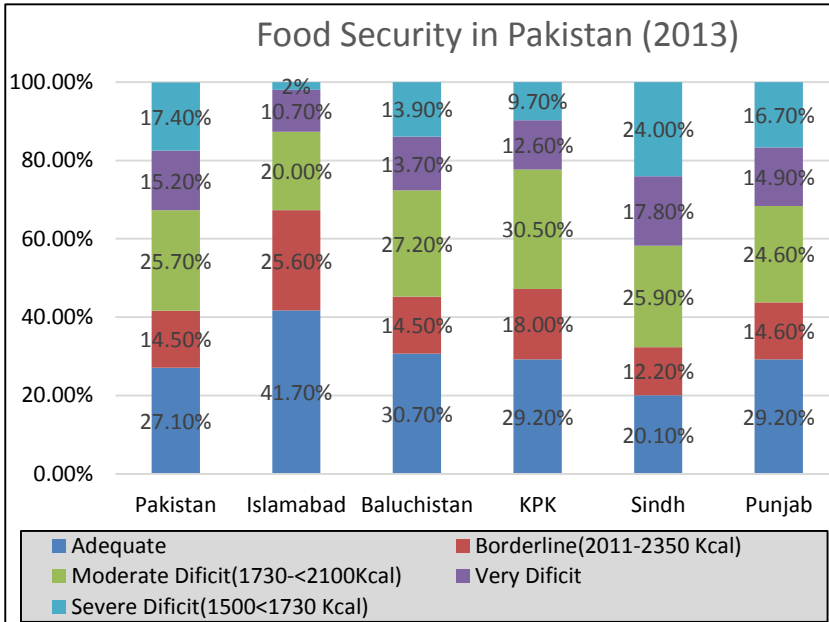
In 2007-08, global food-price crises occurred and food price index rose by 54% as stated by the FAO. The actual price of corn and wheat inflated by more than 100% and price of rice spiked by as much as three times its actual price.¹⁰ This sudden inflation in prices was because of numerous factors and subsequently World Bank had to take strong measures to overcome this issue. According to the World Bank, one of the main reasons for escalation of prices was shrinking of the available cultivable land.¹¹ In the main stream, the oil prices also soared up to an all time high level of US \$147 for one barrel in 2008.¹² Inflated oil prices also affected cultivation cost, which ultimately increased the prices of food stuff around the globe. Reduction in global food stock was also recorded at that time.¹³ There were riots and demonstrations in different regions of the world at that time.¹⁴ It shows that the unavailability of basic necessities of mankind leads to aggressive human nature.

World's most malnourished people mostly come from developing countries and are significantly concentrated in rural farming ménages.¹⁵ This down trodden stratum spends about 70% of its monthly earnings to feed themselves and their kinfolds. On the other hand, their production standards are poor because of numerous hostile factors such as poor-equipment, informal ways of cultivation, damaged infrastructure of roads and communication and inadequate support by government authorities in the form of subsidization for fertilizers and seeds.¹⁶ During the global food-prices spike in 2007-08, some major Asian exporters such as Cambodia, Vietnam and Thailand took vigorous actions to control food prices but some of them sought gain from global price rises of food commodities. In March 2008, a transitory embargo was imposed on the export of rice by Cambodian government but after a time period of two months, the sanctions were withdrawn to obtain benefit from soaring prices in the global market. After one month of ban by Cambodian authorities, Vietnam administration also barred rice export.¹⁷ Pakistan is also posing different notions of its food security mechanism in context.

Dynamics of Food Security in Pakistan

Pakistan, a land of diverse environment is divided in 13 ecological and 27 sub-ecological zones. However, these diversities are still subjugated because the majority of food security policies are focused on wheat, being the main crop of the country. It is considered as primary contributing crop towards state's food security mechanism while the other grain crops like rice, sweet-sorghum, maize and pearl millet are secondary. Wheat, rice, cotton and sugarcane are four chief crops, which take away about 93% of the available resources. In early 1960s, the countries' crop priorities shifted because of the cheap available wheat import.¹⁸ This spectacle headed to influx of Green Revolution in Pakistan, which ensures the availability of high-value seeds and chemical fertilizers. This Green Revolution furthered chain reaction in the microeconomic organism of the country. It is indispensable for policymakers to look after urban areas because mass demonstrations commonly come from those parts of the state.

