

Quarterly

Research
& News

Centre for Public Policy & Governance

Forman Christian College (A Chartered University)

ISSN 2076-9997

Number 49 - 52
June 2021

From the Director's Desk

COVID 19 has disrupted social relations and economic activity across the world. Academic institutions, including schools, colleges and universities in Pakistan like many other countries were caught by surprise. Despite lack of preparedness universities are witnessing unprecedented transformations. Technology has produced enormous opportunities and created unforeseen challenges. Among the universities in Lahore, FCCU took the lead in setting up procedures for adapting to the COVID-19 pandemic and adopting platforms for online teaching. Since the CPPG only has post-graduate programs and the student body size is relatively small (Executive....

Contents

> Efficiency And Effectiveness In Service Delivery	03
> Institutional Design of Local Governments in Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa;	10
> Status of Archival Research in Pakistan	17
> US-China Trade War: Assessing the Trump Presidency	19
> Japanese Culture and Education	20
> Dynamics of Population Growth and Pakistan Census 2017	22
> Social Capital: A Study of Eight Ethnic Farm Communities in Iowa	24
> Can vulnerable nations be weak climate leaders?	25
> The Current State of the Economy and Need for Pro-Poor Growth	27
> Exploring Agriculture in CPEC	28
> The Rationale and Context of Reforms in Public Sector	31
> International Humanitarian Law for Policy Makers	32
> Afghan Peace Process and Pakistan's Role	33
> The Trauma of War on Terror and the Limits of Western Theory	34
> Understanding Pakistan's Immunization Problem: A Transactional Approach	35
> The Index of Religious Diversity and Inclusion in Pakistan	36
> Sharia and the State in Pakistan: Blasphemy Politics	37
> Journal Review of Strategic Thought: A Journal of International Affairs	41
> Book Review	43
Visitors & Activities	46
Faculty & Staff	48
Contact Us	

Editorial Board

Dr. Saeed Shafqat
Raheem ul Haque
Saba Shahid



CENTRE FOR PUBLIC POLICY
AND GOVERNANCE

From the Director's Desk

...Masters, MPhil and PhD), it quickly embraced ZOOM for its programs. We swiftly converted our well-established Seminar and Policy dialogues series into Webinar series—around 12 have been conducted so far, highlighting public policy concerns ranging from the management of the global health crisis, to the significance of media freedom. Several others are lined up in the coming weeks as we continue to commit our efforts towards evidence-based policy advocacy.

Besides, enriching its academic programs, teaching, research and trainings, over the years CPPG has been building and expanding its Think Tank functions by connecting with other national and international Think Tanks. In November (10-12), 2019, the Director CPPG, participated in *Asia Pacific Think Tanks Summit*, at Bangkok, Thailand. This is an initiative and global out reach program stemming from the Think Tanks and Civil Societies Program at the Lauder Institute for Management and International Studies, University of Pennsylvania. It has a Think Tank Membership of about 181 from across the globe and I was able to register CPPG in 2018. Since then, the CPPG has actively participated in Virtual Global Think Tanks Town Hall Meetings, the Director nominated Ms. Saba Shahid, Research Fellow to participate in the meetings and serve as Focal Person. This helped CPPG build connections with other think tanks internationally, including the Observer Research Foundation (ORF) a leading Think Tank in India and we contributed towards the publication of their monograph "Rebooting the World: Six Months of COVID-19" (September 2020).

In 2020 we applied to the *International Center on Nonviolent Conflict* for a fellowship and were able to secure it. Dr. Rabia Chaudhry is the Focal Person and was nominated to attend a three-day online program – titled *Reflecting on Peace Building and Sustaining Peace* – on behalf of the CPPG. Four institutions, namely; *Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation*, the *Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict*, *Peace Direct* and the *United Nations Peacebuilding Support Office*, organized this. Dr. Chaudhry, attended and contributed to panels on *Sustaining peace on the ground – the role of civil society in peacebuilding; Partnerships with the United Nations and others; Civil society's role in building and sustaining peace;* and additional relevant topics. This virtual consultation was attended by academics and civil society organizations from sixty dif-

ferent countries.

Earlier in 2019 the CPPG signed an MOU with George Mason University, Virginia, USA and in January 2021, Dr. Mark J. Rozelle Associate Dean gave a webinar on "The Meaning of January 6 and the Biden Transition". The CPPG continues to work closely with the Urban Unit, Government of Punjab and Dr. Imdad Hussain is the focal person for that initiative. In addition, Dr. Ali Saleem wound up the project on Local Government with GTZ and the CPPG published the final report titled "Effective Implementation of the PLGA 2019: Lessons Learnt from the Implementation of the PLGA 2013."

The CPPG retains the distinction of being the leading academic and actionable policy research Think Tank and publisher at FCCU. Despite, the pandemic, we have produced two policy related researches on two critical issues including a policy brief titled *Pathways to Governance and Civil Service Reform in Pakistan: Federal, Provincial and Local* (April, 2020) and a discussion paper on *Bridging the Gender and Digital Divide in Post COVID-19 Pakistan: Empowering Women Through ICT* (March 2021). Further researches are in the pipeline for the current year.

Finally, it gives me pleasure to share with you that since 2008 we have been publishing the *Quarterly Research & News* magazine. Raheem ul Haque has been the dynamic team leader ably assisted by Saba Shahid, since 2016 while, I have played only the supervisory role. Over the years it has performed a very useful function of sharing the views of our guest speakers, occasionally publishing a research article, policy brief and consultative dialogues and their reports. Now, the CPPG faculty is ready to launch a policy research journal, therefore, we have decided that from this year the CPPG students will edit the *Quarterly*. In that spirit the current issue carries two articles by students who have completed their MPhil in Public Policy. Moreover I would like to acknowledge our MPhil students Shahwar Asif, Moazma Ashraf, Hurmat Nadeem, Momna Malik, Ehtisham Akhtar, Surteel Siddiqui and Sobia Mustafa for the assistance they have given with this edition. The CPPG faculty members will advise and oversee this transition of *Quarterly* to promote a culture of research, deliberation and tolerance of opposing views in an academic environment. We hope the students will welcome this opportunity, enabling the faculty to consolidate the Think Tank functions of CPPG.

EFFICIENCY AND EFFECTIVENESS IN SERVICE DELIVERY: INTRODUCING NEW PUBLIC MANAGEMENT IN PUNJAB FOOD AUTHORITY

Iffrah Khalid*

Over the course of more than a decade, thirteen public sector companies have been established in Lahore, the capital of Punjab, and other major cities of the province. All organizations of such type have been created independently by combining ideas of New Public Management (NPM) and the rules and regulations of the Punjab Government. The combination of these two ideas can be termed as the “Punjab Model of New Public Management.” This research investigates the “Punjab Model of New Public Management” with specific focus on the structure, organization, and everyday functioning of Punjab Food Authority (PFA). This research looks into the adoption and practice of some New Public Management elements in the functioning of PFA. These elements include separation of politics from administration; accountability and transparency; performance measurement; flexibility; and, use of information technology. The larger narrative of this research will build on the practices of these elements.

The NPM has emerged as a remedy for the ineffective working of the government institutions by replacing old practices derived from the theory of public administration with the new management ideas borrowed and developed from the corporate sector. The purpose of these reforms was to fix the management issues in the public sector, which deal with law and order, governance, health and education etc. Once the productiveness of NPM travelled to Pakistan through the agencies such as the World Bank and through the writings of international scholars, Government of the Punjab took lead in experimenting these ideas here two decades ago¹. In this process, agencies such as Lahore Waste Management Company, Lahore Parking Company, and 10 others were established. These companies delivered their services in a relatively effective

and efficient way. Considering their performance, the Government of the Punjab extended the ideas of NPM to the Food sector for maintaining and ensuring quality of food as there have been complaints about the deteriorating quality of food at the level of production, distribution, and consumption. There were many malpractices found in the form of food storage, food preparation, usage of non-food colors, unclean raw materials etc. to control all these malpractices an effective working food regulatory body was required.²

Pakistan, like other developing countries, has a basic food system with multiple problems. These problems include unhygienic food, unclean water and use of dangerous chemicals, along with lack of technology for food safety. There are different laws and ordinances in Pakistan for food safety and quality legislation and these laws and ordinances have changed with the passage of time and need as well. The implementation of these laws and food safety policies was made through the governments and local bodies before the establishment of regulatory bodies. But that was not enough as Punjab being the biggest province of Pakistan and also with the largest population was lacking behind in healthy food and nutrition.³ A national survey that was conducted in 2011 further reinforced the need for a regulatory authority that would ensure healthy and safe food. In 2011, Punjab Food Authority Act was passed and to implement this act, PFA was established in 2012. The Punjab Food Authority was established to protect consumers against unhealthy food products that are being sold by food operators.⁴ Checking the quality of food and conducting safety checks was previously dealt by Pakistan Standard and Quality Control (PSQCA) which was a federal government agency. PFA has made its own sets of regulations and also renewed some old food regulations. The purpose of PFA is to regulate the food industry in the province; regulation implies guidelines, procedures, processes and standards connected to the food industry, including food labeling, food handling, the inclusion of additives, and others. Food industry

*Iffrah Khalid is an alumna of the Centre for Public Policy and Governance at Forman Christian College.

¹ Hassan Ahmed, “From public administration to new public management”, *Pakistan Today*, February 06, 2018. <https://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2016/02/06/from-public-administration-to-new-public-management/>

² India environmental portal, “Food safety in Pakistan”, <http://www.indiaenvironmentportal.org.in/content/350783/food-safety-in-pakistan/> (accessed 13 may 2019)

³ “PSQCA fails to enforce quality standards of food items”, *Business Recorder*, February 25, 2015 <https://fp.brecorder.com/2015/02/201502121150580/>

⁴ “A brief on Punjab food authority”, Punjab Food Authority, (September 2016-april 2018)

implies food manufacturers, distributors, suppliers, importers that are connected to food safety. The regulation also included instructions regarding the storage, movement, distribution, consumption, and trade and licensing of food items.⁵

This research aims to explore actual implementation of all these goals set by PFA with the help of NPM reforms. This research also explains the experience of the Punjab Food Authority with the Punjab Model of New Public Management. Since the establishment of the PFA promised to overcome the previously inefficient regulation of food in the Punjab, it was necessary to see if the ideas of NPM give coherence to the work of PFA. This Research particularly explores if the NPM principles are effective, relevant, and useful in reforming public sector in Pakistan by taking case study of Punjab Food Authority.

THE IDEA OF NEW PUBLIC MANAGEMENT

In order to put this research into context, it is necessary to provide a brief background to the ideas of New Public Management. As a theory, NPM was firstly articulated by Christopher Cropper Hood in 1991 but like most concepts, evolved and different scholars provided their own interpretation of the concept. Dunleavy and Hood stated that “*NPM is a philosophy that places stress on governments for transparency, accountability of public sector employees, and performance management.*”⁶ This philosophy is one of the major trends in public administration at the international level because it is capable of reinventing government systems. Over the past two decades, NPM and its features have changed and evolved through different processes. There are different sets of theories that highlight the various components of the NPM but there is no agreement among the scholars on a set of features common to NPM reforms across the globe. However, certain characteristics are common to all descriptions, and these are: accountability, budget cuts, privatization, auditing, decentralization, competition, performance measurement, separation of politics and administration, improved accounting,

flexibility, rigorous use of information technology, financial management, and contracting out. The World Bank, International Monetary Fund, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development⁷, and the United Nations also support these features of NPM.⁸

THE NEED FOR PUNJAB FOOD AUTHORITY

Regulatory bodies play an important role for ensuring a transparent working system and administration. Punjab being the largest province of Pakistan in terms of population, has struggled to enforce healthy food and nutrition requirements. Previously, district health officers and members of municipal committee implemented food safety laws. The aim of these health officers and members of municipal committee was to implement the standards of food safety and quality. But the weak implementation of food safety and quality standards by these committee members and health officers forced the government to do more in terms of food safety regulations. But, only laws and acts were not enough for food safety and quality checking, there was need for a food safety law accompanied by a food safety monitoring network which would include an updated system of standards, a food safety and accreditation system, and a food safety inspection and testing system. A system to monitor the standards of the food items was required. Punjab Food Authority was made as the solution to these food regulatory problems. It should be noted that the PFA was a product of the 18th Amendment, a transition towards decentralization that gave greater financial and administrative powers to the provinces. PFA is a quasi-autonomous organization. It is usually an organization to which a government has devolved power, but which is still partly controlled and/or financed by government bodies. In the beginning the PFA functioned in Lahore, however other districts of the Punjab were also covered. The Government of the Punjab considered both its “Punjab Model of New Public Management” and the experiences of companies like Punjab Waste Management Company based on this model while establishing PFA as an autonomous and independent authority. The functions of PFA include

⁵ Punjab food authority, “Standard operating procedures inspections and sampling”, Lahore; directorate of public relations and awareness, 2018

⁶ Dunleavy, Patrick, and Christopher Hood, “From old public administration to new public management”, *Public money & management* 14, no. 3 (1994): 9-16.

⁷ “Public Management Service and in transition: Public management reforms in OECD Countries”, Organization for Economic development, 1995.

⁸ Juan Du, “Chapter 2: Theoretical background “Tale of two countries: new public management reforms in Universities in the UK and China. (2007). 7-43

ensuring safe food by maintaining its quality and preventing it from any contamination, eliminating adulteration mafia, enhancing food capacity by developing innovative processing technologies to improve the quality, spreading healthy food culture, enforcing transparency within the authority, facilitating consumers, spreading public awareness, modernizing the way of operations and unveiling food frauds.⁹ The Punjab Model of the New Public Management is being stressed because Punjab may not have borrowed and adopted all of the dictates of the NPM. Rather, its decision-makers have tried to combine various dictates of the NPM with the practices of Government of the Punjab.

IMPACT OF NEW PUBLIC MANAGEMENT FEATURES ON PUNJAB FOOD AUTHORITY

The performance of PFA is analyzed with respect to the NPM indicators. For this purpose in-depth interviews were conducted with officers working at Punjab Food Authority including employees from upper scale to lower scale including director general, directors, managerial and administrative employees of PFA. Along with the interviews, policy documents and annual reports were also analyzed to determine the extent to which the NPM features are adopted to fix the problems of traditional government enterprises. The annual progress reports of Punjab Food Authority and several PFA regulations were thoroughly studied and analyzed such as Punjab pure food regulations, The Punjab food authority destructing/discard/adulterated food regulations, Punjab Food Authority licensing and registration regulations, Punjab food improvement notice prohibition order and emergency prohibition orders regulations, Punjab educational institutions food standard regulations, Punjab Food Authority appointment and conditions of service regulations, the Punjab Food Authority disposal of dead animal regulations, sealing and de-sealing of food business premises regulations and the Punjab Food Authority disposal of waste cooking oil regulations. The statistical data from these reports showed as PFA has widened its functioning activities, moved from manual to IT computerized system, improved the compliant

system, increased the number of food safety officers and teams and made the system more transparent, there has been prominent change in performance.¹⁰ The employees interviewed were asked to thoroughly explain the working activities and functioning of their particular wing. Specific observations were made on whether the policies and regulations led to better performance results or not including changes in the internal structure like the recruitment of more skilled workers, an increased use of information technology, promoting contract based workers, adopting a less centralized system, exercising flexibility and accountability, and reducing the size of government interference. Also all this data was compared with the functioning of previous food safety regulations systems.

SEPARATION OF POLITICS FROM ADMINISTRATION

Separation of politics from administration is an important feature of NPM. It plays a big role in effective and efficient performance of public enterprises. The common thought is that politics threaten the efficiency of the administration through the control of administration of public services. The way employees of any public enterprise are selected, appointed, trained, promoted and rewarded affects their motivation and productivity and this should be independent of any political pressures. This is why the interaction between politics and administration has been controversial. The result from the interviews conducted at PFA show that 75% of employees believe that PFA is working without any political pressure and influence; while 10% of them believe there to be political pressure and 15% of them were indifferent. Most of the officers including the director general showed confidence that PFA works without pressure from politics.

The Director General of PFA stated *“There is no influence of political agendas on the activities of PFA. Government already exercised its power of regulating food by making the authority. Chairman of authority is appointed by the government, members of the authority are notified for 3 years by the government and budget is allocated by the government but all the regulatory and technical actions we take have no*

⁹ Punjab Food Authority, “Standard operating procedures inspections and sampling”, Lahore: Directorate of Public relations and Awareness, 2018

¹⁰ Ifrah, Khalid, “Effectiveness and Efficiency in Service Delivery; Introducing New Public Management in Punjab Food Authority”, (Unpublished M Phil Thesis; Center for Public Policy and Governance, FCCU, 2019.

interference by the government at all. Government is a facilitator but not at all interfaces with the working of authority. And this is the reason for the success of the authority that no external factors have intervened and all appreciate the working of PFA.”¹¹

It was inquired from Directors of various departments of PFA¹² and employees of PFA specifically from food safety team, food licensing team¹³ and samples testing team that how they deal with the interferences. It was told that from the Policy making side there is definitely pressure from influential figures and it is specifically difficult in developing countries like Pakistan. But keeping in mind why the PFA was developed in the first place, to overcome problems of the pervious food safety system, all the major regulations for food safety are made and formulated by scientific panel that includes members from other departments of Punjab as well. So it is not possible for one person or few members (bureaucrats) to influence the regulations that are made. Punjab government only provides the funds required by Punjab Food authority. Also international standards are followed which is difficult for personnel in any panel to negate. And from the implementation side, any threats and bribes are dealt with, because the process of implementation is decentralized. ¹⁴All departments of Punjab Food Authority have different activities and functions that they deal with and are often interlinked with other departments, so it is very hard to give in to any sort of interference.

