

Quarterly

Research
& News

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From the Director's Desk

The year 2018 marks the fruition of the CPPG as a Think Tank driven by research, teaching, international exchanges and persistence in encouraging academic and policy engagement through its Seminar Series. In this spirit, it gives me pleasure to report several accomplishments. First, the Higher Education Commission (HEC) and FCC have given us approval to launch our PhD program in Public Policy. Our faculty deserves credit for designing and developing the program and we remain deeply indebted to all the academic bodies that contributed towards achieving this milestone, in particular the Rector, FCC for his support and guidance at various stages of planning the program. We aim to start the PhD in Public Policy in Fall (September) 2019.

Second, back in 2014, with the financial and academic support of the United States Institute of Peace (USIP), the CPPG initiated a unique and merit-driven program for providing research grants to MPhil Students to conduct field research within the domain of Peace and Conflict Studies. The

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CENTRE FOR PUBLIC POLICY
AND GOVERNANCE

USIP agreed to provide six research grants per year for two years, which were advertised nation-wide, and through a competitive and transparent selection process, were eventually awarded to selected students. Besides completing their field research and MPhil theses, the students were also required to submit a related 3,000-word research article. These articles are currently undergoing the Peer Review Process and we plan to publish them as part of an edited volume by Summer 2019.

Third, in the summer of 2018, the CPPG MPhil students got a unique opportunity to visit South Africa for a joint faculty student research project on “Genarrations of Reconciliation, Violence, and forms of Political Participation in Post-Apartheid South Africa” along with faculty and students of Hope College and Bratislava International School of Liberal Arts. This educational trip was a culmination point of an equally innovative initiative of collaborative teaching of a course titled “Peace & Conflict Narratives” among the three universities, taught by Mr. Raheem ul Haque, Senior Research Fellow on CPPG’s behalf. This course made a new beginning and the CPPG is working on the modalities of how to sustain and expand upon such an opportunity.

Fourth, Dr. Imdad Hussain, Assistant Professor, spent nine months spread across two universities: Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), USA and University Technology Malaysia; he won this award through a globally competitive process and is now in the process of completing his research on the role of refugee-focused NGOs in providing services to refugees in Malaysia.

Fifth, Dr. Raja M. Ali Saleem, Assistant Professor, published his pioneering book titled; *State, Nationalism, And Islamization: Historical Analysis of Turkey and Pakistan* by Palgrave Macmillan in late 2017. Dr. Ali Saleem had been working on this book for over two years. His forthcoming monograph on Religious Nationalism is undergoing the Peer Review process and should be published during the summer. Dr. Saleem was also invited to write an article on “Religious Values and Worldviews” for the prestigious Oxford Encyclopedia of Politics and Religion based on his

excellent work as a reviewer for the encyclopedia. He submitted the article in July 2018 and recently, the article was accepted for publication.

Sixth, our ‘China Cell’, which has been building connections with Chinese universities and also conducting research imperceptibly on China for the past four years, has gained momentum and visibility with the publication of a Monograph by myself and Saba Shahid, *China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC): Demands, Dividends and Future Directions*. Currently, we are expanding our research with our next study on CPEC and the Changing Dynamics of China- India Relations.

Seventh, it is comforting to report that as of 2018, eighteen students have earned their MPhil degrees from our program that was initiated in 2014. As we prepare for the launch of our PhD program, the research and evidence-based policy research component of our program will give further boost to our Think Tank aspirations.

Finally, we are very pleased to receive an invaluable donation of books from the family of the illustrious Mr. Jamshed K. A. Marker, a distinguished Formanite and accomplished Pakistani diplomat. These books are being catalogued and will be housed in the FCC Public Policy Resource Centre. A good library is an asset for any academic program and we are proud that it is growing both in terms of number of volumes and richness of knowledge resources. The CPPG’s academic programs and research credentials are portends of a promising future for young scholars, policy analysts and those who aim to pursue Public Policy as a means to contribute towards public service. It is hard to believe yet true that the Quarterly is also ten years old, may it continue to grow and get greater academic recognition!!

South Africa Story – An Unfinished Revolution

Raheem ul Haque



Faculty & students at University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg

This essay is an outcome of a 17 day research and study tour of South Africa undertaken by faculty and students of CPPG FC College, Hope College and Bratislava International School of Liberal Arts (BISLA) subsequent to the Global Liberal Arts Alliance Globally Connect Course on "Peace & Conflict Narratives" taught collaboratively by the three universities.

Colonial History of an Ancient Land

The history of Southern Africa is as ancient as can be, observed by a visit to a cave that humans made their home 164,000 years ago. With cave paintings abound in the southern tip of Africa, the Origins Museum shared how the ancient civilization of the San-Khoi people survived till the arrival of the Europeans. The Dutch East India Company initially used the southern tip of Africa in 1652 as a breaking point for collecting fresh water and food for their journey from Europe to India and Southeast Asia. But as this station grew into a colony at Cape Town, the Dutch initially used bonded indigenous labor but later imported slaves from across the world primarily through the Indian Ocean trade route spanning East Africa, India, Sri Lanka, Indonesia and Malaysia to work on their farms and vineyards. Along the same time, inter-tribal warfare for land and power raged among the larger African tribes reaching its zenith during Shaka Zulu's rule in the 1830s.

On the European front though, the Dutch settlers continued to move inwards displacing indigenous populations

and establishing new cities but racial differentiation was not yet extremely strict as these land colonizers also included the Colored (interracial) population. By the time, the British East India Company captured Cape Town in 1814 after recurring conflicts with the Dutch; who were already deeply entrenched in the area as settlers. Further, the British banning of slavery in 1833 deeply impacted the economy, resulting in the what came to be called the Great Trek resulting in the formation of the Afrikaner identity as Dutch settlers moved inwards battling African tribes for land for their own pastoral or agricultural economy, much beyond the Cape area and closer to the current geography of the country. This led to the creation of independent Afrikaner states. The bad blood between the British Cape authority and the Afrikaner states further heightened as diamond was discovered in Kimberly in 1866 and later gold was found in what eventually became Johannesburg in 1886. With the English capitalists dominating the mines and immigration increasing from England, both material and demographic pressures on Afrikaner-run free states increased, leading to the inconclusive First Anglo Boer War in 1881. By this time, the British had defeated the Zulus, the most powerful African tribe and annexed their land. Further, immigration from India to work on railways as well as other business opportunities had led to a sizeable Indian population. The increased divergence of interests between the Afrikaner and the British eventually led to the Second Anglo Boer War from 1899-1902, following which Afrikaner free states directly came under direct British rule, and the Union of South Africa comprising the current territory of the country came into being in 1910 with only Whites forming the electoral college.