Availability, access and utilization are the lenses used by FAO to access food security at global level. To determine the extent of this notion at domestic level, Pakistan is also applying the same indicators. In 2003, Sustainable Development Policy Institute (SDPI) took the initiative to scale the food security in the country with the collaboration of World Food Program (WFP). As a result of this teamwork, a joint report was produced in 2013 according to which, it was derived that 58% population of this country is food insecure and this ratio was 48.6% in 2009. Remarkably, one facet of the report directed the encouraging fact that the level of extremely food insecure populace diminished from 22.4% (2009) to 17.4% (2013). According to the report, only about 27% inhabitants having adequate food and remaining are under borderline. In Pakistan, food insecure regions are Sindh, FATA, Baluchistan, KPK and AJK.¹⁹ The following graph indicates the state of food security around the state.



(Sources: Sustainable development Policy Institute-SDPI)

Since its creation, Pakistan is facing the threat of food insecurity. Being an agricultural country, more than 70% of its population is dependent on agronomy and is contributing more than 24% towards its total economy.²⁰ In term of supply of food commodities, this nation is significantly progressing. The statistics show the increase in term of per capita per annum availability of food as 120 Kilograms (Kgs) in 1961, 137 Kgs in 1990-91, 154 Kgs in 2008-09²¹, 163.2 Kgs in 2014²² and about 80% of these figures were obtained only with reference to the cultivation of wheat crop.²³ In 1961, the availability of calories was 1754 per person per day but later on in 1990s, this level went to 2400 and eventually this figure was about 2200 in 2014. It is also argued that the bulk of its population lacked accessibility to proper nutritiously balanced food.

Nutrition status indicates that whether or not a person or group is taking enough amount and type of nutrients in their daily life. Food with good nutrients is essential to build a healthy society and it is a substratum of progress for any nation. In Pakistan, nutritional status of population is

not satisfactory and available food is not meeting the quality and safety standards. Improper diet is a serious concern that is affecting the health of the people of all ages. According to the UN News Center, 15% of Pakistani children are malnourished and about 40% are suffering stunted growth.²⁴ The consumption of eatables remains very low in Pakistan but the level of milk consumption is significant with comparison to other Asian states. Hazarik and Gahu-Khasnabis recently did a research to analyze the relation between bargaining power of Pakistani women and the well-being of their children.²⁵ This study focuses on numerous aspects of women bargaining power to understand the means of nutrition.

In 2014, Pakistan successfully harvested another productive wheat crop. According to estimates, the total production for wheat crop was about 25.3 million metric tons (MT) which was 1.1 million MT more than the last year.²⁶ In the same stream, rice (milled) production was 6.72 million MT in 2014 (0.18 million MT lesser than the last year).²⁷ The sowing and germination process of wheat became more productive with rainfall during the Rabi crop in mid of October in 2014-15. The wheat production target was fixed at 26 million MT to be cultivated over the estimated land of 8.91 million hectares by the Federal Committee of Agriculture (FCA).²⁸ In 2014-15, the total production for rice crop was 8.437 million tons as per estimates from SUPARCO, which was cultivated in over an area of 3.28 million hectares.²⁹ During the year of 2013-14, the estimate for livestock herd was 170 million animals that is a 3% increase compared to the last year. Likewise, there was 3% increase in milk production and 4.5% in meat.³⁰

Alongside local associations, the international community is also making significant contribution in regard to food security. World Food Program (WFP) is an international institution working to ensure the availability of immediate food aid to famished individuals. Its assistance is currently approaching about 8 million people in the country. During the global food crises of 2005 to 2008, a program worth \$ 71 million was initiated by the agency. According to this program about 86,300 tons of food was made available in 20 most food-insecure zones of the country and its distribution was done through educational and health centers.³¹ This step

uplifted the nutrition status of malnourished people including children and pregnant women. However, rather than a long-term, it's a short-term measure, which is focused on easing the pressure for food-insecure localities. Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC) is also assisting SDPI to understand the food security nexus in Pakistan.

Challenges to Food Security

State institutions of this country are confronting numerous challenges in agricultural sector. These challenges can be categorized into two major types which are demand and supply. Advanced practice of conventional efforts, increased total factors production (TFP) and transformation in the institutional setup are the factors affecting supply side.³² Insecure land and water are also two major factors impacting the supply side. Through degradation, both resources are showing a decline and chances are remote to bring these resources to use.³³ Lack of technological modernization, limited investment in infrastructure, livestock and pest diseases, lack of awareness, restrictions for marketing and trading, inapplicability of government policies and procedures and insufficient loan for cultivation are common issues with productivity of food commodities.³⁴ According to UNCTAD (2009), it is not an easy task to effectively address these challenges.³⁵ In 2013-14, wheat production exceeded 25 million tons but still about 30% of rural population is undernourished.³⁶ The main reason of this predicament is not the production but mostly inaccessibility to food items because of poverty.