TRANSPARENCY AND ACCOUNTABILITY

Accountability and transparency are important characteristics of NPM. Public accountability is a sign of democracies in modern nations. Because people have the “right to know the facts” about the public enterprises that are made for their welfare. For effective and efficient functioning of public enterprises power holders and their policies and decisions should be accountable. The result from the interviews conducted at PFA showed that 70% of employees believe there to be accountability. The Director General PFA stated that “PFA is completely transparent and there is

accountability. All the raids and the performance of the safety teams are monitored. The data of the food operators and their activities are monitored. This is a strong reason why the food safety officers work effectively. The complete process from conducting inspections and issuing licenses is updated and uploaded on the PFA database.”¹⁵

According to the officers interviewed there is no chance of misled or forged information because every activity is reported via PFA application and on computer systems. Technology is also playing a big role in ensuring transparent activities. Through computerized databases all records are stored and updated. There is proof for every inspection and raid according to the officers. Because all the actions are taken based on the regulations, there is legal proof of all the functions performed at the PFA. All the records of raids, sampling, licensing are shown in the reports. The result from the interviews conducted at PFA showed 95% of the employees believe that PFA is working transparently.

PERFORMANCE MEASUREMENT

To identify the levels of success of the process and the policies it is important to measure performance. Performance auditing or performance measurement is necessary for checking the performance of the employees and power holders and also the overall impact of policies and plans. The result from the interviews conducted at PFA showed that 95% of employees believe that PFA has a proper mechanism for performance measurement. PFA has different ways of checking the performance of the employees and performance of overall working of the PFA¹⁶. Director General PFA stated “*There are different ways of performance measurement. There are internal checks by PFA as well as auditing by the government. Summaries of performances and activities of employees are uploaded in the system. Performance sheets of employees are prepared and updated time-to-time. The entire Assistant Directors’ report to Deputy Directors and Deputy Directors report back the Director General.*

¹¹ Interview by the author, Director General PFA, June, 15, 2019.

¹² Ifrah, Khalid, Unpublished MPhil Thesis (2019)

¹³ Interview by the author, Assistant director licensing, April, 29, 2019

¹⁴ “A brief on Punjab food authority”, Punjab food authority, (September 2016-april 2018)

¹⁵ Interview by the author, Director General PFA, June, 15, 2019.

¹⁶ Interview conducted by the author, Punjab food authority headquarter, June, 15, 2019.

*All the departments interact with each other regarding any activity so all the wings work as a team. No individual is allowed to take action alone*¹⁷

When there is transparency, accountability and performance auditing on regular basis, the performance tends to improve. When the officers know they will be audited and their performance will be measured they will work efficiently. Also when the renewal of contracts are based on performance, there is efficiency in service delivery. The reason for better delivery of services from PFA is due to these features. The implementation of food safety regulations in Punjab is better than ever due to the focus on implantation of regulations.

USE OF INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY

NPM stresses that public enterprises should install information technology because it can be very useful in enhancing the administration and management capacity of the team. The PFA has started using advance technology as well for instance the PFA's IT and monitoring wing developed a centralized system for all the departments and built the PFA official App system to mechanize the procedure of food license issuance and their renewal all over Punjab. Moreover, there is a centralized database of licensing framework for the 36 districts of Punjab and a centralized food license certificate printing facility with a banking platform in order to monitor financial transactions related to licensing fee. A medical screening system is developed by IT and monitoring to cover the procedure of medical labs. Areas include registration, reserving for screening, booking and arrangement, *e-challan* of medical tests and pass/fail certificate.¹⁸ PFA has been using e-licensing and geo-tagging of premises with linkages for operation teams. A mobile based application for geo-tagging the locations of FSO visiting food premises for inspections. This tagging will ensure the exact statistic to the departmental head with respect to number of visits of field team. Centralized system keeps detailed records of inspections and reports in real time, with the added option of photo, video or audio data, which improved the

speed, quality and accuracy of reporting. Also there is live monitoring, tracking of entire PFA vehicles. The usage of all these latest technologies and information technology has good impact on the working and performance of PFA.¹⁹ Additionally, the result from the interviews conducted at PFA showed that 95% of the employees stated that IT system has replaced manual system and it is more advance in nature.

FLEXIBILITY

An important feature of NPM is flexibility in regulations and planning cycle. Policies that are implemented in a fixed manner from a long period of time become obsolete. The policies and plans needs to keep changing with the changing nature of problems. But flexibility in regulations doesn't mean flexibility in implementation. The regulations should be strictly followed and no compromises should be made on policy implementation. The result from the interviews conducted at PFA showed that 67% of the employees believe that PFA policies have flexibility while 33% of them stated them to be inflexible.

The Director General stated that "Some changes are made in policies with respect to time and the changing nature or changing circumstances but there is no way that there is any flexibility in the way these policies are implemented. There is strictness in implementing the policies." Another officer stated "fines are imposed according to the business circumstances of the food operators. Sometimes the poor shopkeepers or small business operators are compensated on fine because of their inability to pay much."²⁰ In traditional food safety regulating committees once the fine was issued and the food operators was sent summon by the court it was impossible to change or compensate the amount of the fine imposed. Flexibility in implementing the regulations made PFA more efficient. Hence the performance also improved.

The result from the interviews conducted at PFA showed 80% employees believe that PFA is working effectively and efficiently, while the 20% of them

¹⁷ Interview by the author ,Captain (R) Muhammad Usman Younis,June,10, 2019

¹⁸ Interview by the author, Public analyst technical wing PFA, May 7, 2019.

¹⁹ Progress report Punjab food authority, Directorate of public relations and awareness PFA, Lahore.

²⁰ Ifrah. Khalid, Unpublished MPhil Thesis (2019).

were indifferent. Discussing the interviews conducted at PFA it should be taken into account that employees considered efficiency as quickness of response and action on the reports and complaints from the masses. On the other hand the some employees considered the expansion of the network of PFA as sign of efficiency.

CONCLUSION

This research has highlighted that the way Punjab Food Authority (PFA) has been working in Punjab indicates the adaptation of new public management reforms in their daily functioning to ensure that food is safe. Major intervention has been implementation of New Public Management (NPM) reforms dressed as “Punjab Model of New Public Management” that has improved performance and increased efficiency of PFA. The study showed that PFA is an expression of NPM because its structure is made on the private sector management reforms that NPM suggests.

A leading exponent of NPM reforms, Christopher Hood claimed that NPM is a management for all seasons. However, this study on PFA reveals that not all elements and characteristics of NPM are adoptable or implementable in the public sectors.²¹ Only the elements those are compatible with the system and structure of the public sectors can be implemented

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

“A brief on Punjab Food Authority, 2016 -2018” PFA

Adiah Afraz. “Cheering for the PFA”. THE NEWS. August 2015. Accessed August 21, 2019. <https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/55743-cheering-for-the-punjab-food-authority>

Asif, Rehman, and Mamoon Dawood. “Does NPM Practices Lead to Effective Public Welfare Responses in Pakistan?” (2017).

Arfeen, M. Irfanullah, and Nawar Khan. “Public sector

but it is still not guaranteed that all the implemented characteristics will improve performance equally. The data collected from the PFA and the interviews conducted unveiled that some characteristics impacted the performance and increased efficiency more than others. The characteristics that are taken as indicators of performance in this PFA study are transparency and accountability, separation of politics from administration, flexibility, use of information technology and performance management.

PFA breaks the myth of poor performance by government department in many ways, mostly due to PFAs quick responsiveness on complaints and quick operations against the food operators. But still there needs more focus in some areas. More flexibility in policy making is required by the policy makers of PFA. Some regulations need time for the food operators to adjust and cannot be implemented immediately. Also, PFA needs to make food safety standards and regulations more effective by communicating with food operators. If the food operators are taken into confidence before making regulations better implementation on the regulations will occur.

innovation: Case study of e-government projects in Pakistan.” *The Pakistan Development Review* 48, no. 4-II (2009): pp-439.

Bernard Oloo, Lanoi daisy and Ruth Oniango. “Food safety legislation in some developing countries” July 11, 2018.

“Communication strategy for food safety and quality.” Directorate of public relations and awareness. PFA.

Du, Juan. “Tale of two countries: NPM reforms in Universities in the UK and China.” (2007).

²¹ Christopher Hood, “A public management for all seasons?”, (*Public administration* 69, no. 1 (1991), 3-19.

- Dunleavy, Patrick, and Christopher Hood. "From old public administration to NPM." *Public money & management* 14, no. 3 (1994): 9-16.
- Development. Public Management Service. *Governance in transition: public management reforms in OECD countries*. Organization for Economic, 1995.
- Dunleavy, Patrick, Helen Margetts, Simon Bastow, and Jane Tinkler. "NPM is dead—long live digital-era governance." *Journal of public administration research and theory* 16, no. 3 (2006): 467-494.
- Elias Sarker, Abu. "NPM in developing countries: An analysis of success and failure with particular reference to Singapore and Bangladesh." *International Journal of Public Sector Management* 19, no. 2 (2006): 180-203.
- Farooq, Mahnoor, Nasira Jabeen, Aisha Rizwan, and Yaamina Salman. "Autonomy of HR Practices in Pakistan: A Study of Provincial Autonomous Bodies." *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan* 55, no. 1 (2018).
- "Final report of the task force on food security", PFA 2009
- Gaffey, M., Q. Baloch, M. Rana, M. Swor, A. Nyaku, H. Conolly, S. Horton, and Z. A. Bhutta. "Pakistan food fortification scoping study." Washington, DC: PATH (2014).
- Hanif, Hafsa Muhammad. "Status and Implementation of National Food Safety Guidelines in Pakistan." *EDITORIAL BOARD* (2010): 119.
- Hutter, Bridget M., and Tola Amodu. "Risk regulation and compliance: Food safety in the UK." London: The London School of Economics and Political Science (2008). Mansoor Ahmed, "Quality of standards", *The News*, October 2017. Accessed august 21, 2019. <https://www.thenew.com.pk/magazine/money-matters/237179-Quality-of-standards>
- Naveed, Shabana, and Muhammad Zafar Iqbal Jadoon. "HRM in Public Enterprises in Pakistan." (2012).
- "Punjab Pure Food Regulations 2018." directorate of technical and legal wing PFA.
- "Punjab Food Authority Act, 2011"
- "Punjab Foodstuff Control Act, 1958"
- "Pakistan Standard and Quality Control Authority Act, 1996"
- "Standard operating procedures inspections and sampling." Directorate of public relations and awareness, PFA.
- Wallis, Joe, and Brian Dollery. "Government failure, social capital and the appropriateness of the New Zealand model for public sector reform in developing countries." *World Development* 29, no. 2 (2001): 245-263.
- Wang, Hong-chang, Jing-hua Xiao, Kang Xie, and Jia-pei WU. "Food safety governance—a study combining information technology and institutional arrangement." *China Industrial Economics* 3 (2013).
- Zia, Yorid Ahsan, and M. Zeb Khan. "Drivers of public sector reforms in Pakistan: A comparison of NPM with alternative reform drivers." *Dialogue* 8, no. 4 (2013): 453.

Institutional Design of Local Governments in Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa; a Comparative Perspective

Muhammad Asad Chaudhary¹

Significance of the local governments in the ongoing federalization process is a central public policy concern in Pakistan. A new regime of participatory federalism was enshrined in the 18th Constitutional Amendment. Resultantly, legislation on the subject of local governments became a constitutional obligation of provincial governments. Historically, for the first time democratically elected provincial leaders enacted their own local government laws. This study tries to explain the differences in the institutional design of the local government systems of 2013 in the Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa provinces in Pakistan.

It is a comparative political study of the institutional designs of devolution schemes in each province. Four features of institutional designs are identified; a) Political Inclusiveness, b) Political Autonomy, c) Financial Autonomy and Fiscal Discipline and d) Accountability Mechanisms. Ten public policy indicators based on above mentioned four features are considered for this comparison: first, the significance of local governments in redefining state-society relationship. Second, the role of local governments in acting as the administrative arm of the state, at community level. Third, the impact of local governments system of 2013 on improvement of public service provision at community level. Fourth, current status of intergovernmental (provincial-local governments) relationship particularly in term of procedures and authorities. Fifth, the asymmetry of relationship between the democratically elected public representatives and bureaucratic officials. Sixth, the relationship between public representatives of provincial government and local government. Seventh, difference between the current and previous local government systems. Eighth, systemic flaws in the institutional design of local governments that hampers the local governments' effectiveness. Ninth, the role of local governments in the political democratization of the studied localities. Finally, the contribution of local

governments in consolidating the federalization process at the gross-root level in the studied localities.

This research is significant on the following four accounts: first how each political party, Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz PML- (N) in Punjab, sets legislative agenda for local governments? Second, it identifies the policy designs used in each devolution scheme for promoting democratic consolidation. Third, are these local government systems contributing in consolidation of the post 18th Amendment federalization process in Pakistan? Finally, this is helpful to advance the policy scholarship on strengthening local government systems in Pakistan.

The research methodology used for this comparison is combination of both primary and secondary research methods. This research has analyzed local government laws of 2013, and in year 2018-19 the author-conducted interviews in both provinces².

Constitutional basis of local government system in Pakistan

Historically, limited constitutional support has been extended to local governments as the third tier of government in the Pakistani federation³. Constitutionally, Pakistan was a two-level federation state because the local governments were not recognized as a tier of federation by the Constitution of 1973. The local governments were a provincial subject under the 1973 Constitution, but had no protection as government body in their own right. Due to this lacuna, it was constitutionally permissible for the provincial governments to disband local governments at will. Since the promulgation of the 18th Constitutional Amendment in 2010 however, the legal status of local governments has altered significantly, now it is third tier of the Constitution. Clause 1 of Article 140(A) of the Constitution clearly upholds, "Each Province shall, by law, establish a local government system and devolve political, administrative, and financial responsibility and authority to the elected representatives of the local governments." Clause 2 added, "Election to the local governments shall be held by the Election Commission of Pakistan." Consequent-

¹ Muhammad Asad Chaudhary is an alumnus of the Centre for Public Policy and Governance at Forman Christian College

² Muhammad Asad Chaudhary, "Analytical comparison of the institutional design of local governments in Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa; As per Local Governments Act 2013 of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Local Governments Act 2013 of Punjab": Lahore, Centre for Public Policy and Governance, 2017.

³ Abid Ghafoor Chaudhary, Aftab Ahmad and Haris Farooq, "Devolution: A Case of Federalization in Pakistan," European Academic Research, Vol II, Issue 4, July 2014.

ly, strong support, credible recognition and protection to local governments have been ensured in the Constitution of Pakistan⁴.

Comparative Perspective of Institutional Design of Local Governments in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Punjab

A. Political Inclusiveness

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

- Institutional design under Local Government Act (LGA) 2013 KP indicates a high level of inclusiveness for an increasingly diverse and rapidly growing population in the province. A three-tiered structure of local government i.e. Village Council/Neighborhood Council, Tehsil Council and District Council were instituted. Evidence collected shows that there was City District Government in Peshawar, which is comprised of four Town Municipal Administrations. There were 3501 village and neighborhood councils in the 24 districts of province⁵. Each village council, on average, comprises of five to ten members depending on the size of population in the area. In addition to the general seats in each council there are two reserve seats for women, one for peasant and laborer, one for youth and one for the non-Muslims.
- Institutional design under LGA 2013 ensured elections for district councilor, tehsil councilor and general councilors including village council chairman and vice-chairman as independent candidates. The elections of district and tehsil councils are held on party basis. The elections of village and neighborhood councils are held on non-party basis to maintain neutrality in managing affairs at the lowest level of administration.
- Institutional design under LGA 2013 KP encourages citizen engagement and active participation by general public in order to improve the state-society relationship. Evidence collected in the Union Council of Tahkal Bala (UC-40) in Peshawar for example proved funds are reallocated from municipal services on demands of the youth of the area towards the construction of a play-ground/volleyball ground in the village⁶. Similarly, it is reported from the Town Municipal Administration 3 Peshawar verified two facts, firstly communities'

involvement in political decision-making and secondly, people increased engagement with the state institutions ensures democratic values in political system and improvement in state responsiveness.

- The LGA 2013 KP is also more inclusive than Local government ordinance (LGO) 2001. An additional tier of village/neighborhood council is instituted under LGA 2013 KP and unlike in the LGO 2001, seats for the youth councilors are reserved.
- LGA 2013 of KP also aims to encourage marginalized communities to *actively participate in decision making* to raise their voices against the injustices and deprivation they face. The reserved seats for women are 33% of the general seats, and reserved seats for each category of peasants, laborer, youth and non-Muslims are 5% of the general seats.

Punjab

- Institutional design of local governments under LGA 2013 of Punjab in comparison indicates a lower *level of inclusiveness* for an increasingly diverse and growing local population. A two-tiered structure of local government in Punjab is instituted. First tier is a union council, which is divided into six wards as a basic unit across province. The second tier is the district government. Notably, the tier of village/neighborhood council is non-existent in Punjab. The district government was comprised of a district council in districts that classified as 'rural'. The district government was comprised of a municipal committee in the district with urban features having population about thirty thousand. The district government was comprised of a municipal corporation in the district with the population of five hundred thousand. Union council (UC) was comprised of total thirteen representatives as per the following details; directly elected chairman and vice chairman but as joint candidates, six general councilors one from the each wards of the UC, two women members indirectly elected, one peasant/worker member indirectly elected, one youth member indirectly elected, and one non-Muslim member indirectly elected. Evidence collected showed that there are thirty-five district councils and eleven municipal corporations

⁴ Saeed Shafiqat, "Local Government Acts 2013 and Province-Local Government Relations."

⁵ Faisal Buzdar. "Strengthening Local Governments in Pakistan: A Case for Constitutionally-Mandated Electoral Timeframes." Islamabad: AAWAZ, 2015.

⁶ Muhammad Asad Chaudhary, "Analytical comparison of the institutional design of local governments in Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa; As per Local Governments Act 2013 of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Local Governments Act 2013 of Punjab": Lahore, (Centre for Public Policy and Governance, 2017), p.117

along with a Lahore Metropolitan Corporation in the province. Lahore Metropolitan Corporation is comprised of 274 union councils and a Lord Mayor who is assisted by 9 Deputy Mayors heads it. Institutional design under LGA 2013 ensured the elections of chairman and vice-chairman of union council as a joint candidate. The local government elections are conducted on party basis.