Visiting the Cape St. Blaize Cave, Mossel Bay

Although racism had pervaded South African society as an outcome of the colonial enterprise, with Africans constituting the mass majority at the bottom, the Colored and Indians in the middle, and the Whites on top, the society carried on developing organically along with the struggle for equal rights. The Indian lawyer and activist, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi initially organized the Indians for equal rights through passive (non-violent) resistance at the turn of the century while the African leadership took a trip to England to plead with the Queen for equal rights. But South Africa with its mineral wealth was too precious for the British to allow rights to the mass majority, which was made landless and condemned to low-wage jobs. Thus, the objective was to keep the Whites happy by giving more power to South Africa's White democracy. However, the Afrikaner, who constituted the majority among the Whites, had yet to forget the Anglo-Boer War and thus their support for the British in the First and Second World War was partial because of a split Afrikaner political opinion. Additionally, the impact of the Great Depression along with the increased African migration to industrial cities raised the insecurity of Afrikaners, who eventually voted for the far right Nationalist Party in 1948.



Plaque outside the Slave Lodge, Cape Town

Institutionalizing Apartheid

The Nationalist Party instituted a concrete set of state policies meant to both secure and further consolidate White privilege at the expense of all non-Whites. The intellectual justification for this was termed Apartheid

(meaning "separation" in Afrikaans), whereby no defined race could live together in the same neighborhood or marry another from a different ethnicity. The ridiculousness and atrocity of this policy could be gauged through the Pencil Test, devised by the state to differentiate between Blacks and Colored. If the pencil stayed in the hair, the person was termed 'Black', else they would be termed 'Colored.' Apartheid was nothing new and had its roots in slavery and colonialism as a century before, the Whites of the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) had refused communion (drinking from the same cup) with non-Whites leading to the development of the theological justification for inequality and separation. Still, the DRC did not want the Colored and Africans to have an independent church, so a separated church under the DRC was made for them. If such a system would have continued for a millennia, it had every ingredient to develop into a Hindu caste system with Whites as the Brahmin and Blacks as the Shuder.



Constitutional Hill Old Fort, Johannesburg acted as a jail

The practical manifestation of the state policy of Apartheid meant that all non-White neighborhoods in the city were demolished or moved miles away from the White city; and mixed race neighborhoods were demolished and each race forced to live in their own neighborhood. Thus, even after 24 years since the end of Apartheid, one still finds spatial segregation and visit to a city centre which could be predominantly White automatically means that tens of miles away, there would be a low-income Black township. Thus a trip to Johannesburg is incomplete without a visit to Soweto township, and that of Stellenbosch without Kayamanti township. However, Johannesburg city centre is no longer White because after 1994, as Blacks moved into the city centre with their new found freedom, the Whites instead moved North into gated communities.

“...non-White neighborhoods in the city were demolished or moved miles away from the White city; and mixed race neighborhoods were demolished and each race forced to live in their own neighborhood.”

Struggle for Social Justice & Equality

While struggle in South Africa had long begun against colonial rule as can be observed from the history of Robben Island where both Khoi and Xhosa chiefs were incarcerated in earlier centuries, the 20th century struggle was initially based on dialogue and demands for equal rights. This reached its peak in the Freedom Charter of 1955 signed by all communities – Black, White, Colored and Indian, demanding a non-racial South Africa with equal rights for all its citizens. But, as the Apartheid state incarcerated and tried the Charter signatories, the struggle moved ahead leading to the burning of the 'Pass Book', a symbol of unfreedom that listed the (non-White) person's name, tribal identity, race and allowable living location. To perpetuate its system of Apartheid, the state had strictly racialized South Africa by separating living areas of all races while creating eleven rural reserves called Bantustans, which supposedly had African self-rule by tribal chiefs. Thus, only Blacks with a relevant Pass could live in the White city as domestic workers, or in the township if they had employment in nearby city or mine. Else, they would be barred to the Bantustan, which had neither employment opportunities nor enough land for sustainable living.

The next phase of the struggle began when 69 unarmed protestors were killed for protesting against Pass Laws in 1960 in what became popularized as the Sharpsville Massacre, along with the banning of the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC). This led the ANC, which had earlier strictly followed non-violence under Chief Albert Luthuli, winner of the 1960 Nobel Peace Prize, to setup Umkhonto we Sizwe (The Spear of the Nation) as the ANC's military wing. While strictly concentrating on sabotaging infrastructure, these news making activities were short lived as the state was able to capture the leadership of the ANC and the South African Communist Party in a major raid in 1963 leading

to almost a complete destruction of resistance leadership within the country. Nelson Mandela and other resistance leaders were put in jail for the next few decades while other ANC leaders such as Oliver Tambo had to leave the country to setup ANC wings in supportive neighboring countries. This had two consequences: one, because the rest of the resistance cadre had to leave the country, the South African struggle became more internationalized as these cadre made links with activists around the world, thus popularizing the anti-Apartheid struggle; two, the absence of resistance leadership within the townships led to the development of new resistance ideas among the youth which burst out in the Soweto Uprising of 1976.



Poster at the Liliesleaf Museum

On the ideological front, the resistance to White minority rule had initially been a collection of different political movements into a conglomerate of the ANC. However as the ANC developed into a more organized political body, the question of the role of non-Blacks began to come under scrutiny and became an unresolvable conflict because of the underrepresentation of Blacks in the making of the Freedom Charter. The Africanist wing, which did not want to associate with Whites in their anti-Apartheid struggle split from the ANC to form the PAC with Robert Sobukwe as its leader. In contrast to Mandela, Sobukwe was considered more dangerous by the state and kept in solitary confinement during his nine years on Robben Island. With these two ideological political currents at play and lack of resistance leadership, the 1970s saw the rise of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) led by Steve Biko who was involved in the South African Student Organization (SASO). By appropriating Black, Biko wanted to develop

a sense of history and identity among the Blacks who had been de-humanized since the advent of colonialism, and his methodology for Black empowerment was based on self-help and self-identification rather than being supported materially or intellectually by liberal Whites. Further, by including all non-Whites in the Black category, the BCM also situated other races as partners in struggle. Thus, when the Apartheid state instituted Afrikaans as the medium of instruction in schools, the students went up in arms with thousands protesting across the country. However, it was the killing of 176 children in Soweto, which turned the tide of international public opinion against Apartheid South Africa while popularizing the struggle within the country. It mobilized the youth across the country to take up the domestic fight, and energized the trade unions to also play their part in the struggle. Sweden, Cuba and the Soviet Union along with other countries would play a critical role in supporting the South African struggle, and both the socio-political boycott and lastly the financial and banking boycott would be critical in bringing the Apartheid state to the negotiating table.

From Soweto onwards, it was a matter of time before White minority rule would give way to majority rule, and Mandela was moved from Robben Island to a mainland prison in 1982 for an easier access to secret negotiations. But, it still took more than a decade for the ANC and the Nationalist Party to hold the first democratic election of South Africa on April 29, 1994. It was this extraordinary leadership on their part that led to a negotiated settlement, when things could have easily gone towards an all-out civil war. Still, South Africa saw an extraordinary level of violence during the negotiating period spanning the late 80s and early 90s, as the violence transformed from explicit state perpetrated violence to factional violence in the townships, and assassinations by the deep state.



Installation at the Apartheid Museum

Advent of Democracy

The postelection period further saw the rise of humanity as the Truth & Reconciliation Commission (TRC) headed by Archbishop Desmond Tutu brought together former perpetrators and victims to share their stories. These were broadcasted live on television and the objective was that by sharing memories and remorse for what a perpetrator had done, the society could overcome its past trauma, leading communities to come together to form what Mandela had termed the 'Rainbow Nation.' But 24 years after the democratic government came to power, all is still not well in South Africa. It is still the most unequal country in the world and has one of the highest rates of violence.