Poverty is one of the main factors, which cause food insecurity. According to the report by SDPI, only 42% of total population is consuming secure food in Pakistan.³⁷ For the government of Pakistan, poverty is the most vital challenging factor affecting about 77 million people across the country. Edward Whitney, from Pakistan Strategy Support Program (PSSP) has discussed the trends of poverty while presenting at PSSP's second annual conference and said that urban poverty is persistently lower than rural poverty. Pakistan is one of the 26 countries which face hunger at alarming level as analyzed by International Food Policy

Research Institute (IFPRI) in 2011. According to Sohail Jahangir Malik (senior research fellow at IFPRI) Food Price Index is rising sharply compared to the General Price Index. Wheat is considered as central to food security in the country by Malik.³⁸ The Dramatic inflation in international commodities is also a crucial factor for developing states like Pakistan.³⁹

Since 1990s, not only in Pakistan but across Asia, a very low level of investment by both public and private sectors is causing a decline in productivity of the agriculture sector. This phenomenon is also impacting lack of agricultural research and development.⁴⁰ Along with wastage, salinity and logging of water are also key concerns affecting agronomic yield. Every year about 0.1 million acres cultivatable land is being affected by this problem.⁴¹ Global warming is also a main concern of today. The increased temperature scale is having negative impacts on wheat crop along with precipitation which has negative effects on rice crop in Pakistan.⁴² Pakistani farmers are still applying old cultivation methods and getting about 25% production less than the advanced countries. But on the other hand, if one considers the case of other South Asian countries like Nepal, Bangladesh and India then it will be analyzed that these states are obtaining more production than Pakistan because of the use of advanced scientific techniques and equipment.⁴³ Floods are also one of the main challenges that are affecting food security concern within the state.⁴⁴

Implications of Food Insecurity to National Harmony

Pakistan, being a nuclear power and with seventh largest army of the world, has successfully protected its sovereignty and national security but the matter of individual security and subsistence is still debatable. In a single year of 2007-08, there was about 36% inflation related to food commodities which left the country in a situation of food insecurity and consequently led towards violence and clashes between “haves and have-nots”. Through the detailed research and analysis of SDPI, it is obvious that Musa Khel, Orakzai, Dera Bugti, Dalbidin, Panjor, Uper-Dir, Mohmand, Waziristan (South and North) and Kohistan are the top 10 food insecure districts of Pakistan. Although there are numerous other social issues like

lack of education and awareness, unavailability of basic facilities and unemployment but these all give birth to poverty which ultimately results in hunger. These areas are facing more violence and militancy than remaining parts of the country.⁴⁵ Empirically, it is yet to be tested that food insecurity is the only element which is causing unrest but according to many experts, majority of militants and extremists are suffering from unemployment and poverty which tends to be a cause of food insecurity for them and ultimately pushing them towards aggression. This phenomenon is giving rise to conflicts, which is a direct threat for national security and integration.

Strong nations cannot be formed without healthy and strong citizens. Prosperity and development is directly associated with the inputs by its citizens and this objective cannot be achieved without properly fit and motivated individuals.⁴⁶ Food security is the key for the health of citizens. illness, trauma, malnutrition, familial stress, victimization by violence and environmental toxins are the consequences of food insecurity. In such scenarios, there is always distrust among individuals, which leads them to violence to fulfill their desires by adopting unhealthy social practices and they can never be ready to contribute towards state development. It also leads towards humanitarian crises, which consumes state economy and resources. Food insecurity is a front-runner of internal migration (case study of Thar) which gives blow to ethnic clashes.

As agriculture is the backbone of Pakistan's economy, food insecurity creates economic crises in the country. Finally, it affects the internal security system and gives space to foreign powers to intervene for their own interests (Baluchistan is a case in point) which ultimately threatened the national harmony and sovereignty of Pakistan.