- Institutional design under LGA 2013 Punjab encourages citizen engagement and active participation by general public so it helped in improving state-society relationship. Evidence collected in for example Union Council (UC-160) Nizamabad, in Lahore shows that there was reprioritization in preferences in municipal services on the involvement of elected local councilors⁷. Elected members preferred repair and maintenance related interventions for the improvements in municipal services particularly solid waste management over local infrastructure development keeping in view the people's priorities.
- Institutional design under LGA 2013 Punjab as compared to LGO 2001 under Musharraf's regime is less inclusive. Under LGO 2001, unlike LGA 2013 Punjab, respondents from a survey believed each union council was an open constituency and it was not divided into wards which has broadened the choices of people and empowered them to makes alliances as per their political preferences which paved the culture of political competition. Respondents believed that institutional design under LGA 2013 Punjab has constrained the political choices of people.
- Respondents from the primary research conducted for this study believed that the institutional design under LGA 2013 Punjab undermines the real political value of marginalized segments of society. Indirect elections on reserve seats of lady councilors, peasant and workers councilors, youth councilors, and minority councilors were conducted. It was observed that political worth and political opinion of indirectly represented groups are undermined due to the dependence of indirectly elected members on the discretion of relatively privileged directly elected members which hampers the democratic quality. Another structural flaw in the institutional design is affiliated with the composition of union councils, which is divided into six

wards. Every ward representative wanted to elect the indirectly elected member from his or her respective wards, which do not ensure election, based on merit or community representation.

B. Political autonomy Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

- Research conducted indicates that there is significant room for improvement in the degree of political autonomy of local governments under LGA 2013 of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. This is particularly important at a time when there is immense burden on the state to deliver quality public services to a large and underserved population. The reason identified is the presence of parallel working bodies under direct control of provincial secretariat, which perform the functions that are constitutionally the responsibilities of local governments. Data collected revealed two significant facts;
 - Government of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, from 2014 onwards, has established parallel bodies (Water and Sanitation Services Companies) in all divisional headquarters of province under section 42 of Companies Ordinance 1984 as corporate utility companies. These companies are responsible for performing municipal duties e.g. delivering services related to water supply, sanitation & water-waste management, solid waste management, fumigation and spray. All these services are taken from Tehsil Municipal Administrations and Public Health Engineering Department. The chief executives who head these seven companies, directly reports to the Secretary for Local Government and Rural Development. Consequently, the services, which were previously delivered by the local government, are now under the control of the provincial government of KP.
 - Local Development Authorities which are principally performing municipal functions like Peshawar Development Authority and Galiyat Development Authority etc. are directly under the control of provincial governments and are headed by a senior bureaucrat whereas Municipal Corporation is separately working in relatively weaker and poorer localities of cities.

⁷"Ibid"

- It is identified in this research that under institutional design of local government there are arbitrary interferences and overlapping jurisdictions in the local government affairs district and provincial bureaucracy, MNAs and MPAs. This is due to flaws in institutional and legal arrangements of the system. For example, the failure to disband the District Advisory Development Committee, which is comprised of the all MPAs of that district, is a major problem. The local government heads are only co-opted members of this committee and don't have a right to vote so they don't have an effective say in recommendations for district developmental priorities. Evidence demonstrates that the district bureaucracy is more powerful than their politically elected counterparts⁸. In the studied locality Town 3 of Peshawar two observations strengthen this understanding;
 - Differences over collection of Immovable Property Taxes between local government of Town 3 in Peshawar and provincial excise department are noticed. Local government considers these taxes as its major source of tax collection. Likewise, undue interventions in jurisdiction of Nazim in Town 3 Peshawar by DC office regarding tax collections are also reported.
 - Second, in the same Town 3 in Peshawar, a few undesired transfers of staff against the will of the elected Nazim hampered a smooth working environment. The staff transferred belonged to Provincial Unified Group of Functionaries, which is controlled by the provincial secretariat.
 - Degree of political autonomy of local government under LGA 2013 of KP as compared to LGO 2001 of Musharraf's regime is relatively weaker and the powers of district bureaucracy are not curtailed, rather the district bureaucracy is relatively more powerful. According to LGO 2001 during Musharraf's regime, districts were compact administrative units and their entire political and administrative powers resided in the office of District Nazim, which ensured effectiveness of local government system during that regime. At present, the executive powers at local level are vested with the office of deputy commissioners who are agents of the Chief Secretary in KP and powers of local government are limited in their scale and scope.
- Punjab**
- Research conducted indicates that there is considerable room for the improvement in the degree of political autonomy of local governments under LGA 2013 of Punjab. Similarly, in KPK, parallel official bodies under direct control of provincial government are instituted to perform the functions, which are constitutionally the responsibilities of local governments. Some examples are given below:
- All major municipal services providers i.e. WASA are operating under the direct control of the province instead of the local government;
 - District Health and District Education Authorities are established which operates under the leadership of a Chief Executive (at least BPS-18 officer) and local government representative have no effective role in these authorities rather they act as only members of these authorities;
 - All land, developmental, environmental, and spatial, transport, and traffic planning functions are assigned to Lahore Development Authority in Lahore which, should be responsibility of Metropolitan Corporation of Lahore.
 - It is reported that in Punjab the district bureaucracy is more powerful than their politically elected counterparts. Despite of the establishment of the local government under LGA 2013 the focus of power at local level is still in the office of Deputy Commissioner.
 - Undesirable interventions; As per evidence collected, regular interventions by MNAs and MPAs in allocation of local development fund for municipal services are reported in most of areas studied in this research which includes UC-114 Johar Town and UC-160 Nazimabad in Lahore. Respondents from surveys conducted reported in studied localities that Chief Minister's offices is extending support and legitimacy to these illegal political interventions to maintain their control in the constituency.
 - The evidence in this research shows that the degree of political autonomy under institutional

⁸ "Ibid"

design of local government as per LGA 2013 is relatively weaker and ineffective as compared to 2001 of Musharraf's regime. Under the LGO 2001, districts were powerful administrative units and District Nazim had all the political and administrative powers, which ensured effectiveness of local government system during that regime. According to LGA 2013, the executive powers at local level are vested with the district bureaucracy.

C. Financial Autonomy and Fiscal discipline

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

- Research conducted during the course of this study reveals that intergovernmental fiscal transfers are not equitable and there are delays with release of funds. As per LGA KP 2103, 30% of developmental funds must be allocated through the local government but data collected showed that in the fiscal year 2017-18, only Rs.3.25 billion (which is 26% of the developmental fund) was allocated to local governments in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa⁹. It is reported that;
 - The home district of Chief Minister of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa has been given the budget amounting Rs.5.47 billion or 2.63 per cent of the total development budget of Rs.208 billion in fiscal year 2017-18;
 - The total budget allocated to seven chronically poor southern districts namely Bannu, Dera Ismail Khan, Hangu, Karak, Kohat, Lakki Marwat and Tank is Rs.6.86 billion (3.30 per cent of total development) in fiscal year 2017-18.
- It is evident from the research done that the local government's percentage of own source funds are low and they are highly dependent on the provincial transfers decided by the Provincial Finance Commission. Even in the very stable, highly urban and well-functioning local government of Town 3 has almost 20% as its own source revenue and for the remaining 80% depends on the provincial transfer. The situation is even more vulnerable in districts like Tank, Battagram, and Buner where local governments have negligible own source revenue.

Punjab

- Based on the research conducted, it is observed that the intergovernmental fiscal transfers are not equitable and are based on partiality and biases, particularly towards opposition party's local governments in the province. In UC-114 Johar Town Lahore there are skewed distributions in local development funds. Local development funds were allocated to the members of wards who are from the ruling party in the province without any consent from the respective chairman and vice-chairman, which belongs to the opposition party in the province. A respondent who was a responsible government official reported that, during the fiscal year 2016-17, an amount of Rs.4500 million and during fiscal year 2017-18 an amount of Rs.2200 million were allocated to local governments.. Similarly, own source revenue of local governments in the entire province is weak even in capital city of Lahore. The reasons identified are taxes of local government like property tax is collected by provincial Excise and Taxation Department and these taxes are deposited in the account of the provincial government.

D. Accountability

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

- According to research conducted, LGA 2013 of KP ensures internal mechanism of accountability through establishment of Local Government Commission, which is comprised of MPAs, technocrats and provincial secretaries. Local Government Commission is empowered to conduct annual and special inspections of local government and submit its report to the provincial government. The Chief Minister holds powers to suspend the head and any member of local government. Such powers are assigned to executive head of the provincial government in LGA 2013 of KP. An important finding of this research is; that LGA 2013 KP does not ensure an open, transparent and credible system for the accountability of local governments.

Punjab

- The LGA 2013 of Punjab ensures internal mechanism of accountability, which empowers officials of provincial

⁹ "Ibid"

government to evaluate members of local government through the establishment of Punjab Local Government Commission. This commission is empowered to conduct inspections; inquiries, social and performance audit of local governments on annual and special basis and submit the inspection report to the provincial government. Punjab Local Government Commission also has the powers of the civil courts under the Codes of Civil Procedures 1908 to make the system of internal accountability effective. As per law, the provincial government is authorized to take any action, which even includes removal of heads and members of local government, on the recommendation of the Punjab Local Government Commission. This research shows that the case of LGA 2013 Punjab is no different from KP, as it does not ensure an open, transparent and credible system of accountability of local governments.

Conclusion

This research shows that the 18th Amendment has given the provinces considerable autonomy to design their local governments according to their own political imperatives. The cases of KP and Punjab reveal that each province and its ruling political party has installed a completely altered local government system as per political considerations and preferences. Each devolution scheme ensured enlargements of people democratic choices in a different manner. The institutional design of local government manifested different political approaches and democratic orientation of two largest political parties PTI in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and PML (N) in Punjab. The institutional design of local government in both provinces are largely different in terms of political inclusiveness and fiscal autonomy but there is a considerable similarity identified in terms of political autonomy and mechanisms of accountability. Khyber Pakhtunkhwa's devolution scheme is more open and politically inclusive than the Punjab devolution scheme. Political autonomy of local governments is compromised and subordination of the elected local representatives to the unelected public official is reported in both provinces. In Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, as compared to Punjab, a relatively higher degree of political autonomy of local governments is visible. In both provinces, the financial autonomy and fiscal discipline is weak.

Policy Recommendations

To ensure and safeguard political inclusiveness, this study makes three policy recommendations:

- First, the continuity of the existing devolution model in KP without introduction of any major modification.
- Second, in Punjab two transferable features of institutional design from KP's devolution model are already adopted; a) the establishment of village/neighborhood council tier and b) direct elections of marginalized segments.
- Third, in Punjab, to smoothen the implementation process of current devolution plan LGA 2019 with new feature, policy lessons from the experiences of KP could be internalized.

To ensure the political autonomy of local governments in both provinces, the following is recommended:

- First, for smooth functioning and delivery of services, co-ordination and integration of all relevant services be under the local government.
- Second, urgently ensure elimination of the overlapping jurisdictions of different agencies and departments in the affairs of local government.
- Third, clear procedure and legislative provisions need to put in place to discourage undue interferences by MPAs, MNAs and district bureaucracy in affairs of local governments.

To ensure financial autonomy and strengthen fiscal discipline of local governments in both provinces the study further recommends:

- First, strengthen fiscal discipline; enhance collection of fees, taxes against municipal services.
- Second, provincial governments must ensure the observance of Provincial Finance Commission (PFC) awards for equitable distribution of funds among districts in both provinces.
- Third, procedures for intra-district distribution of funds should be adopted with political consensus among elected local governments' representatives.

Finally, to ensure the transparency and inclusiveness in the accountability mechanisms:

- First, it is recommended that legal provisions should be enacted to empower provincial assemblies to examine the findings and decisions of Local Government

Commission for improving the existing mechanisms of accountability.

- Second, Chief Minister's powers to dismiss the elected local governments must be reviewed.

References

- Manor, Richard Crook & James. 2000. "Democratic Decentralization." *Democratic Decentralization*. World Bank Operation Evaluation Department .
- Ahsan, Aitzaz. *The Indus Saga and the Making of Pakistan*. Lahore: Nehr Ghar Publications, 2001.
- Azhar, Muhammad Salman. "Decentralization Reforms in Pakistan During Ayub and Zia Era." *Journal of Public Administration and Governance*, Issue 2, no 1, 2012.
- Buzdar, Faisal. "Strengthening Local Governments in Pakistan: A Case for Constitutionally-Mandated Electoral Timeframes." Islamabad: AAWAZ, 2015.
- Royal Government of Cambodia. *Government of. Strategic Framework for Decentralization and De-Concentration Reforms*. Unofficial Translation. Phnom Penh, 2005.
- Crook, Richard and James Manor. *Democracy and Decentralisation in South Asia and West Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- DTT (Decentralization Thematic Team). "Public Sector Governance." 2001. Online <https://www1.worldbank.org/publicsector/decentralization/what.htm> (accessed July 24, 2017).
- Hussain, Ejaz. "Federalism: Challenges and Options for Pakistan." *Daily Times*, March 14, 2014.
- ICG (International Crisis Group). "Devolution in Pakistan: Reform or Regression?" *ICG Asia Report*. No. 77. Islamabad/Brussels: 2004.
- Crook, Richard and James Manor. "Democratic Decentralization." World Bank Operation Evaluation Department , 2000.
- Edwards, Michael and David Hulme. *Too Close for Comfort? NGOs, States and Donors*. Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2013.
- Morell, Merilio. *FAO Experience in Decentralization in the Forest Sector*. FAO, 2004.
- The Dawn. "Delay in local government elections irks Supreme Court." February 13, 2015. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1163265> (accessed Sep 13, 2018).
- The News. "CM Murad Says Roll Back of 18th Amendment to be Resisted." September 11, 2018. <https://www.thenews.com.pk/latest/367151-cm-murad-says-roll-back-of-18th-amendment-to-be-resisted> (accessed Sep 13, 2018).
- Niaz, Ilhan. "A Survey of Proprietorship, Continental Bureaucratic Empires, and the Culture of Power, in South Asian History." *The Pakistan Development Review*, 2006: 327-339.
- Panday, Pranab Kumar . "Local Government System in Bangladesh: How Far is it Decentralised?" *Journal of Local Self Government* vol 9, no 3, 2011: 205 - 230.
- Panizza, Roberta. *The principle of subsidiarity*. European Parliament, July 2008. <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/factsheets/en/sheet/7/the-principle-of-subsidiarity> (accessed Sep 13, 2018).
- Rondinell, Dennis. "Government Decentralization in Comparative Perspective: Theory and Practice in Developing Countries." *International Review of Administrative Science* vol. 47, no. 2, 1981: 133-45.
- Saleem, Raja M.Ali. "Special parliamentary committee on constitutional reforms and the concurrent list." Islamabad: Forum of Federations, January 2010.
- Sayer, Jeffrey, C. Elliott, E. Barrow, S. Gretzinger, S. Maginnis, T. McShane and G. Shepherd. "The Implications for Biodiversity Conservation of Decentralized Forest Resources Management." Paper prepared on behalf of IUCN and WWF for the UNFF Inter-sessional workshop on Decentralisation, Interlaken, Switzerland, May 2004.
- Shafqat, Saeed. "Local Government Acts 2013 and Province-Local Government Relations." *Pakistan Development Advocate* vol. 1, Issue 1. Islamabad: UNDP Pakistan, 2014.
- Shurkin, Michael. *Subnational Government in Afghanistan*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2011.
- UNDP. *Strengthening Participatory Federalism and Decentralization*. Islamabad: UNDP Pakistan, 2013.
- Waseem, Muhammad. "Federalism in Pakistan." *Forum of Federations*, August 2010.

Dr. Rabia Akhtar: "Status of Archival Research in Pakistan: Strategic Studies and Beyond"

On the 1st of October 2019, the CPPG invited Dr. Rabia Akhtar to speak on the "Status of Archival Research in Pakistan: Strategic Studies and Beyond." Dr. Akhtar is Director, Centre for Security, Strategy and Policy Research, and Director School of Integrated Social Sciences at University of Lahore.



Dr. Akhtar is member Prime Minister's Advisory Council on Foreign Affairs, which was established in November 2018. The Advisory Council is made up of a 10 member advisory council composed of academics on a voluntary basis that meet in Islamabad on a monthly basis to analyze the direction of Pakistan's foreign policy. The Advisory Council is tasked to advise the Prime Minister on long-term foreign policy strategic goals.

Dr. Akhtar gave her talk on the process of conducting historical research in Pakistan particularly with reference to her book 'The Blind Eye: U.S. Non-proliferation Policy Towards Pakistan from Ford to Clinton', Dr. Akhtar commented that completing quality research in Pakistan especially at postgraduate level can be challenging. Her research focused on the lengths and limitations of conducting historical archival research in Pakistan, in comparison to the US. When exploring topics and historical policies such as that of US non-proliferation towards Pakistan from 1972-2001, archival data in Pakistan is largely missing or not accessible to a common person. US archives only show one side of the story, their side. Therefore an important chunk of our history is invariably shown and interpreted from an American perspective, us-

ing American resources.

There exist three main sources of archives in Pakistan: (1) The National Archives of Pakistan, in Lahore at the Punjab Civil Secretariat. This has extensive data on the affairs of the country post 1948, as well as data on the Sikh Empire of 1809, the 1857 revolution, Kashmir, British crown relations with Patiala, as well as scripts in Persian language. (2) The National Library of Pakistan in Islamabad houses microfilms and newspapers from the colonial period, as well as M. A. Siddiqui's Handbook on Archives at the N Block of the Secretariat. Unfortunately, the staff is often unwilling to help as data is largely scattered and personnel do not possess proper training of maintenance of resources and how to lead you to them. (3) National Documentation Center at the Cabinet Division houses data from 1974, but access is only provided to a limited number of high profile individuals and the security protocol is extremely high. Other than that, digitized data on colonial history can be found at the London University, UK.