Exterior of Constitutional Court adorned with 11 national languages

The ANC government, which has been in power all this time, has not been able to deliver according to the expectations of the people, and a visit to South Africa clearly shows how race still traverses the class line with the Whites on top and the Blacks at the bottom. Thus, although the Black majority has political power, still the economic, spatial and even social apartheid continues to exist.

The opinions are of course varied with some blaming Mandela for taking the short end of the stick and the ANC for being taken for a ride in terms of leaving out economic and wealth redistribution in its negotiations with the White government. Another opinion argues that the "sunset clauses" were agreed to leave the economy untouched for five years only primarily for stability, and thus it was the responsibility of the ANC presidents after Mandela to take up the task of ending economic apartheid. This opinion argues that the TRC also made recommendations such as the "wealth tax" and "economic restructuring" which would have to be carried out by the government.

However, it was the lack of political will on the part of the leadership, particularly President Mbeki who followed Mandela, to carry out this agenda. But President Mbeki was not a champion of the TRC because in its impartiality, it had also criticized the ANC during the reconciliation process. More importantly, the TRC, which was supposed to be a process, was instead taken as an event. Thus even after two decades, the process of reconciliation remains an unfinished task because while the TRC event took place in a few cities and involved a few people, the impact of colonialism and apartheid was all across South Africa, and little or no engagement has taken place between communities at the local level. For example, while the Black and Colored churches have joined together to form the Uniting Reformed Church (URC), the White Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) continues to stay separate. According to URC pastors, while they visit the DRC in dozens when invited, only a few White people make the opposite trip. A DRC pastor also mentioned that while he can discuss reconciliation (inclusiveness) with his congregation in the Western Cape, raising the very discussion in the Northern Cape is not possible because there have been a number of (White) farmer killings in the area and thus the atmosphere is quite different.

Land – Dignity, Economics & Housing

“Land” at the moment seemed like the most talked about issue, as one even saw clips of President Ramaphosa stating on television how land was critical for dignity. While some argued that the issue of land was linked more with urban housing because most Black South Africans did not want to farm, as it was unviable as an earning mechanism. According to an agronomist, where land has been distributed among Blacks, it has not been used productively because of a lack of skills, as new owners have over grazed it, eventually either selling or leasing the land to Afrikaners. However, other South Africans shared stories of how they were overwhelmed by emotions and felt a certain attachment when they passed by the land that belonged to their forefathers. However they think that after the land was taken away by the Apartheid state, it was legally bought by the current owner, so taking it away would not necessarily solve the problem. But still, they at least want an acceptance on the part of the current owner, regarding the history of the land. Discussing confiscated land, a Picketburg pastor, while showing a URC church that had been taken from the Colored during

Apartheid days and given to the Whites, stated that the state had enough resources to compensate people but the hurdles included ownership documents which most did not have, along with a tedious bureaucratic process which most individuals could not cope with. Thus it seemed that resolving land issues had not been a priority for the state.



Extension to state provided housing

While all agree that the issue of land is important and the current concentration of land ownership is an outcome of colonial and Apartheid regimes, a debate continues on state policy as the earlier policy of voluntary land acquisition has not worked and so the current narrative owing to the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF), a recently formed political party of ANC youth dissidents, is ‘Land without Compensation’. This narrative has increasingly led to farm invasions in anticipation of land being given away. Further, a Colored interviewee in Cape Town was of the opinion that land raids were politically supported by an organized force, most probably the EFF, while another interviewee perceived that the ANC was also bringing in Blacks from other areas into Western Cape to try to change the demographics as it was the only area which had a non-ANC government owing to sizeable population of Whites and Colored.

“...they were overwhelmed by emotions and felt a certain attachment when they passed by the land that belonged to their forefathers.”

The outskirts of Cape Town had miles upon miles of shantytowns, houses made with corrugated sheets, both the roof and the sides. In some areas, one would instead see rows of exactly the same single story brick houses, while

at some locations; the government had also made double story houses. Often, one observed that people had extended the state built houses with similar corrugate structures. A Picketburg URC pastor stated that government-housing building would stay stagnant and only pick up as it got closer to the elections. But his main criticism was that the houses provided by the government were not a dignified liveable area because they literally had one room where the entire family had to accommodate themselves. He associated this lack of privacy for the parents with teenage pregnancy and other sexual violence prevalent in South Africa. From a policy perspective, it seemed that while the state had worked on housing, the backlog was such that the current strategy could not resolve the issue.

The Roots of Violence

"Violence" is another aspect that currently defines South Africa. It is the first issue highlighted when one wants to travel to the country. But it is not just violence that raises eyebrows. Instead, it's the type such as prevalent gender based sexual violence, violence against children and lastly Hollywood-type cash truck heists. The literature exploring the first two phenomena articulates Apartheid as the root cause as both the scale and depth of state violence perpetrated on the citizens was extensive enough that it became widely embedded into society. While the TRC did manage to reinvigorate humanity by releasing the anger and the guilt valve, it could not compete with the implications of a 300-year-old system, which still defines South African reality. The destruction of traditional African society and family structure owing to the colonial land grab and 19th century mining industry; Pass Laws' restriction of movement keeping women domestic workers away from their own children while they raised others', and lastly the AIDS pandemic's creation of orphans has been an important contributory factor. Another suggested factor, the decommissioned ANC fighters who had come back from exile, was also raised multiple times. As not all returning ANC fighters were incorporated in the security agencies and instead were given very little in the form of a golden handshake, a number of these former fighters thought that they had been cheated, and have since organized themselves or have joined existing gangs.

South Africans also usually relate violence with high youth unemployment rates and rising inequality. It seemed that democracy was a godsend for the privileged capitalists and the skilled as an economy which had

earlier been constrained by sanctions instead became the darling of the world. Further, as South Africa became part of the neo-liberal order, the same dynamics applied whereby the privileged sections who were mostly White gained a lot more than the mass underprivileged and skill-less majority. An example of this could be observed at the mountain top commercial enterprise, which was earlier owned by an Afrikaner and now by a Belgian. It grew apples, peaches and other fruits which were exported to Europe. An excellent road infrastructure along with electricity indicated the support of the state to large commercial farms. While all the workers including the foreman on the farm were Colored, the manager was an Afrikaner. According to our guide, a number of White owners had sold their farms for millions of dollars while becoming managers and thus greatly improving their life style.

“...Malema, the youthful and controversial leader of the EFF, drove the current political discourse in South Africa.”

ANC Governance & State Capture

Another popular word observed in the country was "State Capture", as everyone talked about former President Zuma's corruption in collusion with the business family, the Guptas. Some argued that Zuma had been corrupt even during ANC's resistance days, while others talked about how ANC as a party was now completely compromised. The book "Fall of the ANC" by two veteran political analysts argued that the ANC cadre were never trained to run a state, and thus after coming to power, both the service delivery of the state had suffered while corruption had arisen. They suggested that 23 years was a long enough time for South Africa to have made a difference in the lives of the Black poor. But instead, only those connected to the ANC had managed to improve their livelihoods while little had changed for the average Black person in South Africa. In comparison, the Nationalist Government had done much better for the Afrikaner community by pulling them up to the level of the English speaking elite in the same amount of time.