According to Hari Ram Lohana, food insecurity could "*endanger our sovereignty and the unity of our federation*".⁴⁷ Currently, along-with some other countries, Pakistan is embroiled in civil unrest because of food insecurity.⁴⁸ Due to poverty and hunger, suicide in this country is not unique. Media reports highlight tragic incidents of penurious persons who committed suicide which indicates that "*hunger in Pakistan is no longer a silent killer*". Bashiran Bibi, a 25 years old maid decided to overcome her

poverty by jumping in front of train with her three kids.⁴⁹ According to a report by Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP), about 1,600 people in 2011 and 2,399 in previous year committed suicide as the only option to cope up with poverty and hunger.⁵⁰ In September 2009, 20 people crumpled to death in a stampede in Karachi and then several weeks later, a suicide blast in the UNWFP office in Islamabad resulting in 5 deaths are also consequences of food-insecurity.⁵¹

Critical Evaluation of Pakistan's Counter-Measures

Pakistan has been dynamic in merging policies and stratagems for the triumph of Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) regarding food security. The parliament is rigorously involved in legislation and budgetary allocation to meet the targets of MDGs. Under the supervision of Mr. Sartaj Aziz, National Task Force on Food Security was constituted to analyze the scenario and to devise an action plan for the vulnerable groups confronting food insecurity. The government of Pakistan has an obligation to provide food security for its people. Article 38(d) of the Constitution of Pakistan states:

“The State shall: (d) provide basic necessities of life, such as food, clothing, housing, education and medical relief, for all its citizens, irrespective of sex, caste, creed or race....”

This article explicitly indicates that it is the state's responsibility to ensure secure food all over the country. By adopting pro-poor growth strategy, the availability of food was ensured to poor households. Pakistan Bait-ul-Mall (PBM), an institute working for the government of Pakistan has initiated Food Support Program (FSP) which provides one lump sum payment of Rs.3000 per household per annum. Like this, Punjab program was started with initial amount of Rs.22.0 billion. People Work Program and micro finance are also playing significant role in this regard.⁵²

Similarly, Ministry of Food Security and Research (MNFSR) is the responsible institute for all types of food security concerns. The primary concern of this organization is to reduce food insecurity by 50% till 2030 and then bring it to zero till 2050. Its main responsibilities are formulation

of policies, planning and coordination for food and agriculture sector. Stabilizing of prices for food commodities, ensuring the adequacy of food products by enhanced productivity using modernized techniques, subsidizing for lower class farmers, boosting up the degree of investment from both public and private sectors, providing sustainable structure for food items through developed infrastructure and communication system and procurement of crop seeds and grains from abroad are some of the government's basic priorities to develop food and agriculture sector. MNFSR has also adopted some policies to upsurge the efficiency of livestock. There are defined policies regarding putting down of national evaluation and international trading for poultry and livestock. Vaccination, feed for animals and veterinary drugs are also being supplied according to policies.⁵³

To overcome food insecurity, MNFSR has taken some initiatives. It has formed Benazir Income Support Program to fund the lower class of the country so that they can also have access to food. National Task Force on Food Security is also shaped to access the insecure food affected population, so that counter measures can be taken on timely basis.⁵⁴ The idea of Intervention Price Mechanism was formed for enhancing food grains storage capability for rice and cotton. By introducing Utility Stores Network, subsidization for food commodities was offered for food insecure regions. A special program for food security (CMP-II) was also initiated by the government to counter the issues of food insecurity. According to the policy, some development initiatives are also taken by the MNFSR to sustain growth in agriculture sector. Improvement in conservation and efficiency of water was a key initiative. Agricultural research, seeds production and availability of new seeds, availability and accessibility to loans and Benazir Tractor Scheme were very vital initiatives by the concerned department.⁵⁵

MNFSR has developed institutions and regulatory bodies to execute policies and procedures regarding food security. These institutions are Agricultural Policy Institute (API), Department of Plant Protection, National Veterinary Laboratory, Animal Quarantine Department and Federal Seed Certification & Registration Department. Pakistan Agricultural Research Council is autonomous body working with MNFSR. It also has

federal cooperation with PASSCO, which is responsible for purchasing surplus food grains from farmers. Pakistan Oil Seed Development Board, Fisheries Development Board and Livestock and Dairy Development Board are also providing assistance to MNFSR. Federal Water Management Cell is trying its best to provide clean water to citizens.⁵⁶

Meeting the Challenges

In an agricultural based economy and Pakistan being a developing state, about 9.5 million people are unable to access secure food. Now the question arises; “How to meet the challenges posed to food security and sustainability?” These challenges can be met through adopting range of following corrective measures:

Facilitation of Agriculturalists for Growth through Innovation. In Pakistan, there are limitations on data and information and that’s why the capacity to carry out analysis about overall food security is uncommon. Recent developments in knowledge show a positive change and these developments improved direct use of marginal resources, which consequently enhanced productivity with ground-breaking interventions. Acquiring the services of experts and more coordinated and comprehensive efforts are vastly required in this aspect. It is also necessary to consider and analyze things with a more revolutionary approach so that facilitation for farmers can be made possible.