Finding archival data in Pakistan, especially nuclear archives, is an extremely difficult task due to national security issues. Legal layers and complexities regarding national security hinder the citizen's right to free speech and right to information. There are four major limitations that hinder access to information including: Law of Defamation; what is considered National/ Official Secrets; Limitations on affairs of state (state and judiciary); and withholding information on national security grounds. Gaining access to Pakistan's archives is very difficult also because there is no process of de-classification. If such a process existed, whereby archives were filtered to allow the public to read through resources that did not fall under the above limitations, a more complete interpretation of a certain historical document would be possible. However since this is not the case, Dr. Akhtar showed concern that her research could be influenced by a single dimensional narrative on state affairs, especially on strategic nuclear matters among leaders such as Ford and Z. Bhutto. Such vital information means a huge deal to citizens, and the availability of such documents would provide a comparative narrative of what the media at the time revealed on the matter versus what was actually discussed by leaders in letters. Such disparity and contradiction poses a dichotomy to the researcher in terms of objectivity and

interpretation, but an original document like that would provide evidence that would speak for itself.

Access to archives is unavailable because evidence creates dents in state controlled narratives and real data could often be disturbing for the public to process as it may pose a threat to their nationalism and objectivity. For example, the state shies away to tell the public how effectively Pakistan leveraged the US during Bhutto's regime and the 1998 nuclear test. Dr. Akhtar contended that Pakistan should take credit for the process through which it became a nuclear-armed state despite its economic limitations. We are a small country but one that managed to achieve a lot within a very short time span. This should be celebrated and we need to stop playing the 'victim' card.



Similarly, due to fear of compromising national security, citizens are not told what Pakistan's evacuation zones are. This is information the public has right to access especially in the case that nuclear confrontation erupts. In absence of primary resources, secondary sources need to be considered, but their reliability and credibility must be questioned, including interpretations of biographies, autobiographies and works of other historians.

She was emphatic in highlighting the role of civil society in contributing towards promoting a culture of research. Dr. Akhtar argued that the civil society pressure groups could urge the foreign office to declassify certain documents on early history on formative relations and foreign affairs. The image of our country is tainted largely due to the state not sharing facts and not revealing its side of the story. This leads to foreign researchers writing about our history because we refuse to do so ourselves. We must

demand access to information and must help play a part in providing analysis that is factual and based on accurate data records. This can help us build a narrative where we own and celebrate our history.



Dr. Charles Ramsey: "US-China Trade War: Assessing the Trump Presidency"

On the 24th of October 2019, Dr. Charles Ramsey, Assistant Professor, Departments of History, Religion, and George W. Truett Theological Seminary, Baylor University – USA, and formerly, Assistant Professor of Religion and Public Policy at Forman Christian College (A Chartered University), spoke on the topic of "US-China Trade War: Assessing the Trump Presidency".



During his talk, Dr. Ramsey looked at the impact of the US-China Trade war on the global economy and the extent to which the trade war has affected China and the US local economies.

Dr. Ramsey explained that China is the world's largest exporter and the United States is the world's largest importer. They have so far been important pillars for the global economy. China has been called the workshop of the world since around 2001, when it became a member of the World Trade Organization (WTO). Analyzing the US-China Trade War, he argued a trade war happens when one country retaliates against another by raising import tariffs or placing other restrictions on the opposing country's exports. A trade deficit happens when a country's imports exceed the amounts of its exports. The Trump tariffs are a series of United States tariffs imposed during the presidency of Donald Trump as part of his "America First" economic policy to reduce the United States trade deficit by shifting American trade policy from multilateral free trade agreements to bilateral trade deals. Dr. Ramsey presented the three phases of tariffs. In January 2018, Trump imposed tariffs on solar panels and washing

machines of 30 to 50 %. In March 2018 he imposed tariffs on steel (25%) and aluminum (10%) from most countries, which covered an estimated 4.1 percent of U.S. imports.

On June 1, 2018, this was extended to the European Union, Canada, and Mexico. In separate moves, the Trump administration set and escalated tariffs on goods imported from China, leading to a trade war. On December, 2018, Donald Trump imposed tariffs on meat production. China has responded in a tit-for-tat manner by imposing similar levels of tariffs on US goods. Analysis indicates that the impact of the tariffs on the average US family from a higher income bracket is around an additional cost of \$600/year while for poorer families this is an additional \$200/year. According to Dr. Ramsey this difference is significant because the tariffs impact the rich and not the poor of the country and this could indicate Trump's acumen in carrying out economic policies.

Dr. Ramsey went on to say that trade wars, initiated by the United States, could do serious damage to the global economy as protectionist actions escalate internationally. Countries imposing tariffs and countries subject to tariffs would experience losses in economic welfare, while countries on the sidelines would experience collateral damage. If high tariffs remain in place, losses in economic output would be permanent, as distorted price signals would prevent the specialization that maximizes global productivity. He specified that trade wars are a side effect of protectionism, which are government actions and policies that restrict international trade. A country will generally undertake protectionist actions with the intent of shielding domestic businesses and jobs from foreign competition. Protectionism is also a method used to balance trade deficits.

Citing the book, *Fear: Trump in the White House* by American journalist Bob Woodward, Dr. Ramsey explained that many are overly suspicious about Trump's ability to run the US Economy and believe he lacks the focus to attend to his presidential duties. The term Fear effectively describes the events and incidents happening between Trump and the White House staff, which includes White House Chief of Staff John Kelly calling the president an "idiot" and the White House a "crazy town".

Dr. Ramsey stated that in the early days of the trade war,

Trump was advised against setting high tariff and many economic advisors argued against them. Xi Jinping and Trump were even able to come together and determine a review period in which they would renegotiate their trade situation. However Donald Trump's obsession with tariffs is based on one of his few core beliefs: winning. He thinks like a capitalist and will readily pursue confrontation to achieve his final objectives. This contrasts significantly from President Obama's approach that was more of a consensus builder. Nonetheless, triggering a trade war between the world's two biggest economies represents a huge gamble.



Mr. Yusuke Shindo: Japanese Culture and Education

The CPPG, in collaboration with the Pakistan Japan Cultural Association, organized a seminar on "Japanese Culture and Education" on the 25th of January 2019. His Excellency Mr. Yusuke Shindo was the guest speaker. Mr. Shindo is a senior diplomat from the Foreign Service of Japan and is currently posted as Minister, Deputy Chief of Mission, Embassy of Japan in Islamabad. He began his career in 1986 and has served with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in numerous countries including Saudi Arabia (1989), Germany (1999), United States (Los Angeles) (2010) and Indonesia (2012). Other guests included Dr. Ghazala Irfan, President Pakistan-Japan Cultural Association Lahore, members of civil society organizations and FCCU students and faculty members.



Mr. Yusuke Shindo delivered an enlightening presentation on Japanese people and their culture. Describing Japan's geography, he explained that the island country is surrounded by the ocean and has over 6,852 islands, with a dense population of over 127 million people. An interesting fact that distinguished Japan from the rest of the world is that it has never been colonized or occupied by a foreign power. Because of this, there is little to no cultural diversity and so it would not be unfair to say that the Japanese society is pretty homogenous. Additionally, Japan has one language and one ethnicity.

Mr. Shindo went on to explain that Japanese people are known for their polite behavior. Respect and kindness are exalted values practiced in the Japanese culture. People always smile, even to strangers. They're apologetic and humble and this is their way of life. He added that it is note worthy that Japanese people are often described as being inexpressive and emotionless however this maybe

because they do not want to convey a wrong emotion that would come off as rude to the other person. For example, in sumo wrestling neither the winner or loser is supposed to express their happiness or sorrow because it will be rude to the opponent. In another example, he explained that Japanese people don't say, "I love you" directly, rather they say, "The moon tonight is beautiful". They personify the beauty of the moon to indicate that they're enjoying their partner's company.

Mr. Shindo then spoke about how the Japanese strongly believe in the importance of education. Elementary schools are where Japanese children learn about discipline, relationships, values, and other aspects of character-building. The enrollment rate in primary schools in Japan is quite impressive and that shows how much emphasis they give to attainment of education. Children are taught a variety of disciplines like mathematics, chemistry, biology, physics etc. in addition to Japanese studies. Mr. Shindo added that Japanese people excel in all fields without learning English. He said there were 27 Japanese noble prize holders who were great in their respective fields without even learning English.

Explaining the resilience of the Japanese people, Mr. Shindo said that despite the disaster that followed the US atomic bomb attack on Hiroshima and Nagasaki during World War II, Japan attained economic stability very quickly. Japan was recognized as the second largest economy until recently when China replaced it. Japan has always been at the forefront of technological innovation. The Japanese railway system is one example where bullet trains and high-speed rail run throughout Japan. These trains have smart sensors that can sense any hint of natural calamity such as earthquakes, and respond accordingly. Thus, the disaster management mechanism in Japan is technologically very advanced. The 2011 earthquake that led to significant infrastructural damage in Japan only took 6 days to repair so Japanese people are said to be timely and efficient. Similarly, their empathy and kindness was apparent when people got together to raise funds and help rehabilitate the victims of the earthquake.

Mr. Shindo highlighted that Japanese people have the world's uppermost life expectancy. Many experts say that this is because of good water and sanitation conditions. Others say that Japanese people live longer because of

the presence of quality healthcare facilities and because Japanese people tend to eat a nutritious diet.

Additionally, Japan is extremely rich in art and literature, both modern and classic. They have diverse themes, storylines and characters. Music has also been transformed over time by technology and artificial music is a popular genre where digitally created and transmitted music has been a recent invention. Moreover traditions such as calligraphy, sword fighting, karate and athletics form strong part of Japanese heritage. The Japanese celebrate various festivals including flower-arranging activities, which are famous internationally. Moreover, in the pop culture of Japan, the concept of being "Kawaii" is very common, this means to be 'cute' or 'loveable'. Western influence does not affect Japanese culture because they keep their values intact. For instance, Barbie failed to gain popularity in Japan because people did not associate it as being "kawaii". On the other hand characters like Hello Kitty are immensely popular.



Concluding his presentation, Mr. Shindo mentioned that there's no unanimous religion that is practiced in Japan. Japanese culture and tradition are people's belief. There is as such no distinction between the two. They see life in everything so everything has character. They derive their values from family.

The presentation was followed by a lively question and answer session in which questions on Japanese performing arts was raised to which Mr. Shindo responded that Japan has a rich culture in that as well. On a question about aging population, Mr. Shindo responded that an important thing to consider was ways to transfer experiences and cultural codes from the elderly to the younger population and he said Japan was good at it. He was asked how the bureaucracy was recruited in Japan and he explained that it followed a competitive process. The best candidate is selected after rigorous scrutiny and is then posted to a particular area where he/she serves until the retirement.

Dr. Asif Wazir: Dynamics of Population Growth and Pakistan Census 2017

The CPPG invited Dr. Asif Wazir to deliver a talk on “Dynamics of Population Growth and Pakistan Census 2017” on 10 October 2018. Dr. Wazir holds a doctoral degree in Social Sciences, majoring in Demography and Research Methods from the University of Vienna, Austria. His research interests include statistical modeling of population processes with a specific focus on historical demography, human capital development, multi state population projections, fertility and mortality etc. His talk at CPPG provided a critical assessment of the 2017 Census of Pakistan carried out by the Pakistan Bureau of Statistics and of data collection in general.



Underscoring the importance of Population and demographic analysis for improving livelihoods, Dr. Wazir stated that Pakistan's ever-growing population is a precarious indicator that has been hindering the growth and development of the country. Not only is the poor management of population growth a challenge, but its poor estimation and calculation also puts the entire public policy process in jeopardy. Demographic data is essential for the entire development framework of a country, without which, evidence-based decisions cannot be made. Population censuses are important for urban and rural planning, for effective social welfare policies and to manage efficient public health services. Furthermore they help policy makers understand the composition of population change in terms of variables like age, education, gender and ethnicity.

Highlighting the significance of a population census, Dr.

Wazir explained that data collection remains a critical challenge in Pakistan. In turn this leads to errors in data projection exercises. The United Nation prescribes nations of the developing world particularly, to conduct a census every five to ten years but as data collection is cumbersome in Pakistan due to various reasons, the latest census was conducted in 2017 after a period of nineteen years. Internationally, the exercise of conducting a census is completed in 3-7 days however; in Pakistan it took 70 days to complete this task. The delay in the collection of data caused the issue of double counting and missing values.

He lamented that unfortunately; Pakistan does not follow the standardized practices to ensure quality and authenticity of the data. To ensure the quality of the data, Dr. Wazir explained that there are three stages that the data is processed through. First, a pilot study is conducted ideally three months prior to the actual census. The actual enumeration takes place and then finally, a post enumeration survey is conducted to recount the data. Internationally, there are two methods of data collection. A de jure census counts people according to their regular and legal residence, whereas a de facto census counts people where they are actually living when the enumeration happens. A key constraint in Pakistan is that it we do not follow either of these methods. Instead, we follow an unprecedented amalgamation of both these methods. This limits the quality and credibility of the statistics as this leads to chances of undercounting and overcounting the population.

As per Demographic Transition Model, population changes can be predicted. Population is studied in four stages of development. In a pre-industrial society, death rates and birth rates are equal and are high. In the second stage, death rates drop increasing the life expectancy. Third stage is unique as birth rates drop due to access to contraception and education. During fourth stage, both birth and death rates fall to an equal level. Based on this model, we can say that Pakistan is neither transitioning very rapidly nor very slowly. However, there is a limitation in terms of the estimation of variation across the different stages. There is no time limit for each stage.

Dr. Wazir highlighted that there are two methods of col-

lecting data on birth rates i.e. full birth history method and summary of birth history. The former method engages with the woman's complete birth history. That includes all the births irrespective of the fact whether the offspring is alive or dead. It also investigates literacy and health status of the mother and children. The latter method only includes questions on living offspring. Parents resist disclosing their complete birth history and that is problematic. Thus, there is a bias in the data. Moreover, a problem arises when household deaths and complete birth history are not properly counted. Life expectancy is calculated by estimating infant, adult and old age mortality. If for instance, infant mortality is high and, adult and old age mortality are stable, life expectancy fluctuates drastically. So, the process of data estimation is disrupted when there are missing values in the data collected. Cultural and socio-economic factors create these missing values. So, in order to fill the gap in estimation, demographers rely on supplementary data collected from various surveys.

Similarly, Dr. Wazir pointed out that there are sampling and non-sampling errors that cause the bias within the estimation. For example, estimates on fertility rate across Pakistan are insufficient so for that, again surveys on birth rate are utilized. Estimates show that Pakistan experienced fast paced population growth in early 90's till late 2000's. Since 2010 onwards, the growth has slowed down. On the estimation of migration, statistics suggests that emigration has increased since 2012 onwards. Whereas, there is limited data available on internal migration. The census of 1998 has some data on migration however, census of 2017 has minimum to no information at all on the subject. This again, creates missing values that could be vital to policy-makers.

Dr. Wazir then went on to draw a comparison between the results of actual census and projected estimates which could be calculated by absolute average deviation techniques. This can help determine whether data on population is overestimated or underestimated. According to him, the population of Punjab and Islamabad the federal territory is undercounted. Rest of the population across the provinces is over counted. Internationally, if there's a variation of 3-5% in the estimation, the results are considered reliable. Thus, nationally the results of census are credible as there is not much deviation however; there

is a higher deviation in provincial estimation results. That means the net effect of enumeration is valid despite the fluctuations within provinces.



Concluding the detailed data collection and analysis presentation, Dr. Wazir proposed a set of recommendations: he was emphatic in proposing that the task of data collection be done in 3-7 days. That will save us from the problem of over and undercounting. Second, he suggested that the Pakistan Bureau of Statistics must clarify the method of data collection in terms of de facto or de jure census so that there is no confusion. Third, he suggested that the issue of migration and third gender must be taken in account to avoid problems in estimation.

The presentation was followed by a vibrant discussion with the audience where it was acknowledged that effective policy-making depended on the availability of reliable data. On a question over the reliability of the census due to political influences, Dr. Wazir responded that if the Pakistan Bureau of Statistics were made autonomous, the possibility of political influence skewing the data would be minimized. On the issue of transgenders not being included in the census and the lack of data on them, Dr. Wazir said that this was a structural concern and not an estimation constraint. He said, there is a need to include questions on transgender people to update the questionnaire in next census.

There was also a discussion on how the estimation of variables like those on education still rely on the results of the 1998 Census, however measures to integrate results of the 1998 and 2017 Censuses to see variations amongst the projections are under consideration.

Dr. Janel Curry: "Social Capital: A Study of Eight Ethnic Farm Communities in Iowa".

Dr. Janel Curry is Professor of Geography and has been Provost (Vice Rector) at Gordon College in Massachusetts—a liberal Christian College. Previously, she has also served as Dean for Research and Scholarship at Calvin College. She did her PhD in geography from the University of Minnesota. On 19th of November 2019, the CPPG invited Dr. Janel Curry to speak about her recent study "Social Capital: A Study of Eight Ethnic Farm Communities in Iowa".



Dr. Curry talked about the concept and practice of social capital along with the presentation of her case study of eight ethnic farm communities in Iowa. She described social capital as those practices, structures, persons or community characteristics that together allow a community or region to be able to creatively respond and adjust to global economic re-structuring. It holds the community together and allows it to have collaborative action to sustain itself. There are two different components of social capital; bonding and bridging. Bonding defines bonds with those who have a common vision while bridging with those that share common community. Bonding is inward looking that focuses on reinforcing the inclusive communal identity and homogeneity, which is essential for developing solidarity and reciprocity. Bonding is needed to develop a shared vision but it is not enough for social capital. On the other hand, bridging has an outward look, which uses external assets for expertise and resources. It's about linking to other communities and institutions.