However, barring those who had no hope from the ANC, others spoke highly of the current President Ramaphosa introducing him as the one who had been picked by Mandela to lead South Africa after Mbeki, while justify-

ing Ramaphosa's riches to that of an astute businessman who had invested in the mines at just the right time, given he was a union leader during the resistance days. They argued that if he was able to consolidate himself within the ANC which was currently split between the Zuma and Ramaphosa factions, then there was a chance to revive the flagging political fortunes of the ANC, which others had written off as beyond repair and on a downward slide.

It seemed that Malema, the youthful and controversial leader of the EFF, drove the current political discourse in South Africa. The opinion was split. Those we met in Johannesburg were excited about the EFF arguing that Malema had created waves and highlighted a needed narrative of redistribution, thus challenging the status quo driven ANC. However, as we moved south towards Cape Town with significant Colored and White population, Malema became an anti-hero to be maligned. For the Whites, he represented emerging Black racism, and for the Colored, he seemed to have no understanding of the Cape with its diversity, and thus his narrative was counterproductive, increasing fissures among different races.

Competing Narratives

The White narrative in South Africa is quite diverse and ranges from explicit racism to a sense of remorse underpinning the motivation for self-sacrifice to build a new South Africa. Predominantly, the White community still had a sense of insecurity which was articulated through the narrative of "farm killings" of White farmers in the hundreds; the barb and electric wires encapsulating homes in White suburbs; and terming the current system of governance as "reverse apartheid" where Blacks were preferred over them even if they did not have the same skills. Thus the younger generation of Whites was leaving South Africa for greener pastures in Australia, Canada and other parts of the White world. As an interviewee stated that a visiting South African from Australia had said that everyone from the barber to the doctor in their community were South African and so they were able to speak Afrikaans as often as they did back home. Lastly, they argued that the state's day to day functioning had deteriorated implicitly questioning the governance capacity of the ANC and thus the Blacks. Though a small segment, a White university professor countered the predominant narratives of corruption and violence, quoting SA's Corruption Index from Transparency International and arguing that the fiscal checks in place at lower levels of government were too

tedious to meet at times. She further argued that White women had gained from the same South African laws as they were highly skilled. However, her most important point was the still existing gap between the Whites and Blacks as the Human Development Index of White South Africa was as high as Western Europe in comparison with Black South Africa, which lived in the third world. She pleaded that White South Africa had to play its part by acknowledging "White Privilege" and part of her work was to sensitize the White community leaders in this regard. Similar narratives were articulated by two other White scholars at Stellenbosch University regarding the need for self-sacrifice among the Whites, as both had challenged the Afrikaner narratives within their own families, one even being the grandson of the architect of Apartheid, and they had paid for this transgression at a personal level.



A local youth run program at Kliptown informal settlement

The feeling among the Colored is also varied with some arguing that all that has changed since apartheid is that the Blacks have replaced the Whites in the privilege hierarchy while they have continued as second-class citizens. Also, a burgeoning "1st Nations" movement is at play whose representative argued that rather than reconciliation, what was needed was conciliation because the Colored in Cape area were descendants of the earliest inhabitants of the area, the San and the Khoi people, while all initiatives including the TRC had completely ignored this reality. This could have future political implications because the Colored constitute a significant demography in the Cape, and can become kingmakers in the elections. Still, others accept the fact that Colored did not go through the same de-humanizing experience as the Blacks, and had a lot more opportunities than the Blacks during apartheid. Thus, the Colored should accept this fact rather than complaining about policies related to Black Empowerment.

“...the Human Development Index of White South Africa was as high as Western Europe in comparison with Black South Africa, which lived in the third world.”

Voices for Change

Overall, South Africa is an extremely vibrant society owing to its past experience of organizing itself for change. One can observe this tradition in the regular protests for housing and services by marginalized sections of society; development initiatives by township youth or privileged citizens that aim to keep kids off the streets while providing them meals, skills and sports; and work of churches as shelters for the community and pastors as rooted leaders of the community. Some of the larger labor unions aligned with the ANC are now considered suspect in providing leadership for labor causes as they have tasted state power. The case in point being the 2012 Marikan platinum mine killings of 34 miners by security forces which is still very much a part of discourse as the striking miners were not given any support by the National Union for Miners (NUM) eventually leading to the confrontation. However, the most exciting mobilization with long-term implications has been the #RhodesMustFall movement which later developed into #FeesMustFall by college students at university campuses. It challenged the colonial structures and narratives personified by the statue of the mine magnate Cecil Rhodes, which still dominates the curriculum at universities and pays only lip service to African thought, history and philosophy. Similarly, it also critiqued the fee structure which a Black student could not afford owing to their background as compared to the privileged White students. However since democracy when White only universities were opened up to Blacks, the concentration of Black students has been to opt for university education as compared to vocational and technical training colleges where student seats stay vacant instead. While this may not be the best option from an employability perspective, still given apartheid history when Blacks were only allowed education in certain traits, it is understandable.



Rights messaging adorn street walls

Thus, overall South Africa is moving forward with all its issues. While apartheid still haunts the country through inter-generational poverty and inequality, a condition common to most of the developing world but without the linkage of class and race, South Africa still carries the seeds for change with a vibrant polity and an organized civil society, who have not given up and want to push forward the country's unfinished revolution.

“...the most exciting mobilization with long-term implications has been the #RhodesMustFall movement which later developed into #FeesMustFall by college students at university campuses. It challenged the colonial structures and narratives, personified by the statue of the mine magnate Cecil Rhodes, which still dominates the curriculum at universities...”

China & South Asia: Harmony and Connectivity

Dr. Saeed Shafqat

This is an abridged version of Dr. Saeed Shafqat's Opening Address at the First International Conference: China and South Asia, organized by the Institute of Global Studies and the Center for South Asian Studies, Shanghai University, November 24-25, 2018.



I am honored and humbled to give the Key Note address at the First International Conference of the Center for South Asian Studies. This year's theme, "China and South Asia" has special significance not only for the region as we approach the third decade of the 21st Century but also for the Center for South Asian Studies, as it prepares itself with new vigor and zeal to pursue and promote its institutional goals that relate to deeper understanding of China and South Asia and can lead to the enhancement of peace, social justice and economic wellbeing within and across generations.

My personal understanding of China and South Asia has been based on my Pakistani roots and educational experience in the United States. While not claiming to be a China expert, I have had a long-standing interest in China. In the late 1960's and 1970's, I had the chance to read studies on China by writers and scholars like Pearl S. Buck, Edgar J. Snow, Doak Barnett and Fred Green to name a few. I got my first opportunity to visit China in 2008 through the Fulbright organization and since then have been invited several times to conferences in China. From the Cultural Revolution to 'Socialism with Chinese Characteristics', China has made an incredible journey of social cohesion, economic growth, modernization, sustainable development and has articulated a captivating vision of global harmony.