Effectiveness of Reforms for Economic Access. One of the crucial aspects of food security is economic access. Over last two and a half decades, numerous problems gradually escalated to create an economic crisis and un-rest to make this aspect a burning issue which can’t be countered without economic growth. Reforms and special initiative at ad-hoc basis like Benazir Income Support Program, Sasti Roti Scheme and Subsidization for other eatables are very vital. Utility Store Cooperation is a healthy measure but, it needs more effectiveness through management and investment for enlargement.

Acknowledgement and Incapacitation of Structural Hindrances. Improvement in supply chain, dependency and infrastructure (roads to

access markets) are crucial to ensure the availability of food across the country. This objective can only be achieved by ensuring the effectiveness of agricultural institutions, improved infrastructure and putting more capital into this stagnant sector. Dependency on international funding institutions in agricultural sector, deep-rooted political interests based on interference and extensive landlessness are affecting national capabilities to analyze the food insecurity dilemma and to ensure proper remedial measures.

Food Availability and Fortification for Struggling Malnutrition. Adequacy of food and minimum level of calories intake cannot be ignored at-all. As wheat provides the most calories but during milling about 60-80 pc of its nutrients are lost so legislator initiatives are recommended for fortified wheat flour to safeguard forthcoming generations from insufficiency of minerals and vitamins. Institutes are required to adopt result oriented measures to ensure the quality of food being preserved and the use of fertilizers and pesticides must be discouraged to make food more hygienic.

Overcoming Limitations Regarding Knowledge and Resources for Farmers. Along with the unavailability of suitable required resources for farmers, literacy rate and traditional ways of cultivation in country are ultimate hurdles to measures on food security. This approach needs a paradigm shift to latest technology as is being done by some other countries in the region. This step will not only enhance productivity but also increase the quality of food and will save time. To counter this issue, government has to facilitate investors by providing proper business opportunities like developed infrastructure, access to markets and availability of advanced equipment of cultivation.

Revisiting Strategic and Policy Framework for Food Security. Instead of emphasizing only on production and supply, all the myriad factors—from production to consumption—which affect access to food must be taken into account in policy debate regarding food security. However, some other critical aspects like health and education must also be considered for human development. Government of Pakistan has to go for international

covenants to craft effective policies and strategies to make this country food secure. Research and development (R&D) department needs modernization and laboratories are also required to be established at local level to ensure the natural elements in land and water on periodic basis.

Ensure Application of Security Regulations for Livestock, Poultry & Fish Industry. Livestock, poultry and fisheries also require assistance at local and national level. Livestock employers and farmers have to ensure that all of their livestock attendants are aware of their duties. Government must ensure that farmers are adopting high standards for husbandry to get secure dairy products and if a farmer fails to comply with the regulations then he may have to face the law. Government has to put more efforts to counter diseases affecting these sectors and more research is highly recommended to control this issue.

Mitigate Discriminatory Behaviour of Feudal System. In Pakistan, feudal families may own hundreds or even thousands of acres of land but they are not making enough contribution to food production for the country. On the basis of their ownership they have direct influence over subsidized fertilizers, agricultural credit, tractor permits and distribution of water, which gives them influence over the judicial administration, revenue, police and local government to seek support for their unlawful interests. The government must take effective initiatives to dump the concept of "Might is Right". Resources need to be allocated or apportioned on equal basis and all kind of discrimination based on feudalism, regions and ethnicity should be abolished.

Conclusion

The issue of food insecurity needs to be dealt on war footing by the government of Pakistan. It is not possible for the people to put their energies and loyalties towards the prosperity of the country without having food security. Uncertainty of citizens about the security of their meal can never bring patriotism. It is the right time for including international community, and the government of Pakistan has to step up activities that not only strengthen assets, livelihood and activities but also address

domestic administrative issues. Without addressing these concerns of socio-economic justice, the issues leading to food insecurity as well as militancy or violence cannot be addressed. Initiatives for investing in developing social and human capital by international community are highly required for the chronically food insecure people of affected regions especially Baluchistan, Federally Administered Tribal Area (FATA) and people belonging to Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

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