Dr. Curry further defined her main argument i.e. social capital cannot be perceived apart from the religious worldviews that lie beneath communities. These worldviews are actually reflections of commitments linked with the answers to basic questions of existence: What is the nature of humankind? What are the most fundamental problems facing society and ourselves? What is the nature of evil? On what do we place our hope for these problems' solution? Social capital must be unraveled through understanding the kind of societal visions that arise out of communally held worldviews about these fundamental questions. For this she studied eight different communities in the state of Iowa in the US. Her basic goal was to describe the relationships between religious worldview and social capital. She described Iowa as a mosaic where every single town has a different ethnic and religious background. She went down to the county level to better understand this whole process. She looked at combinations of ethnicities and types of Christian heritages. Dr. Curry studied historical census data and agriculture data presenting farming change in communities, ethnological and historical background, and Church congregation of farmers. She also focused on groups of both men and women and sub groups of farmers. Bonding was seen through the method of storytelling to see how people respond to certain problems present in the story through which she categorized communities as being either individualistic or communal. Her research showed that religious perceptions, beliefs and the world view of the communities influence the formation of social capital. Through this study, she came up with another conclusion that there is a negative relationship between communal orientation and number of farm organizations.

Open Doors in Pakistan. Dr. Alice Baillat: "Can vulnerable nations be weak climate leaders?"

With the Support of the Embassy of France and in collaboration with the Alliance Française, the Centre for Public Policy & Governance (CPPG) invited Dr. Alice Baillat on December 6th, 2018 as part of the "Open Doors in Pakistan" Seminar Series. Her topic was "Can vulnerable nations be weak climate leaders?" Dr. Baillat is currently working as a fellow researcher at French Institute for International and Strategic Affairs.



The speaker started off by briefly describing the research methodology she used. She conducted numerous interviews of NGO personnel, journalists, researchers, policy makers and citizens during her two visits to Bangladesh in 2011 and 2013.

The main purpose of her work was to analyze the abilities of developing countries in negotiating issues like climate change at international fora. There is evident inequality at the international level when all countries do not have the same financial, informational, technical and diplomatic resources to negotiate deals and agreements.

Bangladesh is a country known for its vulnerability due to natural disasters, which makes it even more important

for the country to develop adaptive and efficient policies towards climate change. This highlights another concept: the ability of weak powers to not only mitigate the climate costs of their negotiating 'weakness' but to turn that vulnerability into a motivator, a tool, that can help them negotiate better terms for themselves. Developing countries experiencing some of the highest risks of climate change and environmental degradation, and should therefore actively participate in 'agenda-setting' through negotiations at the international level.

Though major international organizations like United Nations claim to follow democratic processes by giving each and every country voting rights, the practical reality remains different. The ability or power to negotiate is a complex phenomenon, which depends on multiple economic and political factors. The inequality in resources and the kind of leadership present in developing countries determines their ability to either become the victims or active players in any form of negotiations. Weak and vulnerable countries like Bangladesh can manage to gain comparative advantage through their experiences of being high-risk nations and set examples for other suffering countries.

Moral leadership dictates that the states most affected by natural disasters and climate change have to be more responsive and responsible. It is also important to understand that the related issues like climate migration have potential to affect the whole world. The two countries Philippines and Maldives were open towards their vulnerabilities, showing the world that their weakness is not primarily their fault. It was helpful for both the countries to gather international support to deal with the crisis.

According to Dr. Baillat, a key driver for Bangladesh to deal with its environmental crisis has been the international recognition it has received for its climate vulnerability. At the international stage, it is understood that the country is innately prone to environmental degradation from natural disasters such as cyclones, floods and droughts. These are serious hurdles in Bangladesh's path for development especially when linked with other major problems such as a large population. The climate crisis is not part of popular discourse but is a major reality.

The Intergovernmental Panel for Climate Change (IPCC) included Bangladesh amongst the top five countries most affected by climate change and natural disasters. International institutions allocate the resources to the countries depending on the level of vulnerability they face, which means it is crucial in determining which country will get more financial resources.

It is understood that vulnerable countries are quicker at adaptation because it is a matter of survival for them. Adaptation however has to be done through institutionalizing important stakeholders like NGOs and public sector authorities. Bangladesh's effectiveness in responding towards natural disasters was acknowledged when the country was invited by the USA to give expert insights during a hurricane in New York. To show its commitment and willingness to deal with the environmental crisis Bangladesh has established a Bangladesh Climate Change Resilience Fund. Setting up a fund not only helped Bangladesh change the world's perception about climate change vulnerability but also inspired other vulnerable countries to do the same. New research projects started and the interest of scientists was also encouraged. Another important step was community based adaptation projects, which included the local people and local knowledge to design solutions.

Moving towards the complication in negotiation problems faced by weak countries, another concern is the language barrier, which is created when the negotiations at international level are done in English thus making it difficult for non-English speaking countries. Another issue is the absence of any clear political mandate. The priorities of any country may be different from the need and agenda being discussed by the international community. A major example of this is G-77 that is dominated primarily by Indian and Chinese interests, which are not same as that of the remaining developing countries. The solution lies in healthy coalition of the government institutions with NGOs and scientists to eliminate the information and knowledge gap. In case of fewer resources, the key has to be efficient civil coordination to be more forceful and responsive. The spending in university research and training regarding this specific field also has to be amplified.

The question answers session at the end of the event was also insightful. The salience of political will in managing climate change was also discussed. If handled carefully, it can become a tool to achieve sustainable development, reduce poverty and combat terrorism. Among the countries Bangladesh has been on the forefront in building capacity for adaptation and environmental preservation.

Dr. Sohail Jehangir Malik: "The Current State of the Economy and the Need for Pro-Poor Growth"

On Thursday December 12th 2019, CPPG invited Dr. Sohail Jehangir Malik for a talk on "The Current State of the Economy and the Need for Pro-Poor Growth". The seminar sought to address a number of concerns such as why merely macro-economic stabilization is not enough to address the rapidly deteriorating economic situation today, why the "same old, same old" policies to address the underlying causes do not work, the importance of good data, effective policy research, monitoring and evaluation, capacity building and implementation. The seminar also proposed an out of the box reform agenda that focuses on capitalizing on existing resources including incentivizing educated unemployed rural youth to be social entrepreneurs and agents of change.



He argued that the economy is severely constrained in its ability to manage socio-economic risks due to several pre-existing issues such as inequitable distribution of resources and power in terms of disparities that exist across people, genders, and regions. Some of these challenges include a rapidly growing population whereby the majority has little or no education, skills or access to productive resources; widespread poverty and malnutrition across gender and regional dimensions; Debt management crisis, rampant energy crisis, looming water crisis, natural and man-made disasters such as War on Terror and earthquakes/floods.

This situation is exacerbated by poor governance and economic mismanagement in terms of rampant corruption and decayed institutional structures, rapid deterioration

in ethical norms whereby there exists an elite capture of social justice, poor analysis, poor data, and diminished domestic capacity to design and implement reform, increasing reliance on donors, growing disconnects between the central and provincial governments, false bravado which focuses on slogan mongering, arrogance and denial taking precedence over reason and decency, almost non-existent results focused monitoring and evaluation, and inadequate / absent focus or capacity for change management. Decades of poor policies and implementations, absence of effective M&E, lack of accountability, distorted prices, exorbitant borrowing, lack of competitiveness, low productivity, elite capture, continued lack of opportunity, security and empowerment all result in suboptimal growth of the economy. Meanwhile our attitude consists of waiting for divine help, or seeking help from Saudis, Qataris, CPEC or the IMF.

The IMF program with its primary short-term focus on macro-adjustment carries the huge risk of further inflation, reduced unemployment, and escalating poverty even further. The rural farm economy within which agriculture operates is also severely constrained by a host of problems such as lack of quality, information asymmetry, low human capital, inability to access markets, lack of access to finance and lack of competitiveness. On top of this is data presented to us that misinforms us because it is not triangulated and often leads to unrealistic conclusions. For instance our calculations of poverty levels are overoptimistic and do not account for phenomena such as malnutrition or purchasing power. Strange processes such as "backtracking" to determine economic trends are exercised by our public statisticians but this is unacceptable. He argued, for decades, the economic strategy of Pakistan has revolved around macroeconomic stability and policy choices, gains from globalization and demographic dividend that have failed to generate pro-poor growth and poverty reduction. He urged the students to critically examine economic statistics and demand data that is reliable.

According to Dr. Sohail we need to look at local solutions for improving our development. For instance given we are experiencing a youth bulge, a majority that are uneducated and unskilled, we can connect them to Higher Education Institutes (HEI's) through their skilled and educated

compatriots. Students at HEIs across the country can act as interlocutors and agents of change where the HEI's can help provide knowledge capacity building and connectivity and address information asymmetries. A network of social entrepreneurs can then be created whereby HEI's connect to rural areas as well through their student body. These groups are linked across the districts of Pakistan whereby HEI's provide the necessary business incubation needs while social entrepreneurs in turn commit to employing local inhabitants and use of local materials and markets, to fair business practices and to adopting one school, one BHU or one Mohallah etc. for their businesses. Such a program creates groups of entrepreneurs that are selected through advertised competition for a combination of innovative employment generating business ideas based on districts needs and niche comparative advantage and proposal for socially responsible activity that the group will commit to undertake.

Dr. Sohail calls this proposal "Umeed, the Young Entrepreneurs Program". According to him this initiative can facilitate cooperation and partnership between public and private sectors and access to key factors such as financing skills and markets, it can provide development to business incubators, financial mechanisms such as credit guarantees and other SME support systems. It links demand and supply and backward and advanced regions and provides quality assurance and business confidence. "Umeed" can ensure development of viable commercially sustainable business models, ongoing M&E to ensure replicability and scalability, capacity development, strengthening of backward and forward linkages, promotion of venture capital, social responsibility, self reliance, self respect and hope for the youth.

Dr. Mahmood Ahmad: "Exploring Agriculture in CPEC"

Dr. Mahmood Ahmad was invited by CPPG to deliver a talk on "Exploring Agriculture in CPEC" on 12th February 2019.



Dr. Ahmad began by talking about the Belt and Road Initiative, which has northern, southern, and western corridors. Pakistan lies in the southern corridor. As many are already aware, China hopes to reap many benefits from this initiative, which includes substantial reduction in transportation costs, access to new markets and through these, the development of the western part of China. Through expansion of trade and energy sector, and investments in roads and railways, China has enhanced its capacity for large infrastructure development. By initiating projects in its partner countries, China can also address its over capacity in certain sectors like iron, steel, cement and aluminum production. Additionally, China's construction industry will also benefit. In fact over the past few years, China experienced eight to nine percent growth, however the economy is now slowing down. Through the BRI, China can help keep its economic growth afloat.

In terms of Pakistan and the CPEC, Dr. Ahmad explained that we have been receiving cheap imports from China and it will continue to do so. This has been good for consumers but bad for producers. If we want to create a win-win situation for Pakistan, we have to learn from our past experiences and navigate investments that ensure long-term development. Large-scale infrastructure development is going to be beneficial. The development of Port Qasim and Gwadar for instance will serve as important trade and energy hubs for Asia. However our development needs to be equitable, we need to move beyond focusing on the eastern route. Moreover we need to focus on in-

dustries that are likely to promote growth in the country. Dr. Ahmad felt that Pakistan had missed the industrial growth opportunity, the like of which South East Asia and America experienced. With the present economic structure and investment climate, even if we develop our industrial base, it will be difficult to compete with other countries. Therefore, in short to medium term, developing modern and substantial agricultural production is a policy area we should prioritize.

On the other hand, Punjab can be a good blue print of new agriculture policy. Some projects identified include Hybrid Research Center Karachi, pulping units in Multan and olive extraction programs. Punjab has gone through a paradigm shift from productivity to profitability. It has moved from a crops-centric approach to a pharma-centric approach. It has shifted its focus from conventional to precision agriculture. These things can add high value to traditional agriculture. For years, mono crop development, crop diversification and supply-driven approach have been a problem for the country. These new thinking strategies must be fully implemented in Punjab and then must be applied to other regions as well.

The CPEC has the potential to significantly contribute towards inclusive agriculture development, specifically by targeting the social and economic development of our least developed areas. According to Dr. Ahmad, foremost we need to continuously study various agriculture methods and ensure the crops we grow present a natural comparative advantage. The last study in Pakistan on natural comparative advantage of growing different commodities took place in 1993, this practice needs to be updated and conducted more frequently. The comparative advantage has to be established in accordance with the climatic zones considering our land, size and environmental conditions. Moreover a reliable supply of the crop is imperative. Secondly, we need to develop supporting infrastructure. Pakistan has put so much focus on highways and ports but it has failed to create effective links between the producer and the market. The country is lacking on proper irrigation methods and reliable energy resources—shortage of power and electricity have significantly impacted our agriculture sector. Pakistan is giving 140 billion rupees for agriculture as a subsidy; the country needs to rationalize

this. There is a need to create smart public investments and use this money in technology and infrastructure development. Additionally the incentive structure is extremely poor discouraging the needed reforms.



Keeping his analysis focused on CPEC zones and looking at what each of these has to offer, Dr. Ahmad identified four zones; northern, central, western and southern zones. China wants to develop its western part as a trading hub, much like Dubai. There is a necessity to study western China and analyze their plans, existing cropping patterns, what they grown now and what are their future plans. Pakistan has to look at what it can do to benefit from the window of opportunity that is being provided. Pakistan can build on that and become a major provider of raw materials. Moreover, keeping in mind the certain climate differences with China, we can produce those commodities that China cannot. Similarly, we need to look beyond western China as an opportunity as well. China is a huge country with a population of over 1.3 billion people, which implies significant prospects for Pakistan regarding agriculture exports.

Dr. Ahmad further explained the research he gathered on trade patterns of Pakistan and China, focusing on the top ten agriculture exports of Pakistan, and their relativity with the top ten imports of China. A large mismatch between the two was found. Pakistan has not been producing commodities that are in sync with the demands of China's growing market, particularly with respect to China's demand for high value products.

Moreover, China is experiencing a shortage of irrigated land and fresh resources. There is a need to import land intensive crops like wheat and rice. China's rice import growth is around 15 percent. While, the export growth

of Pakistan is just 2.7, proving the country is unable to meet the demand rate and should look into policies that will help this rate grow. Pakistan also has comparative advantage in the production of apricot, potatoes, seeds and livestock commodities. We can also look towards the organic food market, which has a high demand globally. Additionally we have great potential to participate in agricultural tourism industry, and can be integrated into the projects under CPEC. Areas like the Dosai are ideal for agriculture tourism.

Dr. Ahmad explained that the northern area is the water bank of Pakistan. China is also scarce in water as much as we are. Previously, watershed management was given a lot of importance, but today this development area is no longer popular. We need to revive policies around water management as sustainable development depends on this very crucial area.

Considering the province of KP for instance, this has large natural resources but has been unable to use these effectively for sustainable development. Water here is also becoming scarce and people have to buy water tankers, which can cost 2-3 thousand rupees. Likewise the same tanker costs 4 to 8 thousand in Karachi, which depicts the level of scarcity in the region. The value of water tank further increases in Gwadar, which is 20 to 25 thousand rupees. Pakistan is building huge infrastructure with this high level of water scarcity in the country.

Furthermore Pakistan needs to abide by international procedures in food production. The production of chilies is a classical case: Pakistan once had a huge market but due to unhygienic post-harvest practices it has lost demand. Now, the country sends it to Sri Lanka and Afghanistan where low standards are not considered an issue.

Concluding his talk, Dr. Ahmad reinforced the idea that Pakistan needs to expand its horizons by meeting international agricultural standards. This implies inclusive agriculture that does not bypass small farmers. The vicious circle of low investment, low productivity and non-inclusion of middle-men must be broken down. Agriculture development has to be sustainable keeping in mind climate change. Crosscutting issues, which are water, climate change, disaster risk reduction and gender, must

be catered properly. With respect to the latter, one example is the vital role of women in the livestock industry. This must be dealt with the right policies in order to make the industry thrive. Production must be made demand driven rather than supply driven. Diversification and value addition must be seen as fundamentals. Furthermore, if the CPEC is to be a success, our process of research, data collection and policy-analysis must be prioritized. To make Pakistan more attractive to international investments, we have to focus on strategic clustering, world-class infrastructure development, ensure availability of all amenities, customer friendly transport, transparent bureaucratic processes and secure eco-friendly environment. Finally, development must be equitable. Just like China is focusing on making its western region a hub of economic activity, Pakistan too should take into consideration the western and southern regions, which we have traditionally been abandoned. Beyond the CPEC, Dr. Ahmad added that we have huge potential if we look to trade with Turkey and Iran.

In the Q&A session, when asked about how the interests of small farmers can be secured, Dr. Ahmad said that market reforms should be the focus here. The mandis are the starting points for ill against small farmers. Farmers find it difficult to go through long market chains. For example in Sindh, laws have not changed, and farmers cannot sell outside mandis. Moreover financial commercialization practices tend to favor large producers.

On being asked about capacity building of the farmer, as there are no TEVTA courses related to agriculture, Dr. Ahmad felt that a major reason why we are not competitive enough is due to the lack of trained people. The chief requirement to compete in global environment is to increase the skills of our workers and along the whole supply chain. Likewise IT skills need to be integrated, and some programs were established in Punjab, but the progress on this has to be analyzed.

Dr. Ahmad was also asked about why evidence-based research does not inform policy to which he responded that this was the main problem. Political will is the most crucial component yet we do not necessarily conduct research before designing our policies. Decision-makers are ready to spend billions without appropriate data or evidence.

Dr. Shafi U. Khan Niazi "The Rationale and Context of Reforms in Public Sector: The Curious Case of Tax Reforms"

On 18th of December 2019, the CPPG invited Dr. Shafi U. Khan Niazi to speak about "The Rationale and Context of Reforms in Public Sector: The Curious Case of Tax Reforms". Dr. Shafi is an academic at the Department of Business Law and Taxation at Monash University, Australia. He holds a PhD in Taxation from Monash Business School. He completed his Masters in Taxation Policy and Management from the Graduate School of Business & Commerce, Keio University, Tokyo. Dr. Shafi also holds M. Phil in Genetics and Masters in Biological Sciences from Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad. Prior to joining the academia at Monash University, Dr. Shafi had been working for over 15 years at various positions including Deputy Commissioner and Additional Commissioner (Inland Revenue) in the tax administration (Federal Board of Revenue), specializing in tax enforcement, tax audits and tax policy making.