As a Pakistani academic, I have had the opportunity to

teach in universities, train civil servants, head a number of Pakistani Think Tanks and thus interact with Pakistani policy makers in multiple ways. Further, my research and policy analysis contributions on Pakistan are wide ranging covering areas from culture, demography, governance, civil service reform, political parties, civil military relations to terrorism, security and Pakistan's relations with Great Powers. This, along with almost a decade long association with Columbia University (2001-10) as a Visiting Professor, I have gained unprecedented opportunity to teach courses on South Asia and interact with faculty and students who have shown keen interest in the region. I am also perhaps one of the few Pakistani's who learnt Tamil and did my Master's thesis on Dravidia Munetra Kazgham (DMK) and its transformational leader Annadurai.

Now let me turn to China and South Asian studies. It may be helpful to recall that prior to the break-up of Pakistan in 1971 and the creation of Bangladesh, the departments of Indian Studies where the Indian Subcontinent was taught as an area studies program, were well established in most European and American universities. However, following the break up, all Indian Studies programs were transformed into South Asia Programs— albeit continuing to focus on India. With the exception of India and perhaps Bangladesh, research and scholarship in the social sciences on South Asia has remained limited. Partly because the colonial education that we inherited was emphatic about teaching but not research, and this is a tradition that seems to have persisted in most South Asian countries. Secondly, there has been little or limited educational and cultural exchange programs amongst South Asian countries. For example, in the mid 1970's as I mentioned earlier I did my Masters in South Asian Studies and wrote a thesis on DMK, but could never get a chance to pursue research in India because there were very little opportunities for exchange programs between the two. Has that culture changed or will it change in the foreseeable future? At this point it seems unlikely. But what can be done to change this reality?

In the last three decades, China Studies has proliferated and it has become a complex, multilayered, and multidisciplinary subject. More importantly, with the rise of China, Chinese scholars and policy makers are propounding an 'alternate' discourse on the world order. This academic

discourse has acquired new intensity and sensibility. For example, it is assumed that disorder is a way of life in today's globalized world. Therefore, Chinese scholars and policy makers propound shared vision of the global community through two ideas: Harmony and Connectivity. Harmony— should not be confused with the concept of 'sameness.' It ventures to explore ways to promote cooperation among diverse and divergent interests. Zhao's theory of Harmony, for instance, has three principles; one, "relations determine things". A thing cannot exist by itself, it exists in relation to other things; this leads him to suggest the second principle, harmonious relationship between things is essential for survival, therefore, "co-existence is the precondition for existence". Three, this mutual relationship between people also produces conditions from which everyone benefits. Harmony leads to a reciprocal relationship among the actors. In this sense, Harmony goes one step beyond cooperation; it promotes reciprocity and mutual respect and benefit for all actors. According to Zhao, Harmony is in fact the premise on which successful world institutions need to be established¹.

“...Harmony goes one step beyond cooperation; it promotes reciprocity and mutual respect and benefit for all actors. ”

The notion of connectivity across borders is an equally powerful idea. In that spirit, the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) is probably the most innovative and revolutionary enterprise of this century. The speed, scale and swiftness with which it is being implemented in various parts of the world is unprecedented. The BRI is still unfolding, and world leaders and policy analysts are still trying to comprehend the potential impact it may have on regional and global connectivity, mobility of goods, ideas and prospects of cultural transformations and meanings of shared community. It has also led to the opening up of Chinese academia and society in exceptional ways. For example in 2003, 77,715 foreign students were enrolled in Chinese universities, in 2017, this number rose to 489,200 an increase of 600%. Currently, China is the top destination of students from Asia. Of all the BRI partners, Pakistani students are the third largest group, preceded

by Thailand and Korea. Over the past four decades, I have witnessed how a large number of Asians have transformed the American educational institutions, through their presence and contributions. Asian scholars and students have changed classroom compositions and teaching positions in American universities. I wonder, if the opening up of Chinese universities to Asians and others might generate a similar trend?

“...what Pakistan and India can perhaps learn from China is how it has managed relations with its neighboring countries in recent decades. ”

President Xi Jinping, while inaugurating the first International Import and Export Conference in Shanghai, spoke about China's history and its civilizational roots and also about its contemporary dispensation and outlook towards the global economy. The grandeur of China's international position was evident when he said:

"China is the world's second largest economy. We have a market of more than 1.3 billion consumers who live on the land of over 9.6 million square kilometers. To use a metaphor, the Chinese economy is not a pond, but an ocean. The ocean may have its calm days, but big winds and storms are only to be expected. Without them, the ocean wouldn't be what it is. Big winds and storms may upset a pond, but never an ocean. Having experienced numerous winds and storms, the ocean will still be there! It is the same for China. After going through 5,000 years of trials and tribulations, China is still here! Looking ahead, China will always be here to stay!"

In South Asia, India and Pakistan too invoke 5,000 years of 'trials and tribulations' characterized by economic instability, internal strife and international conflict. Indo-Pak rivalry in particular has been a constant hindrance to regional economic integration and socio-political harmony. Indeed, what Pakistan and India can perhaps learn from China is how it has managed relations with its neighboring countries in recent decades.

Despite India's remarkable growth and development and

the promise of strengthening its position in the world, the shadow of conflict and violence continues to linger. Is South Asia destined to remain conflict-ridden and suffer from stunted growth and unequal and differentiated economic development? In particular, "Are India and Pakistan condemned to be eternal enemies?" It does not have to continue this way but reality is harsh. While the case of Pakistan and India is often highlighted in the context of external threat and security, it is interesting to note that not only Pakistan and India, but most of the countries in South Asia are not at peace and have long running internal conflicts – insurgencies, civil war and religious and ethnic violence. Taking cue from the Chinese recent experience of harmonization and more recently the BRI on peace and sustainable development--- *the enhancement of peace, social justice and well being, within and across generations*, I would argue that peace and sustainable development are linked with internal reform including social, political, economic, and most importantly, strategic reform.

“...peace and sustainable development are linked with internal reform including social, political, economic, and most importantly, strategic reform.”

In the Realist worldview, the state has primacy in the international system, and invariably the prospects of peace are linked with the resolution of external conflict—thus perpetual rivalry and prospects of war make conflict endemic. Ironically in South Asia and in many other cases, states themselves have used the instrument of 'external enemy' to perpetuate rivalry and to deflect and curb inner peace and societal reform. Consequently, achieving an internal culture of peace, tolerance and harmony has become increasingly challenging. This lack of a culture of peace has been used by states to perpetuate the 'insecurity syndrome', animosity and hatred of the 'other.' Thus, the notion of 'external enemy' has often been used to determine an impression of domestic order and internal peace, but this has neither curbed social injustices nor led to sustainable development. Rather, at times, external conflicts have forced leaders to restrict the needed reforms for internal peace. For example, in the 1920's British

India witnessed two models of peaceful reform; first, the Gandhian Model which propounded non-violence and communal harmony; second, E. V. Ramaswami Naiker's model of self-respect, calling for restoring the dignity of the lowest of the low and the marginalized-- the Adivasis. Neither was particularly successful. But since the 2000's India's experience of growth, development, innovation and relative stability suggests that Naiker's model has provided a greater dividend to South India, which appears to have an edge in education, innovation and development while offering better opportunity for peace, growth and sustainable development.