Dr. Shafi commenced his talk by highlighting the rationale for public sector reforms, and changes specific to tax reforms or tax policy. By focusing on the diagnosis and prescription of the problem, he talked about public sector reforms overall and then shed light on tax reforms specifically. He emphasized that tax and money is very important for running a country and massive tax reforms were carried out in Musharraf's regime. Whether those reforms were successful or not, it is a political debate. Furthermore, he argued that when you want to govern a particular area, jurisdiction or people, you need to have a particular policy tool. Government must reform with the changing world.

Change is however discomfoting and people tend to be averse to reforms. The attitude is quite negative as everybody wants to change the other person, but nobody wants to change his/herself. Further, he narrowed down the reform conundrum to economic governance. Our current model is following a free market style economy however, these markets do not do everything on their own, and there is need for intervention for carrying out certain reforms. The government therefore has to interfere to regulate things properly and this is done through fiscal, monetary, financial and welfare domains. One is the tax

regime, which is a major form of government intervention. Within economic governance, we have tax governance that is carried out through administrative, structural and policy changes. Policy reforms are prescriptive in nature, and the government has to change policy according to the one prescribing it. It has to change tax formation according to the demand of the donor agencies. Therefore, Business models must bring change in tax models as well. Pakistan is a part of global economy and it must learn to face it. The tax reform carried out from 2005 to 2011 in Pakistani history was the greatest of all. The World Bank gave money in bulk and Pakistan carried out several structural changes in the Federal Board of Revenue (FBR). Income ordinance change was brought under the name of voluntary compliance.

Dr. Shafi gave his comments regarding these changes through his academic insights. He argued that corruption level was brought down, facilitation was provided to tax payers, and businesses boomed causing increase in GDP. Tax levels were raised after 2011 but GDP did not rise. Pakistan failed in tax and revenue collection. Reflecting on the policy process, he noted, this problem arises from the fact that we attempt to create policies in the form of 'islands.' Which means that we reform one area of governance without reforming other related areas. For instance catching businesses for tax evasion was something he struggled with while working for the government. Businesses would register themselves under low-income employees by providing their identity and contact information making it extremely difficult to trace the actual business owners. Therefore reforming the tax system also required reforms in banking regulations, business registrations and so on.

Dr. Shafi articulated that Pakistan needs to link its academia and research with the government, so that they provide evidence-based policies to policy makers and legislators. He concluded that policy change demands the study of behavior insights of a society and there is a desperate need to understand the behavioral aspects of a system for effective policy making in Pakistan.

"International Humanitarian Law for Policy Makers" in collaboration with International Committee for the Red Cross Pakistan

On 13th February 2020, CPPG organized a talk on "International Humanitarian Law for Policy Makers" in collaboration with International Committee for the Red Cross Pakistan. The session was initiated by Dr. Saeed Shafqat followed by two speakers; Ms. Hajira Asaf and Mr. Usman Khan. Ms. Hajira Asaf is a Communications Officer at ICRC and Mr. Usman Khan is a Legal Advisor, ICRC.



Ms. Hajira commenced the talk by giving an introduction about the operational work of ICRC in Pakistan and explained in depth about the principles, history and work areas of ICRC. ICRC is a Private Swiss Organization, which came into being in 1863. It is a humanitarian organization explicitly tasked to help the suffering during incidents of armed conflicts. It works in partnership with Red Cross Movement, parties to Geneva Conventions, Law Enforcement and Judiciary (State Institutions), healthcare professionals, disaster management authorities, academia & civil society. Its basic principles include humanity, neutrality, impartiality and confidentiality. For ICRC, any conflict is big enough to demand humanitarian attention, and it has to be looked at in an unbiased way. There is no room for any religious, political and personal biases. The organization will remain truly neutral and ensure sustained access to the affected population, particularly those who are not or no longer participating in conflict. Additionally, it is enthusiastically working in Pakistan to provide an understanding of Internal Humanitarian Law through talks and

seminars. Moreover, it is presenting its services for the provision of first aid services, physical rehabilitation, protection of health care, community based risk education, restoring family links, dignified management of the dead and developing evidence-base on subjects of humanitarian import.

Further, Mr. Usman Khan described in detail the International Humanitarian Law and its application in Pakistan and the current world scenarios. It is also known as Law of Armed Conflict or Law of War. It is designed to regulate the excesses of armed conflict by limiting the means and methods of warfare, and limiting the suffering caused by war. It applies from the first act of hostilities for the duration of an armed conflict. It basically aims at protecting those who are not, or no longer taking direct part in hostilities. Mr. Khan explained how International Humanitarian Law originated from Greek, Roman and Persian societies who had rules for providing protection to civilians, prohibiting the use of poison in wells and showing compassion towards the wounded. There are several verses in the Qur'an that also denounce the use of excessive force. IHL works on the major principles of limitation, distinction, proportionality, unnecessary suffering and military necessity. Unnecessary suffering must be avoided, a direct attack with less suffering must be ensured. The military necessity justifies the proportional use of military force against an enemy, to force him to submit and inhuman conduct must be avoided. Furthermore, he described how Pakistan has ratified four Geneva Conventions along with 195 other states. Mr. Khan explained the process of its application, which is decided by a committee keeping in view the legal limitations. According to him, the law has played its role in minimizing major damages done by various armed conflicts and acting as a deterrent to further aggression. In context of Pakistan, there is a need for domestic legislative measures for more effective application of International Humanitarian Law.

Mr. Ahmed Rashid: "Afghan Peace Process and Pakistan's Role: What does the Future Promise?"

Mr. Ahmed Rashid, a renowned journalist and author of several books including *Descent Into Chaos: The United States and the Failure of Nation Building in Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Central Asia* was invited to give a seminar on the Afghan Peace Process and Pakistan's Role: What does the Future Promise? on May 2, 2019.



According to Rashid, Trump wanted to get out of Afghanistan, but the US establishment was concerned that he might pull the plug at any time before the upcoming elections, without spending the time needed both for peace talks as well as a proper road map. Further, the Americans assumed that Pakistan would help in this peace process.

He laid out the four phases of the Afghan Peace Process: one, a planned withdrawal of international troops with the acquiescence of the Taliban; two, a Taliban pledge not to host any other extremist groups while driving these groups out of Afghanistan; three, a ceasefire ideally as the first step; and lastly, an internal settlement among the Afghans. Among these, the first two phases, the withdrawal of American troops along with negotiations with the Taliban over driving out all extremist groups out of Afghanistan, were already in process. But, the current government was not part of peace negotiations even though there had been talks of holding loyal jirgas and establishing an interim government which included the Taliban. Rashid also emphasized the internal crisis in Afghanistan where the current president Ashraf Ghani was not liked by the majority of Pashtun and Tajik populations. This internal crisis needed a lot of international support as Afghanistan was not going to come out of it on its own.

Rashid further stated that another phase that was of foremost importance to the Afghan Peace Process, the 'Regional Element', was missing all together. One could not have a settlement in Afghanistan without a regional settlement, and no regional grouping had yet to pledge neutrality. He suggested that India was facing a policy dilemma in Afghanistan since it did not share a large border with Afghanistan but had always taken advantage of regional instability by training and supporting insurgent groups. India needed to be more accommodating towards Afghanistan as it called Afghanistan a friend as opposed to its treatment of Pakistan.

Pakistan's role in the Afghan Peace Process depended on solving the country's internal problems. With the Baluchistan factor unresolved, the continued targeting of the Hazara, and elements of the state in a warlike situation with societal movements like the Pashtun Tahafuz Movement (PTM), Pakistan could not propagate peace externally. It needed to strive for relative internal harmony before it could become part of the regional peace process. He argued that the isolation Pakistan had faced over the years had to do with its lack of coherent policies on Afghanistan rather than with India as the West had always been frustrated with Pakistan's inability to take a vigilant stance against the Taliban.



The talk was followed by a vibrant question answer session.

Dr. Muhammad Waqar Azeem: "The Trauma of War on Terror and the Limits of Western Theory"

On Monday, 24th of February, 2020 CPPG organized a seminar by Dr. Muhammad Waqar Azeem, Assistant Professor at Forman Christian College University on "The Trauma of War on Terror and the Limits of Western Theory". Dr. Azeem completed his PhD in English from State University of New York, Binghamton.



Dr. Azeem initiated his talk by saying that trauma is the problem of the survivor. After 9/11, Pakistan experienced an extreme wave of terrorism, which made us all 'survivors of trauma.' He developed a transnational framework of trauma theory by focusing on two distinct scholarly positions of Cathy Caruth and Stef Craps. He applied these literary frameworks on two Post 9/11 novels, Jonathan Foer's *Extremely Loud and Incredibly Close* and Nadeem Aslam's *The Blind Man's Garden*. His analysis demonstrated the United State's extrapolation of 9/11 trauma to the category of nation assuming that only the American nationals are the legitimate traumatized subjects.

Analyzing the work of Caruth, Azeem argued that Caruth takes the position that trauma is not inflicted in the first moments of a particular incident. It is the reimagining of the event that causes its repetition and recurrence. Sigmund Freud relates trauma to the original impact of the tragedy, while Caruth considers its non-existence in the actual event. It is always a moment later when the subject emerges from the suddenness of the shock. The subject's understanding then translates into a sense of loss. Caruth underscores the significance of literary language in understanding of the trauma as a subject's missed contact with tragedy. When an individual narrates the trauma, he erases the original encounter and transfers the haunting into the narrative. The narrative erases the original impact

substituting it with the narrative that is not the event itself. There lies the healing potential of the story that negates the real. Caruth thereby considers the language of trauma to be somewhat literary. Craps on the other hand confronts Caruth and her theoretical predecessors, explicating a diffuse trauma that does not emanate from one momentous event but from persistent conditions of life whose cumulative effect far exceeds any single event. He says that Caruth represents an event-based trauma, not describing the effects of trauma on social, economic and political systems. Caruth's theory suppresses the traumatic experiences of non-western and minority cultures. It universalizes the definitions of trauma that are based on western modernity. Speaking about Foer's *Extremely Loud and Incredibly Close* Dr. Azeem further said that it exploits an event-based trauma to bolster only the trauma of the white narrator of the Western origin. This event-based approach neglects the historical approach to 9/11. Craps talks about how modern theorists divert the historical side of the trauma, thus do not take trauma as the persistent condition of the people. Conversely, Nadeem Aslam's *The Blind Man's Garden* explores the United State's acts of violence in Pakistan and Afghanistan. The trauma represented in this novel extends both Caruth and Craps' models of trauma theory. It gives a transnational trauma witnessed by the subject taking ethnic and religious affiliations over national identity. Taking history as the third event, the novel combines trauma and history, using the metaphors of wounds and candles. This is represented through the memory of Rohan, a major character in the story. While, the character of Fakir is a metaphor for recovery. The usage of Sufi zikr for healing from the psychological consequences of trauma has been represented in the novel as well. It describes the tradition of Sufi practices for recovering from the past with a bearable version of reality. Aslam's novel foregrounds the traumas of the people who suffered from the War on Terror, terrorism and extreme violence in Pakistan and Afghanistan. The trauma of these people escapes the event-based model of trauma, and therefore remains under-represented in the Western literature and theory. He further said that the religious conscientious of the characters override the national consciousness and demands understanding outside the concept of nations. Taking a different position from Caruth's, Dr. Azeem concluded that he takes trauma from this transnational position, unbound by the idea of nation states and boundaries.

**Dr. Samia Waheed Altaf and Dr. Sameen A. Mohsin Ali:
"Understanding Pakistan's Immunization Problem: A
Transactional Approach."**

On Wednesday, February 19, 2020, The CPPG cordially invited Dr. Samia Waheed Altaf and Dr. Sameen A. Mohsin Ali to speak on "Understanding Pakistan's Immunization Problem: A Transactional Approach". Dr. Samia Waheed Altaf, is a physician and public health specialist. She was the Wilson Center's 2007-08 Pakistan Scholar. She has also authored a book on Pakistan's health system titled *So much Aid, So Little Development: Stories from Pakistan* (2011). Dr. Sameen Ali is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Humanities & Social Sciences at LUMS. She completed her Ph.D. in Politics from SOAS University of London in 2018.



In their presentation, the speakers explained that Pakistan has struggled with high childhood and infant mortality rates, limited resources, inadequate health and medical services, and poor scores on most socio-economic indicators. The child mortality rate in Pakistan is abysmal due to communicable diseases such as measles, pneumonia, and polio. They stated that these infectious diseases are one of the major contributors to under five child mortality rates. To combat deaths from vaccine-preventable diseases, the government proposed the Expanded Program on Immunization (EPI), which includes the Polio Eradication program, in the late 1980s. However the program has made snail-pace progress.

Out of all the reasons for the failure of the program to achieve expected results, vaccine hesitancy is found as a crucial problem coupled with poor governance and administrative loopholes. They shed light on two aspects

of public health provision about vaccinations. First, the processes of decision-making and policy implementation in the Punjab Department of Health. Second, the cultural, economic, and social context of Pakistan's EPI. They hypothesize that the reforms that the Punjab government has introduced in the health sector in general, and the EPI in particular, have been problematic. They conducted a pilot study research to provide local context to inform policy-making, in the district of Kasur with detailed household surveys, focus groups and review of health organization trainings. They found that, given Pakistan's challenges and constraints, there are deficiencies on both the demand and supply side of vaccine services. Some of the reasons, which affect the eradication of polio on the supply side, are political unrest, poor health infrastructure, government negligence, and lack of political will. Furthermore, the EPI is donor funded with funds being earmarked for very specific expenses (e.g. equipment, training, vaccines) so it is very hard for the government to make its own policies with respect to immunization coverage. When the government will spend its own money on vaccinating children, it will have better control over how the vaccinations are given.

There is a wide range of obstacles to immunization, including religious, political and socioeconomic barriers. The researchers found that the mindset of people was a major factor impacting vaccination coverage. It has been shown that low parental - specifically, maternal - literacy and knowledge regarding vaccines and immunization schedules, poor socioeconomic status, and residence in rural areas all are attributable to whether or not a child is immunized. People have misconceptions about the polio vaccine such as 'it causes sterility in children', 'it contains pig fat' and 'vaccines used in programme are sub-standard'. Moreover, Dr. Ali and Dr. Altaf criticized the poor training programs of vaccinators who are unable to answer basic, legitimate questions of parents such as why the vaccine is important? What kind of side effects will it have? Is the vaccine expired? And so on.

She emphasized when it comes to healthcare, Pakistan is lagging far behind even in the list of developing countries. In terms of vaccination programs to eradicate polio, most countries like Nigeria, Bangladesh, and India have good vaccination programs despite having similar development

bottlenecks like Pakistan. She talked about the strategy used in Washington D.C, where a set of incentives/penalties are built into the system so families ensure their children are vaccinated. For example, if students are not immunized, they cannot attend school, and if children are not attending school, their parents can be charged with criminal offence. As a result parents ensure timely immunization of their children.



While making recommendations, the speakers felt that immunization needed to be integrated to other primary healthcare services such as maternal care to increase coverage. Prevention needs to be prioritized, improvements in recruitment, remuneration, and training of vaccinators are necessary, the local governments need to be involved and there need to be focused health education programs in languages and formats geared towards the education level of the local population.

Report Launch: "The Index of Religious Diversity and Inclusion in Pakistan"

On Monday, 28th of February, 2020 the CPPG organized launch of a research report authored by Asif Aqeel and Mary Gill. This study titled "The Index of Religious Diversity and Inclusion in Pakistan" congregates social, legal, cultural and political aspects and challenges of seven religious minorities defined in the Constitution of Pakistan. Mr. Asif Aqeel, who is a prominent journalist, researcher and writer, and has devoted himself to highlighting the issues confronting Pakistan's Christian community, presented the report.



Asif Aqeel began with a discussion on how the human development of minorities is one of the most ignored subjects of research in our academia. Despite having diversity in terms of language, culture, and caste, these minorities grapple to accumulate their basic rights in the state of Pakistan. He highlighted that Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah was forthright in promising and protecting rights of the minorities on equal basis and representation. He argued that the founder of Pakistan had a clear vision for the minorities; this report includes the speeches of Quaid-e-Azam starting from 1940 till 1948 and even his successor Liaquat Ali Khan had similar views.

However, the trajectory of democracy and freedom in Pakistan went astray soon after its birth. The major objectives of the study were to analyze the diversity among religious minorities and observe the minority population along with their migration trend since the inception of Pakistan. He noted that there are two major categories among minorities, one that claims to be Muslims such is the case with Ahmadis and the second are the ones that are 'Scheduled caste' such as Scheduled caste Hindus,

Parsees, etc. Standards for social justice, equality and generosity have deteriorated over time for these groups. In addition to that, the population of minorities has decreased from about 44% to 3.6% in the areas that are now Pakistan, but this is largely due to the partition in 1947 and the break up of Pakistan (now Bangladesh) in 1971. These communities greatly vary in their challenges, history, size, geographic dispersion and influence in state affairs. The study is based on a survey of 100 respondents from the following faiths: Christian, Sikh, Baha'i, Upper Caste Hindus, Scheduled Caste Hindus, and Parsees.

Aqeel remarked that the education system in Pakistan remains discriminatory as well where religious minorities have to study subjects like Islamiyat and Arabic. He pointed out that misuse of blasphemy law invariably led to persecution of religious minorities. Ethnic and linguistic minorities are also subject to persecution in the country. Aqeel regretted that discrimination against minorities in governmental institutions is widespread and that calls for reform.

The findings of the study integrate 10 major issues that minorities go through which include denationalization of Christian educational institutions, attitude of law enforcement agencies, women harassment issues, freedom to practice religion, racism and stereotyping & fake blasphemy accusations and more. The author gave a few important recommendations to ameliorate the socio-economic conditions of the minorities. The Bishop of Lahore, Mr. Irfan Jamil commented that the study was praiseworthy and roused awareness on issues facing the minorities.



Dr. James Tebbe, the Rector of FC College, who was guest of honor at the launch, applauded the research, its findings and recommendations. He complimented the CPPG for organizing and facilitating the launch of the report and Asif Aqeel for conducting research on Minorities- a topic that deserves the attention of policy makers in the country.

“Sharia and the State in Pakistan: Blasphemy Politics”

Dr. Farhat Haq

On 6th March 2019, Dr. Farhat Haq was invited to deliver a talk about her new book *Sharia and the State in Pakistan: Blasphemy Politics* (New York: Routledge 2019). Dr. Farhat Haq has a PhD in Political Science from Cornell University, Ithaca, New York. She is Professor and Chair Political Science Department, Manmuth College Illinois, USA since 1999 and was also the Director – International Studies Program (2002–2014). Dr. Haq has taught at LUMS and also been Faculty Coordinator, India Studies Program, Pune, India. Currently, she is also the President of American Institute of Pakistan Studies (AIPS), USA.

Dr. Haq's publications include *Strategic Logic of Political Violence in Pakistan*, New York: Routledge 2018, “Sacralising the State and Secularising the Sharia, Society and Culture in South Asia” (2017) and *Pakistan: An Islamic State or a State for Muslims?* New York: Routledge 2010.

According to Dr. Haq, Politics of Blasphemy in Pakistan can shed light on the following three dynamics at work in contemporary Muslim politics: first, the modern Muslim nation-state fills the paradoxical role as being the agent entrusted with the responsibility for delivering Sharia, yet still subject to the suspicion and anxiety of the Muslim public regarding the motivations and intentions of the governing elite. Second, a cacophony of voices in the public sphere claim to speak for Islam, but institutional deficits create challenges limiting the ability of any actor to speak authoritatively on contentious issues of Islamic jurisprudence. Third, the Islamist parties with greater electoral appeal show flexibility and moderation on the question of the role of Islam in public life but marginal Islamist groups with limited electoral reach weaponize blasphemy laws to arouse religious passions in order to claim a greater share of functional political power. The book draws on insights from Islamic studies, anthropology, and legal studies to examine the interactions between ideas, institutions, and political actors that have enabled blasphemy laws to become the site of continuous controversy.

While explaining the arguments in her book, Dr. Haq began by talking about the term “Shariah” which has become problematic in the political context where

the western conception of the term has been wrongly interpreted. The understanding has been so extreme that certain places in U.S and around the world, particularly in the West have even declared themselves 'Shariah-free zones'. The word is usually used in a negative sense whereas in effect it has a positive meaning and tends to strengthen Islamic values and code of conduct. Recently, the concept of being Islamic has been overshadowed by concerns for modernity. There seems to be an inherent disconnect between the two where people believe one cannot be both modern and Islamic at the same time. In contemporary times an Islamic country is associated with the political realm, an Islamic economy, an Islamic state and so on. However in order to better understand the political nature of Islam that has been understood in recent years as the quest to combat 'modernity', we must first look critically at the political nature and origins of the blasphemy law.



In this process it is important to look at the emergence of personalities like Mumtaz Qadri and Ghazi IIm-ud-Din. Qadri to many is a religious hero, because he murdered the Punjab Governor Salman Taseer—the reasons for this are widely known. In pre-partition India the figure of Ghazi IIm-ud-Din, is considered a martyr because he killed the publisher of a pamphlet that was insulting to the Prophet. In the latter case, the British were forced to introduce 295-A into the Penal code of India that prohibited the injury of religious feelings. So in South Asia, a set of laws emerged, which British colonial rulers introduced to manage sectarian conflict—these laws evolved and became very significant in Pakistan.

In her book, Dr. Haq also looks at the role of religious nationalism; Hindu-Muslim identity was a significant determinant of nationalistic sentiments in the region. At this time the British Raj also sidelined the Muslim Ulema and

attempted to give more credibility instead to the Shurfaththe Muslim elite. By the 1920s, religious conflict became apparent and young leaders began taking part in and mobilizing street-politics. According to Dr. Haq, Pakistan was one of the first nations created based on the idea of religion and hence the narrative on religious sentiments exists right from the get-go.

Dr. Haq said that liberal constitutional thinking where minorities are provided the right to practice their religion is an assumption that needs to be challenged. There is an essential deficit in this liberal constitutional thinking when it comes to religious minorities. The law does state that the minorities should have freedom to practice religion but the challenge comes when the idea of how to express religion comes into question. It implies that one can believe what he wants to believe, but when it comes to the practice of that religion, and if it goes against the notion of 'public order' then the state has the authority to regulate that practice. For example, the idea of multiple marriages in the Mormon community is quite disruptive in the US where the state can intervene to stop any such happening because it goes against state order. In Pakistan it is harder to make that distinction where we can clearly determine what is considered to go against 'public order'. The case of the Ahmadis in Pakistan is another example that challenges the liberal constitutional framework. The framework would say yes they are free to practice what they believe, but what does that mean if they are not allowed to build their mosques etc. So the framework is faulty because it does not allow the harmony it aspires to achieve.

Dr. Farhat went on to describe that in her book she evaluates how we reached a point in Pakistani history where a law originally created by the British, then modified in the 80s under Zia ul Haq, became so sacred that criticizing the law could make you "wajib ul qatal" or justified to be killed. In pre-modern Islamic jurisprudence, Muslim jurists shied away from declaring what they felt was God's decision—they often ended debates with the declaration that "God knows best". Scholars of Fiqh from that time lived within a tradition of interpretive pluralism because they were open to multiple opinions and accepted that their human understanding could be imperfect.

The Blasphemy Laws have contributed to Pakistan's

perceived reputation abroad. Dr. Haq said that in turn, attempting to alter the Laws has become a highly controversial topic. However, she believes this is a contemporary, issue. Never in the past in Islamic history, would one struggle with a man-made law that has come to capture the will of God so perfectly that criticizing it would make one blasphemous—this is a very strange thing and goes against hundreds of years of Islamic thinking. Dr. Haq's book therefore endeavors to understand how we have reached this point in Pakistan.

Her book also develops an understanding of other Muslim countries such as Tunisia, Egypt, Indonesia and Turkey. She believes that Pakistan follows a unique path in Islamic political thinking where Muslim modernists such as Muhammad Iqbal and Sir Syed Ahmad Khan have had a great influence on the Muslim thought in the region, however currently when it comes to the blasphemy law, scholars as well as the state no longer has control over the blasphemy law. In private state-officials and lawmakers will tell you the law is problematic, however apart from Salman Taseer, few have been willing to take substantial steps in altering it.

Part of her analysis covers the concept of Sharia in Pakistani law. In the beginning we had the Objectives Resolution for the establishment of the constitution of the county. Islam was seen as something that would provide an ethical framework that would propel the country forward.

It was not until the late 1980s that the term "sharia" came into the Pakistani political discourse. General Zia ul Haq was the first to talk about 'Islamization' and then to indicate seriousness, two Sharia bills were debated in the Pakistani parliament under the Nawaz Sharif government. Dr. Haq's content analysis of parliamentary proceedings reveals that at that time, however, Islam was still considered to be a tool to indicate ethical framework, and not specific laws. That turn came in the 1990s and 2000s when increasingly Sharia came to be seen as a serious governance tool and this followed a predictable pattern. A Sharia regime became understood as one that imposed Hudood Laws (understood in limited way), women's appearance in the public is controlled etc.

According to Dr. Haq, the Ulema who are well-versed in Islamic jurisprudence, who have classical training, are the ones who are going to be our friends, who can help us

get out of the "blind alley" that we have got into with the passage of the blasphemy laws. To explore this further, Dr. Haq's book includes a comparison of two books; one by Muhammad Ismail Qureshi, who has not been trained as a traditional Ulema but is a lawyer and an advocate of the Blasphemy Law, the second is by Maulana Wahiduddin Khan, who is an Indian scholar and uses his classical training and learning to show that the set of Blasphemy Laws are not Islamic in the way that they are now presented.

Dr. Haq went on to say that our understanding of Sharia is now reframed, reductive and truncated. In the past, in pre-modern times, Sharia was a very different concept—an interpretive framework. You had the Muftis, the scholars who interpreted Sharia, the Khadis who consulted with the Muftis and implemented the Sharia—but this depended on a case-by-case discussion and research into previous cases and depended on contextual analysis. Tremendous care was taken to ensure the innocent would not be falsely accused. The operative principle that jurists used with respect to violation of Hudood Laws (which were seen as crimes against God) was that even if the guilty were left unpunished in the current life, he/she would always face justice in the hereafter. Jurists would also give weight to the guilty's own testament in favour of themselves. As a result, pre-modern Sharia followed a very different framework to what is now being practiced.

So how did such a plural and flexible system become so hardened and fixed? Systemizing the Sharia laws has been the biggest challenge in this process. Attempting to codify these laws has resulted in a partial, inflexible and decontextualized system. The legal arena is no longer a place where people practice their religiosity—this is a change from the pre-modern times. The ethical connection between how we lead our lives and the afterlife is a connection that has been lost. In past, Islam used to be an organic part of the life of a common Muslims and they feared the wrath of God, they were more hesitant to lie or go against Islamic teachings. This disconnect is something that really worries people and therefore there is a sense of urgency to find a solution in Islamic law.

Dr. Haq further explored the relationship between Shariah and Seyasiya (politics), where the common notion that prevails in the society is that both are different things but they do have a very strong relationship and are accounted

for the wellbeing of the society. In Muslim nations, public interest continues to be an integral part of the establishment of the state where the state makes sure that the implementation of Shariah ensures that the public wellbeing is guaranteed. Sadly in the case of blasphemy statutes in Pakistan the stance of the state has proved to be very problematic for the interest of the public and for Islamic politics. Some people who are accused of blasphemy are not even given a proper trial, which shows that the state fails to provide basic legal protection. An institutional deficit exists in Pakistan; there are too many voices that claim to speak authoritatively on Islam and those voices that attempt to change the status quo are not given enough public attention. The Islamic Ideology Council is an institution that could bring change, but their research and analysis and never materialize in parliament because of the lack of any proper action by the governmental or the willingness to take up the matter. As a result, according to Dr. Haq, a lack of substantial political will to bring change and unnecessary debate and chaos stemming from those who claim to have authority on Islamic Law combine to create the biggest challenge for Pakistan with respect to the Blasphemy Laws.

In the Question and Answer session, Dr. Haq was asked whether she felt education and culture had an impact on how we perceived Islamic law. According to her, it depends on what we mean by education; literacy does not necessarily lead to wisdom. Similarly, certain kinds of education can make people more rigid. Even if we reach universal education in Pakistan, some of our political concerns with respect to religion will continue to be an issue. We need to go back to our Islamic history and understand the foundations better; Muslims lived a more balanced life for a very long time. We need to be less defensive when we are faced with the 'Western gaze.' On a question about the future of Pakistan with respect to a modern Islamic state, Dr. Haq said it depends upon the progressive development that the state can make with respect to such cases; the acquittal of Asia Bibi could be a turning point.

Dr. Haq added that in many Muslim nations like Pakistan, including Indonesia, laws exist with reference to Sharia, however they became more controversial during the 1990s. They began to be used for sectarian violence where certain groups targeted many communities on the basis of religion. Such that some political parties were even born

on the basis of these laws and now continue to influence the political sphere of Pakistan. Primarily, an important issue that is often left undiscussed is the condition of the victim that is accused of blasphemy where his own life and including that of his/her relatives comes at stake. One who is accused of blasphemy has to go through a whole lot of trauma where this life comes to a standstill and the idea of mercy and compassion remains unknown. Even when people are reminded that the Prophet forgave the ones who hurt him, many argue that we cannot forgive someone on his behalf. The element that is generally seen as open and pluralistic is the Sufi Islam in which they tend to show their love for Prophet is often reduced to a single issue by Barelvi school of thought where they are only concerned by the protection of Prophets name ignoring all other factors that Islam talks about.

On a question with reference to the difference of blasphemy laws in Muslim countries which are of post-colonial nature and have a different political trajectory with reference to Islamic fiqh. She argued that comparing the revival of Shariah as a living system instead of its discreet form in various countries is a tall order. She believes that it depends upon the political will of the state. For instance in Tunisia the Ennahda Movement run by Rached Ghannouchi won the election after the Arab Spring and decided to move cautiously with respect to implementing Islamic laws. He was open to giving space to the demands of the strong Left. Developing a political system based on Sharia demands having legitimacy and for many groups deriving that legitimacy can be a challenge. In places such as in Egypt, Islamists are very much capable of providing this legitimacy because they have credentials. In Pakistan Islamists don't do well and are unable to provide the right credentials so won't be able to implement an Islamic system effectively.

Furthermore, on a question about the codification of Islamic laws, she answered that these laws are indeed reactionary to the western influence. She quoted Max Weber where he criticizes the Muslim 'Qazi' for his inability to give proper legal framework. In case of the subcontinent, the British Raj had a significant influence on the framing of laws and they sufficiently missed out in forming a reference to Islamic values. They systemized the laws themselves and the laws we have right now is the product of that colonial process.

Journal Review of Strategic Thought: A Journal of International Affairs by Dr. Rabia Chaudhry Assistant Professor, Center for Public Policy and Governance

Strategic Thought: A Journal of International Affairs is a recent publication by the National Defence University (NDU), based in Islamabad, Pakistan. It is a hefty tome (around 200 pages long). At the very onset it sets its intention as an attempt to cover a broad range of subjects of strategic relevance to Pakistan's internal policy – sustainable economic development, good governance, nuclear weapons as deterrence – as well as international relations – Kashmir, Afghan peace process, India post BJP etc.

The journal aspires to bridge the gap between “*real world strategy and its theoretical, intellectual counterpart*”. Therefore, we see contributions by a mix of ex ambassadors, retired military personnel and academics – the former group representing the “*real world issues*” and the latter stepping in as their “*theoretical, intellectual counterpart[s]*”. It is a truly commendable effort on the part of NDU to bring together such a multi-disciplinary group on a common platform to identify and think through issues of “geo-political and geo strategic” relevance to Pakistan and one hopes to see this develop into a regular journal series. Content-wise, as we shall see below, there is a palpable preoccupation with India, which is understandable as a reputable military academic institution is publishing it.

As mentioned above, the Journal is divided into two broad categories: the theoretical and the practical. I am however categorizing the articles into topic-wise themes: Indo-Pak relations including Kashmir, Pak-Afghan relations, nuclear considerations of Pakistan, economic development. Here it would be pertinent to state two observations upfront. First, even though the journal holds itself out to be discussing geo-strategic issues concerning Pakistan, all these issues are analyzed from a pronounced India centric vantage. However, in an attempt to bring academics and practitioners on a common platform, the journal falls into the trap of a stark divide between how the arguments are framed and presented by both groups. The articles submitted by the non-academics read more like opinion pieces. They not only lack the depth of analysis displayed by their counterparts but are methodologically unsound as well which is evident immediately from their respective refer-

ence sections. This could easily be remedied in the future issues by creating two distinct categories and maintaining a clear distinction between the two types of articles.

The Journal does deserve credit for publishing two rigorously research driven analytical articles; the “Memory, Freedom and Power” by Syed Sikander Mehdi and “Building a Human Economy to Overcome Underdevelopment: A Strategy of Sustained Growth and Economic Independence” by Dr. Akmal Hussain.

Akmal Hussain's “Building a Human Economy to Overcome Underdevelopment: A Strategy of Sustained Growth and Economic Independence”, makes a case for investing in and developing the human economy of Pakistan in order to unlock its economic potential, and is by far the most informative and insightful contribution to the series. Defining development as “transformation” (Husain, p. 70) he offers an exhaustive outline of a strategy of growth through equity. He then goes on to outline strategies that can be adopted with respect to Small and Medium Farmholders (Husain, p. 72), Accelerating Growth of Small and Medium Enterprises in the Manufacturing Sector (Husain, p. 74), and how to potentially reduce Regional Disparities (Husain, p. 75). Dr. Hussain has been, skillful in building an empirical case depicting user-friendly graphs and data to make a case for equality based human development approach. He recommends a pro-poor shift in the present institutional structures thereby providing equal opportunity for human development.

The second article that grabs one's attention is “In Memory, Freedom and Power”, wherein Mehdi expounds upon the nuanced relationship between collective memory and power. He assesses the role of memory as a counterbalance to tyrannical power and how it can be galvanized in empowering freedom movements. While acknowledging memory as a form of power in its own right, he distinguishes between memory and conventional power in the following terms: “*While the major concern of power is to defend at all cost and by all means, and destroy the dreams and movements aspiring for freedom and change, memory illumines the images of freedom and empowers the movements for justice, change and freedom*” (Mehdi 2020, 83). Citing the example of Indian Occupied Kashmir, he argues that the abolition of Article 370 of the Indian Constitution under the premiership of Narendra Modi has effectively

converted the area “into a vast prison”. Moreover, “...a series of measures have been taken to brutally handle any possible violent reaction including militant uprising against the changes made” (Mehdi 2020, 95). Discounting the possibility of an Indo-Pak war (in light of nuclear capabilities of both the countries), an armed struggle or even an indigenous military adventurism, Mehdi concludes as follows:

“As a powerful tool of soft power, memory can play a much more powerful role in this struggle for freedom than is generally appreciated in the societies where weapon is the power god. There is the need to rediscover the culture of peace and nonviolence in Kashmir through fictional and non-fictional writings, and introduce the Kashmiri people to world literature on nonviolent action and nonviolent leadership in different eras of human struggle” (Mehdi 2020, 97).

There is plenty of literature and historical and political writings on the Kashmir issue but what is refreshing, unique and distinctive about Mehdi’s article is his invocation of ‘memory’ to shed light on the struggles, sufferings and the human rights of the people of Kashmir. Through, memory Mehdi has conveyed a powerful message on the freedom movement in Kashmir in his essay.