“...the notion of 'external enemy' has often been used to determine an impression of domestic order and internal peace, but this has neither curbed social injustices nor led to sustainable development.”

The examples of Britain, France and Germany as perpetual rivals and 'enemies' until the end of the Second World War is yet another and often quoted historical example. Was it death, destruction, and a decline of their economies as a result of the two World Wars that brought home the salience of peace and the creation of the European Union or was it instead internal peace, growth, reconstruction and rejuvenation of their communities in the post World War period? There is considerable evidence to suggest that more than perpetual rivalry and animosity, it is internal reform and economic stability that enabled the promotion of a culture of peace and encouraged regional cooperation which led to the founding of the European Union.

Modern China offers another example, where internal peace and reform have paved the way for economic growth and the rise of China. A China that opposes cross border violations and encourages cross border cooperation—a China that is at peace within the region and champions multilateralism globally.

With these examples in mind, it is thus important for both Pakistan and India to rethink their current relationship of perpetual animosity. Both countries are confronted

with internal insurgencies, violence and terrorism and yet continue to make exorbitant defense expenditure to combat an 'external enemy'. Changing this mindset demands a structural change – a change from an economy of war to an economy of peace. This also means that cross-border and proxy wars must be replaced with cross-border cooperation.

“...It is only the improvement in the quality of life that can instill both value for life and respect for the well-being of fellow citizens, thus possibly curbing the tendency towards violence and terrorism.”

For internal peace, expanding economic opportunities and improving social justice need to be recognized which takes quality of manpower as a pre-requisite and requires investments in human capital. Citizen security and citizen welfare through inclusive and participatory approaches will automatically encourage a culture of peace and harmony. It is only the improvement in the quality of life that can instill both value for life and respect for the well-being of fellow citizens, thus possibly curbing the tendency towards violence and terrorism. Therefore, we need to incentivize peace and social stability for self-growth and community development. But most importantly, it is the participatory process and wider consultation among stakeholders that promote evolutionary change through negotiated settlements and resolves conflicts around resource allocation, which can lead to both peace within nations and amongst them. South Asia needs to build on these lessons and work towards dismantling the nexus of poverty, social injustice and economic inequities.

Without a doubt, peace holds the key to growth, prosperity and sustainable development. South Asia needs to urgently work on a fresh agenda to achieve these goals, build networks that encourage research and advocacy on peace within each respective country, across generations and across borders and help make the third decade of the 21st Century the 'decade of peace.'

¹Zhao Tingyang, *Investigations of the Bad World: Political Philosophy as First Philosophy [Huai Shijie Yanjiu: Zuowei diyi zhexue de zhengzhi zhaxue]* (Beijing: Zhongguo Renmindaxue Chubanshe, 2009)

Mr. Ignacio Artaza, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) Country Director was invited to the CPPG on the 13th of November, 2017 to deliver a seminar on "Sustainable Development Goals: Global Significance and Local Relevance."



Artaza began with a discussion on Pakistan's inability to achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) by 2015. Compared to other countries that performed much better, he articulated political instability, governance issues, absence of performance measurement mechanisms and a lack of understanding of the goals as factors behind this failure. The new Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) provide another opportunity for Pakistan. These goals offer five key features that include *people, planet, prosperity, peace and partnership*. The purpose being to make the world a better place by ensuring sustainable growth for all.

Comparing the SDGs with MDGs, Artaza explained that the formulation of MDGs consisted of a small group of experts while SDGs have a more inclusive approach where science and academia have a crucial role to play. Science introduces new technologies and approaches as well as solutions to the challenges of sustainable development while the academia works on the implementation of the goals. For instance, the role of science in tackling water related challenges will be particularly important to determine the right policy directions.

However, attention needs to be paid to localizing the SDGs, ensuring that both local and regional governments support these goals through a bottom-up action ap-

proach. In fact, the emphasis on ownership at the local level is what sets the SDGs apart from the MDGs. National and sub-national governments must be at the heart of the 2030 agenda, and targets need to be set at the local level, as do their measurement mechanisms. Thus, local government must be equipped with the capacity and the financial resources to improve implementation of SDGs as opposed to Pakistan's earlier experience with the MDGs.

Discussing the process of SDG's implementation in Pakistan, Artaza claimed that Pakistan was one of the early adopters of SDGs. 'SDG Units' were established in every province based on the decision of the National Assembly, and funded by both the national and the provincial governments. He further claimed that the Punjab government was the first one to establish such a unit, one of whose crucial tasks was the identification of potential areas where investments have failed to bring about change. The SDG Unit must also support the Government of Punjab to prioritize development policies, and additionally look into the budgeting process for SDG implementation in collaboration with the academia and think tanks.

He argued that integrating SDGs at the national, subnational and local levels will be key to their success. This requires determining the gaps in terms of development, developing targets to bridge those gaps, coming up with development plans and allocating appropriate funding for them. Moreover this process will also require identifying indicators to measure progress and then also reporting this progress. So, SDG implementation is a complex process of governance, and institutional arrangements have a vital role to play in order to make sure that all stakeholders are brought around the table for discussions. The private sector in particular can play a role in raising funds and committing to bringing about a social impact.

As a part of the localization efforts, the UNDP has been helping the Government of Punjab in trying to identify some of the poorest districts of the province using the Multi-dimensional Poverty Index, which provides a richer and broader sense of the reasons behind poverty. Bakhar and Rajanpur for instance have been targeted as pilot districts to develop prioritization of SDG targets. UNIDO is also involved in working towards a regional plan of development for South Punjab.

“...the local level of government must be equipped with the capacity and the financial resources to improve implementation of SDGs as opposed to Pakistan's earlier experience with the MDGs.”

Having given a brief overview of SDGs, the session was followed by a question and answer session. In response to a question regarding the failure of MDGs, Artaza claimed that their design was flawed because they were not designed to be implemented at the local level and thus remained at the surface. He elaborated that these goals must be adopted at the national level and implemented at the local grassroots level.

Responding to a question regarding the comparative response of the federal government to the SDG's as well as smaller provinces, he remarked that all governments were working at a different pace. The federal government is driving the entire process and is very much on board with the identification of areas that need change by making use of poverty indices. As far as the provinces are concerned, there is a sense of competition between them which can be viewed in a positive light because it provides them with the motivation to work harder as well as to learn from the ones that started earlier.

Another question focused on CPEC and its role in the achievement of SDGs. Artaza responded that it was a tremendous opportunity. He further added that UNDP has a global agreement with the Government of China to support its Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), and UNDP's role will be to push for investments that are green, environmentally friendly and in line with the SDGs.

Answering a question regarding the impact of the political economy on SDG implementation, Artaza responded that various external shocks had hindered Pakistan's development progress. Additionally, the contrast of public spending on defense with that of health and education do determine the development trajectory of a country. Therefore, allocation of budgets is an area governments need to look at critically when it comes to the SDGs.

:Dr. Shabbir Cheema, Director, Asia Pacific Governance and Democracy Initiative – East West Center, Hawaii and a former Director of Democratic Governance Division of UNDP, was invited by the CPPG to deliver a talk on “Urban Governance Challenges and Innovations: Asian experience and Implications for Pakistan” on October 19, 2017.