Brig (Retd.) Shaukat Qadir’s piece on good governance necessities of Pakistan, in the reviewer’s view, brings out the discrepancy in the two styles of articles into the fore. Relying on Rousseau’s concept of Social Contract, Qadir argues that the degree to which a state stands with respect to its governance capabilities is “directly proportional to the quantity and quality of justice it provides or fails to provide” (Qadir, 2020, p. 168). He touches upon multiple themes to make his case, which include the Global War on Terror and the status of the US as a super power in light thereof, the exploitative tendencies of globalization, and how corruption and terrorism are intrinsically linked. Given the catchy title of the article, “Can Governance be Simplified for Pakistan?” one expected that he will weave linkages between the themes highlighted and the challenges of governance, however, he falls short of establishing a link of the above themes with what one assumes he is trying to achieve by the title. However, he does touch upon MQM’s terrorist tendencies on the last page, which he could have fortified with some analysis backed by literature review. Instead, Qadir concludes the

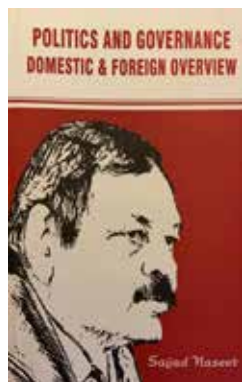
article with a heavy penchant for rhetoric (like justice delayed is justice denied etc.) without establishing any linkages with his initial hypothesis, the title of the article, or even making any recommendations.

In “It is not just Kashmir, It is Pakistan”, Ambassador (Retd.) Sardar Masood Khan gives a chronological account of the historical trends and patterns of the Indian decision makers with respect to Kashmir. He asserts that under BJP India is pursuing a threefold “fascist Hindutva doctrine” whereby it aims to retake Azad Kashmir, attack and disintegrate Pakistan and persecute India’s Muslim population (Khan, 2020, p. 1). Ambassador (Retd.) Ali Sarwar Naqvi, in his article titled “Jammu and Kashmir issue revisited” analyses Modi’s policy towards Kashmir, which includes the recent abrogation of Articles 370 and 35A of the Indian Constitution. He then goes on to highlight the impact of these decisions both on the ground and in India overall.

Strategic Thought: A Journal of International Affairs, appears to be an ambitious venture, where its architects and the editorial team aims to be synergizing the academic research with some tinge of actionable policy prescriptions from the practitioners. However, in the process the aim of devising a grand strategy and actionable policy research falls into the trap of opinion pieces that does convey the scale of practitioners professional experience of being former ambassadors but substance of strategy design and policy prescription demand stronger research content and rigorous analysis. Hopefully with such improvisations the Journal could achieve its laudatory/ declared goal of designing a strategy to safeguard Pakistan’s sovereignty.

Book Review *Politics and Governance Domestic & Foreign Overview* by Dr. Sajjad Naseer

Dr. Saeed Shafqat



Professor Sajjad Naseer is an eminent academic, who has taught and headed the Political Science Department at the Punjab University. He has also been associated with the Department of Social Sciences at the Lahore School of Economics (LSE). His academic and research career spans over four decades in which he has participated in several national and international conferences. He has been vigorous and dynamic in articulating his views and commentaries in the Pakistani electronic media. In that sense Professor Naseer is a well known educationist, who does not need any introduction.

Recently, Professor Naseer has put together a book comprising of his published and unpublished writings titled: *Politics and Governance: Domestic and Foreign Overview* (Lahore: A.H. Publishers, 2021). The book contains perceptive and insightful essays, research and conference papers presented in different academic settings over the past two decades. Most of the book revolves around two enduring themes/issues in Pakistani context, politics and governance. The book covers fourteen chapters and is neatly divided into two parts; the first part, which is longer, focuses on the domestic context. Here Professor Naseer touches on almost all issues ranging from migration, to urbanization, and disaster management to judicial crisis, transition politics and then tries to weave these issues in the context of governance under Pakistani federalism. Thus, he analyzes this web of complexity and in the process leaves the reader still hunkering for the possible solution to these developmental problems.

The second part is shorter but wider ranging, as it covers

the contemporary sensitivities about US withdrawal from Afghanistan to issues of regional security, war, peace and the decline of American hegemony in the world order. On regional security, his discussion on Pakistan's relations with India and Pakistan's role in Afghanistan provide informative historical overview and insights; yet the overall conclusion Professor Naseer draws is gloomy and prospects of peace, cooperation and development remain marginal. He cautions that peace will continue to be a delusion for India and Pakistan, unless their respective leaderships changes their mind sets and makes a conscious effort towards 'trust building' and rationalizing defense expenditures. On American global dominance, Professor Naseer asserts, 'nativist and protectionist interests' are holding back its potential now, as long as America was able to curb these forces internally its Great power status was secure, he conjectures the end of American global dominance by 2030.

Over all essays and articles in the book are well written, coherent, analytical and highly readable. The academic community, policy makers, journalists and students will definitely benefit by reading, Professor Naseer's: *Politics and Governance: Domestic and Foreign Overview*.

ABOUT CPPG

The Centre for Public Policy and Governance is committed to promote and disseminate teaching and research on public policy that focus on citizen welfare, distributive justice and participative development, humane governance and consultative and transparent policy processes.

The Centre aims to nurture a new generation of Pakistani scholars and policy analysts as well as contributing towards training and skill development of public officials and managers from Pakistan and abroad. To fulfil these objectives, the Centre actively pursues its activities in three key domains:

- As an academic institution, it imparts quality education based on an innovative curriculum designed with domestic needs in mind.
- As a policy think tank, it conducts applied and evidence-based research to inform the policy process. In addition, it organizes academic conferences, seminars & workshops for advocacy and raising awareness on public policy issues.
- As a training institute, it devises and conducts short term skills oriented trainings for public sector professionals.

CPPG Publications

Monographs



Reports



POSITION PAPER

Improving Governance: Reforming Provincial Civil Service in Punjab

Dr. Saad Hafeez, Director of Policy & Governance, Centre for Public Policy and Governance

Executive Summary

Improving governance is a key challenge for the Punjab government. This paper examines the current state of the provincial civil service and proposes reforms to improve its performance. The reforms focus on recruitment, training, and performance management. The paper also discusses the importance of transparency and accountability in the civil service.

POLICY BRIEF

Senate Elections 2015: An Assessment and the Way Forward

Dr. Saad Hafeez, Director of Policy & Governance, Centre for Public Policy and Governance

Executive Summary

The Senate elections in 2015 were held in a highly competitive and contentious environment. This paper assesses the outcomes of the elections and provides recommendations for the future. The paper highlights the need for a more transparent and fair electoral process, and suggests reforms to the Senate's structure and powers.

POSITION PAPER

Changing Dynamics of China-India Relations: CPEC and Prospects for Pakistan

Dr. Saad Hafeez, Director of Policy & Governance, Centre for Public Policy and Governance

Executive Summary

The relationship between China and India has become increasingly complex in recent years. This paper examines the impact of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) on the Sino-Indian relationship. It discusses the challenges and opportunities for Pakistan in the context of CPEC and the changing dynamics of China-India relations.

Quarterly

Quarterly Research & News

From the Director's Desk

Dr. Saad Hafeez, Director of Policy & Governance, Centre for Public Policy and Governance

Contents

- 1. Introduction
- 2. The State of the Nation
- 3. The Role of the Government
- 4. The Role of the Judiciary
- 5. The Role of the Media
- 6. The Role of the Citizens
- 7. The Role of the International Community
- 8. The Role of the Future

Quarterly Research & News

From the Director's Desk

Dr. Saad Hafeez, Director of Policy & Governance, Centre for Public Policy and Governance

Contents

- 1. Introduction
- 2. The State of the Nation
- 3. The Role of the Government
- 4. The Role of the Judiciary
- 5. The Role of the Media
- 6. The Role of the Citizens
- 7. The Role of the International Community
- 8. The Role of the Future

Dialogue Report

Dialogue Report

State, Democracy, Governance and Leadership

Dr. Saad Hafeez, Director of Policy & Governance, Centre for Public Policy and Governance

Executive Summary

This dialogue report explores the relationship between state, democracy, governance, and leadership. It discusses the challenges and opportunities for Pakistan in the context of these four pillars of development. The report also provides recommendations for the future.

Admission Timeline

Centre for Public Policy & Governance (CPPG)

Summer 2021

MPhil, Executive Masters and PhD in Public Policy

Admission Begin: June 1, 2021

Last date for form submission: August 13, 2021

Admission Test: August 17, 2021

MPhil Public Policy Time: 11 am – 1 pm

Executive Masters Time: 3 – 5 pm

PhD August 18, 2021

Time: 3 – 5 pm

Interview August 30, 2021 (MPhil)

September 2, 2021 (Exec. MA)

September 6, 2021 (PhD)

Venue: E-017

Please visit: <http://cppg.fcollege.edu.pk/phdadmissions/>
for more information

Visitors and Activities

16th January, 2019

The CPPG organized a talk on the **Role of Civil Servants in Public Policy Formulation in Pakistan** with a delegation of **Senior Civil Servants from Sri Lanka**

25th January, 2019

The CPPG organized a seminar in collaboration with Pakistan Japan Cultural Association on **Japanese Culture and Education** with **Mr. Yusuke Shindo**, Minister, Deputy Chief of Mission, Embassy of Japan in Islamabad

12th February, 2019

The CPPG organized a seminar on **Exploring Agriculture in the China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC)** with **Dr. Mahmood Ahmad**, an international consultant and water and agriculture specialist.

27th February, 2019

The CPPG organized a seminar on **BRI in Africa: The Case of Chinese Engagement with Kenya and Ethiopia** with **Mr. Nishat Kazmi**, Senior Consultant at the Media Foundation.

27th February, 2019

The Director CPPG was Keynote Speaker on a panel discussion on the **Civil Services Reforms** at Civil Services Academy of Pakistan, Walton, Lahore

6th March, 2019

The CPPG organized a seminar on **Sharia and the State in Pakistan: Blasphemy Politics** with **Dr. Farhat Haq**, Professor and Chair Political Science Department, Monmouth College Illinois, USA

25th March, 2019

The CPPG organized a seminar on **CPEC, Sustainable Economic Growth and Industrial Policy in Contemporary Pakistan** with **Professor Mathew McCartney**, Associate Professor in the Political Economy and Human Development of South Asia at the University of Oxford

28th March, 2019

Director CPPG was invited as a Guest Speaker to deliver a talk on the **Changing dynamics of Demography and Security in Pakistan** at the National Institute of Management (NIM), Karachi

4th April, 2019

The **Team Lead of GIZ Mr. Rainer Rohdewohld** met Director CPPG with reference to their collaboration on the Local Government Project

8th April, 2019

The Director CPPG delivered a lecture at National Management College (NMC) on the topic of **Public Policy, Planning and Development in Pakistan**.

10th April, 2019

The Director CPPG participated in a panel Discussion on **Humanizing the State**, at Lahore University of Management Sciences (LUMS)

11th April, 2019

Chief USAID came to meet Director CPPG

11th April, 2019

The CPPG organized a seminar on **BJP or Congress: An Analysis of Indian Elections 2019, Past Trends and Future Projections** with **Dr. Raja M. Ali Saleem**, Assistant Professor CPPG

2nd May, 2019

The CPPG organized a seminar on **Afghan Peace Process and Pakistan's Role: What does Future Promise?** with **Mr. Ahmed Rashid**, critically acclaimed author and commentator on Pakistan, Afghanistan and Central Asia

10th May, 2019

The CPPG organized a Policy Dialogue on **The Punjab Local Government Act, 2019** with **Cap. (Retd) Saif Anjum**, Secretary, Local Government and Community Development Department, Punjab

27th June, 2019

The CPPG organized a Round Table Discussion in collaboration with Department of Economics, Forman Christian College on **Pakistan Economic Situation and Budget 2019-20** with **Dr. Raja M. Ali Saleem** and **Dr. Salahuddin Ayubi**

1st July, 2019

The CPPG organized a two-day consultation with **LG&CDD public officials working at provincial and local level** on **Implementing the Local Government Act (PLGA) 2019: The**

lessons learnt from the implementation of the PLGA 2013

1st August, 2019

The Director CPPG went to [Sagrodha University](#) to attend the syndicate meeting

18th September, 2019

The CPPG organized a two-day consultation with [Former Elected Representatives of Local Government in Punjab on Implementing the Local Government Act \(PLGA\) 2019: The lessons learnt from the implementation of the PLGA 2013](#)

1st October, 2019

The CPPG organized a seminar on [Status of Archival Research in Pakistan: Strategic Studies and Beyond](#) with [Dr. Rabia Akhtar](#), Director, Centre for Security, Strategy and Policy Research, University of Lahore

22nd October, 2019

The CPPG organized a consultation with [Diverse Stakeholders of Local Government in Punjab on Implementing the Local Government Act \(PLGA\) 2019: The lessons learnt from the implementation of the PLGA 2013](#)

24th October, 2019

The CPPG organized a seminar on [US – China Trade War: Assessing the Trump Presidency](#) with [Dr. Charles Ramsey](#), Assistant Professor, Departments of History, Religion, and George W. Truett Theological Seminary, Baylor University – USA

8th November, 2019

The CPPG organized a seminar on [Migration, Integration and the Importance of Religion in the Processes: Norwegians in the United States and Pakistanis in Norway](#) with [Dr. Kari Guttormsen Hempel](#), Associate Professor in Social Sciences, Faculty of Arts and Education, Department of Early Childhood Education, University of Stavanger, Norway

19th November, 2019

The CPPG organized a seminar on [Social Capital and Religious worldview](#) with [Dr. Janel Curry](#), Professor of Geography and previous Provost (Vice Rector) at Gordon College in Massachusetts

26th November, 2019

The CPPG organized a seminar with the support of the Embassy of France and in collaboration with the Alliance Française on [The Transformation of Political Islam](#) with [Dr. Stephane Lacroix](#), Associate Professor at the Paris School on International Affairs (PSIA) of Sciences Po'.

3rd December, 2019

The CPPG organized a seminar on [Cold War Aviation to the Belt and Road: Corridors and Connectivity under Later Capitalism](#) with [Dr. Hasan Haider Karrar](#), Associate Professor at the Department of Humanities & Social Sciences at the Lahore University of Management Sciences (LUMS).

9th December 2019

CPPG organized a [Christmas get together and Alumni Reunion](#) in which [Dr. James Tebbe](#) Rector FCCU was Chief Guest.

11th December, 2019

The CPPG organized a conference in collaboration with Lahore University of Management Sciences (LUMS) and UNDP on [Cities for People](#) coordinated by [Dr. Imdad Hussain](#)

12th December, 2019

The CPPG organized a special seminar on [State of the Economy and the Desperate Need for Pro-poor Growth](#) with [Dr. Sohail Jehangir Malik](#), an independent development policy analyst and scholar

20th December, 2019

The CPPG organized a discussion in collaboration with Lahore University of Management Sciences (LUMS) & The World Bank on [The Future of Local Governments in Pakistan](#). The discussion was moderated by [Dr. Saeed Shafqat](#) and [Dr. Ali Cheema](#), [Dr. Sameen Mohsin](#) and [Mr. Ahmad Iqbal](#) were panel discussants.

Faculty & Staff

Dr. Saeed Shafqat | Professor & Director
> PhD University of Pennsylvania
> saeedshafqat@fccollege.edu.pk

Dr. Sikandar Hayat | Professor
> PhD Quaid-d-Azam University
> sikandarhayat@fccollege.edu.pk

Raheem ul Haque | Sr. Research Fellow
> Masters Intl. Public Policy, SAIS,
Johns Hopkins University
> raheemhaque@fccollege.edu.pk

Dr. Imdad Hussain | Assistant Professor
> PhD National Graduate Institute for Policy
Studies
> imdadhussain@fccollege.edu.pk

Dr. Raja Ali Saleem | Associate Professor
> PhD George Mason University
> alisaleem@fccollege.edu.pk

Saba Shahid | Research Fellow
> MSc in Local Economic Development,
London School of Economics and Political
Science
> sabashahid@fccollege.edu.pk

Reema Williams | Program Manager
> MA Economics, Peshawar University
> reemawilliams@fccollege.edu.pk

Shaleem Khokhar | Administrative Associate
> BSc (Hon) Economics. FC College
> shaleemkhokhar@fccollege.edu.pk

Board of Advisors

- Dr. William B. Eimcke** is the founding director of the Picker Center for Executive Education of Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs.
- Dr. Salman Humayun**, Institute of Policy and Social Sciences, Education and Public Policy.
- Dr. Saba Gul Khattak**, former Executive Director SDPI specializes in comparative politics and state theory.
- Dr. Anjum Khurshid** (MBBS, MPAFF), Assistant Professor and Director of the Health and Behavioural Risk Research Centre, University of Missouri.
- Dr. Naushin Mahmood**, Senior Researcher at Pakistan Institute of Development Economics (PIDE) specializes in demography and population issues.
- Javed Masud**, former Managing Director and CEO The Pakistan Credit Rating Agency Limited.
- Dr. Jack Nagel**, Professor of Political Science, Business and Public Policy, Wharton, University of Pennsylvania.
- Jean-Luc Racine**, Senior CNRS Fellow at the Center for South Asian Studies, School for Advanced Studies in Social Sciences, Paris focuses on geopolitics of South Asia.
- Babar Sattar**, LL.M, a Rhodes Scholar who writes on social, political and legal issues and runs a law firm AJURIS.
- Dr. Ayesha Siddiqua** is a security studies expert specializing in defense decision-making and civil-military relations in South Asia.

Contact Us

Centre for Public Policy & Governance (CPPG)

E – 017 & 018, F.C. College (A Chartered University)

Feroz pur road, Lahore – 54600

Phone: 042. 9923 1581 – 88 Ext. 388

Email: cpgg@fccollege.edu.pk, <http://cpgg.fccollege.edu.pk>

Facebook: [cpggfccu](https://www.facebook.com/cpggfccu)

Price Rs. 200



CENTRE FOR PUBLIC POLICY
AND GOVERNANCE



Forman Christian College
(A Chartered University)