Cheema began by describing the present century as 'the Asian century' characterized by four major transformations: globalization, urbanization, the use of ICT and decentralization. Discussing urban governance and the role of cities in national development, he said that half of the population in Asia was expected to live in urban areas by 2020 and 13 out of 23 major cities of the world with population of about 10 million people were situated in Asia. In Pakistan, one-third of the population is urban and predicted to go up to 50% by 2025 while some scholars claim that this figure is much higher in reality.

In terms of economic indicators, 42% of the population which resides in urban areas contributes around 80% to the total Gross Domestic Product (GDP). In Pakistan, the urban population of which 20 percent is 25 years of age or below, contributes around 78 percent to the GDP. This suggests that the youth is making a significant contribution to the country's development. At the same time, we are also witnessing a great number of people becoming a part of the middle class and it is this class that will be at the forefront of development in all dimensions, whether it be political, economic or social. But with rising urbanization, there is also an increased incidence of urban poverty and crime, inequality, high population density along with a lack of proper planning in the sectors of sanitation, waste management and health. About 470 million Asians

live in slums, which highlights that disadvantaged groups continue to suffer and further indicates the cleavage between the conditions of different sections of society.

Speaking about urban governance, Cheema said that historically after World War II, the focus was initially on economic growth and national integration but gradually the need to pair up economic and social development arose. Eventually, the analysts realized that the quality of environment in both rural and urban areas was deteriorating and so the concept of sustainable development arose. However, not every section of society has been able to benefit from sustainable development and hence, greater emphasis is now paid to inclusiveness. The concept of development has therefore changed with a transformation occurring in global and national agendas.

He stated that the idea of governance emerged in the 80s and 90s, which encompassed an interaction of actors from the government, civil society to the private sector for resolving issues. Later, the idea of democracy got attached to the notion of governance because it was realized that no matter how effective governance was, democracy was required to make it even more successful. 'Governance for all' thus became a focal part of the urban development process. Cheema therefore argued that we are witnessing a reorientation whereby the initial emphasis on economic growth has made it clear that participatory growth is necessary while effective governance increases cities' contribution to national development. However, urbanization also poses significant challenges.

The first challenge was inclusiveness, an example of which was the informal sector that is currently absent from policies. Including it will be significant because it contributes to the quality of life of the middle class, yet developing a macro framework to facilitate its growth and integration with mainstream remains a challenge. Here, Kuala Lumpur can be taken as a success story as the city has been framing policies around inclusivity of even vendors on the sidewalk. Similarly, Bangkok and Manila have introduced basic services and housing projects that cater to the disadvantaged groups of society. Another example is of the Orangi Pilot Project in Karachi which addresses the issue of urban sanitation through community participation.

The second challenge was promoting equal participation and accountability. Urban society is class based, hence not every section of society gets the opportunity to participate. Some examples in overcoming this class structure can be found in India. For instance, by passing the 73rd and the 74th Amendment, India has attempted to ensure female participation at the local level as well as community participation in local government. Additionally, Mumbai has introduced an online complaint system with immediate feedback further strengthening the element of participation. In the Philippines, the 'Citizen Charter' forces interaction between the government and citizens. Cheema argued that leadership has a very important role to play in these cases as it is the driver behind transformation. In various global cities, we can observe mayors as dynamic and innovative leaders. However in Pakistan, we do not see these same actors as key players of economic change in the country. For accountability, he gave the example of the Philippines where the establishment of investigative journalism has set a great precedence that can help the government set priorities.

Cheema stated the need for the devolution of power to urban local governments as another challenge. He suggested that although in Asia, policy statements were indeed very comprehensive, still there was no practical implementation where political devolution and power sharing was blended with financial and administrative capacity. He gave two examples of decentralization in Asia: the case of Indonesia under President Habib, which has been referred to as 'big bang governance', as it expanded the role of urban governance in one go; second is the case of China that has been popular for its fiscal decentralization in order to boost economic growth and is now more decentralized than any other case. Comparing these cases to that of Pakistan, it is clear that the issue resides in weak co-ordination among government agencies.

Another difficulty in terms of urban governance in Pakistan is land use and housing provision because of inefficient allocation and use of land. Frequent encroachments required that unregulated use of peri-urban land is reviewed. For instance, data from the Urban Unit indicates that the Defense Housing Authority occupies one third of the land of metropolitan Lahore, indicating that a very small percentage of the city's housing needs are catered

for. However historically in Asia, only those countries have witnessed rapid economic transformation which have been able to provide adequate housing to their people, such as Singapore. Instead, lack of access to basic services is a recurring theme in the region. This includes basic necessities like proper sanitation or access to clean water, issues that again stem from weak co-ordination.

“...The bad news is that urbanization is a tale of two cities meaning there by that there is an increasing divide in the conditions of various sections of society.”

Cheema argued that there was a need to focus on small and intermediate sized cities and peri-urban areas so that they could be empowered to manage their own development. This is important because peri-urban areas are home to millions of people. It was important to recognize the value of smart city solutions and the use of ICT to promote city-wide processes that enabled decision makers to make more effective policy choices. For example, around 98% of public services are accessible on line in Singapore. The case of Lahore can also be taken as a success story, where the Dengue Activity Tracking System of the Punjab Information Technology Board has been effective. Though this may be a drop in the ocean but still it is a step forward.

For the way forward, he recommended a three-tier urban local government with an effective political participation and accountability mechanism. It is the urban local government that should lead the process of city transformation rather than a development authority or a World Bank supported program. Thus, he emphasized the imperativeness of expanding the financial resource base of local governments to make them catalysts for local development. In terms of administration, the local government capacity needs to be built, while evidence based planning and coordination should be other prioritize areas. With respect to the social sphere, an inclusive urban society needs to be promoted with informal settlements taken as an asset, and finally, the urban hierarchy needs to be approached whereby small cities and peri-urban areas are included in an integrated urban development model.

:Dr. Jonathan Mitchell, Founder and President of Concentric Development Inc., a nonprofit organization that helps development organizations to become more effective in alleviating poverty in the developing world, and incoming FCC Rector was invited by the CPPG for a seminar on "Impact Assessment: A Critical Tool for NGO Effectiveness" on October 9, 2017.

Mitchell began by sharing a personal experience that helped him to truly understand the significance of impact assessment in development programs. As part of a project to help local farmers increase their productivity and income in the Thal desert of Pakistan, he and his team were convinced of their success in improving the lives of the farmers. However, later he realized the ineffectiveness of the program because of negative spillovers such as communal hostility and undermining of local agency, and figured out that this failure was primarily because their work had been based on a large number of assumptions, most of which were invalid.

“...NGOs create a sense of dependency in the local communities, discourage innovation at the local level and deter people from taking responsibility for their outcomes.”

He broadly classified NGOs into two; those that are funded by grants and thus have a greater tendency of measuring impact due to donor requirements, and those which are funded through individual donations without an imposed impact assessment requirement, and thus are unlikely to include an assessment process. He expressed his distress over the ineffectiveness of NGOs despite their good intentions as this leads to ineffective utilization of resources at hand. This had led him to start his own non-profit in 2011. In sharing his experiences in Pakistan, Indonesia, Vietnam, Nigeria and elsewhere, he indicated four aspects which were imperative for the NGOs to ponder upon: one, they must be clear on what they are trying to achieve; two, they should know what 'success' would look like; three, they should be aware of who their customer is; and finally, they must be able to stay updated in their field of work.

Mitchell stated that most NGOs were assured that they were performing comparably better than their competitors and so they incorrectly assumed that there was no capacity for further improvement. In essence, they fail to think about assessing the impact for their activities. Even worse is the fact that they continue to measure impact merely by the number of activities they are engaged in. They believe that they are good to go if they are doing more of whatever of it that they are doing. Furthermore, NGOs create a sense of dependency in the local communities, discourage innovation at the local level and deter people from taking responsibility for their outcomes. If only NGOs could adopt the practice of follow-ups, they would be able to curb the unintended negative consequences of their well-intentioned projects.

“...an NGO can be successful even if it is not improving its services or truly satisfying its beneficiaries.”

In differentiating between the non-profit and the for-profit sectors, he stated that unlike the non-profits, there was no distinction between the sources of revenue and beneficiaries in the case of for-profits. The customer is both the beneficiary and the source of revenue in the case of for-profits. But for non-profits however, the beneficiaries are different from the donors, who are the source of revenue. As a result, an NGO can be successful even if it is not improving its services or truly satisfying its beneficiaries. In fact, in most non-profits, their customer is the donor and their product is the nice story that they choose to portray. The effectiveness of NGOs is therefore affected by their concern for ensuring the interest of their donors as opposed to that of their beneficiaries, and statistical evidence indicates that NGOs ended up choosing the least productive and cost effective approach because they failed to fully understand the underlying causes of the problem that they were trying to resolve. Additionally, there is very little evidence that they go beyond the approaches already followed as they are convinced of the meaningfulness of their work. Thus, they are stuck in a cycle where the donor continues to provide funds while they continue to grow.

Mitchell explained that donors were now becoming much more sophisticated in their grasp of non-profit effectiveness and had started to question NGOs on their impact. This increased attentiveness of donors has in turn stirred up the interest of NGOs in monitoring and assessing the impact of their work. However, the issue is that "NGOs don't even know how to begin to measure impact. It is something that they find mysterious, frightening and daunting."

“...NGOs could not be the core service providers in a community and some reliance on the governmental sector was needed.”

He further pointed out the problem that the projects of NGOs continued to be based upon a series of assumptions whose validity may not always be checked. The NGOs assume for instance that their interventions will bring about positive change. For example, they will bring more water, expand education and improve infrastructure. But these assumptions fail to account for negative spillover effects that are not accounted for in the beginning. For example in a project aiming to improve girls' education in Hunza, the NGO was successful in increasing enrolment, however, it failed to account for these girls' younger siblings who were dependent on their support and care. As a result of their elder sisters' attending schools, these toddlers were tightly wrapped and put to sleep for a major part of the day. Their early childhood development was affected as they were unable to develop crucial motor and linguistic skills, or the curiosity needed to learn new things. He suggested that part of the solution to this issue lay in simply articulating project assumptions with a better understanding of the effects a particular intervention may have. Giving similar examples from his experience in Latin America and West Africa, Mitchell conclusively stated that feedback loops are imperative to improve NGO projects and deliver more comprehensive solutions.

The talk was followed by an interesting question and answer session. When asked, how NGOs particularly those working on short-term projects with minimal funding, could be incentivized to incorporate impact assessment, he responded that such NGOs needed to expand

and diversify their donor base. This could be achieved for instance by attracting a greater number of individual donors, who tend to be more loyal contributors.

In response to a question about NGO's increasing substitution of government functions and sustainability of funds on which donor-driven projects relied upon, Mitchell pointed out the increased prominence of private sector and its ability to deliver promising results. He suggested that the role of the government, in contemporary times, has become limited only to resolving issues where the market fails to resolve them. However, he explained that NGOs could not be the core service providers in a community and some reliance on the governmental sector was needed. In cases where the government fails to perform its duties, it is imperative that a partnership is created with it. Apart from this, support can also be provided by the private sector.

Addressing a question, whether the performance of NGOs was linked to the overall governance system, Mitchell said that their performance was actually tied to their donor and unless the donor questions the NGO of its impact, it would continue to show negligence. Thus, the real issue lay in the missing link between the beneficiaries and the NGOs as service providers. One way this can be corrected is by letting the beneficiary decide which service provider they want to work with.

:Dr. Richard A. Detweiler, President, Great Lakes Colleges Association (GLCA) and Foundation Fellow at Oxford University's Harris Manchester College, was invited by the CPPG for a seminar themed "From Learning to Life: The Long-Term Impact of a Liberal Arts Education" on August 15, 2017.



Detweiler's talk revolved around the questions of why higher education was important in the first place and what impact it left on the lives of people. Further, he explored the question of how that education occurs by looking at the values of liberal arts education in comparison with specialized education, using the concepts of education content and the educational environment -- what students study as distinct from its context.

Detweiler began by explaining the two global approaches to higher education. The first, more common approach is the non-liberal arts approach, which is characterized by a specialized field of study and building of a specific type of knowledge within that specialization. This approach characterizes higher education in most places worldwide. Second, the liberal arts approach which has a greater breadth of study and characterizes the higher education approach prevalent in the United States. This approach is now becoming increasingly popular as it equips individuals with critical thinking and creative problem solving skills. Most importantly, it allows them to be more adaptable to a changing world. Skeptics on the other hand argue that liberal arts' students are likely to remain unemployed and unprepared for a specific job.

Discussing the historical origins of two approaches, he stated that the emergence of liberal arts dates back to the time of warriors' training in ancient Greece. As com-

munities became more organized, physical warfare was replaced with symbolism. Further, with the emergence of cities, the need arose for more people to govern them and hence this led to the addition of more fields of study. Thus, different fields and disciplines began to be added with the ultimate goal of preparing people to be more successful, and for advancing humanity. So in many respects, this approach had a predominantly context-dominant dimension as opposed to content. The Romans adopted many aspects of the Greeks' approach and later the writer Marcianus Capella introduced the liberal arts in North Africa. Capella listed seven disciplines that he believed were the foundation of the liberal arts, namely: Grammar, Logic, Rhetoric, Arithmetic, Geometry, Music and Astronomy. It was the first time in history that the 'content' dimension was introduced.

In discussing knowledge advancements in a variety of disciplines by virtue of reforms during the era popularly known as the Golden Age of Islam, Detweiler shared that the House of Wisdom in Baghdad was a center of knowledge where writings of scholars from a diverse range of cultures, religions and languages were collected, understood and translated. There was emphasis on both content and context. Increasingly, the pursuit of knowledge began to be seen as sacred, which accelerated the ability to reason and invent. Many decades of movement of people and exchange of ideas from one region to another eventually led to the Renaissance movement in Europe, and the liberal arts approach reached Europe after its dark ages. As a consequence, the liberal arts approach to higher education found new grounds in North America.

“ In terms of 'content', its important attributes are non-specialization, development of intellectual skills and interrelated learning, while in terms of 'context', liberal arts is about an engaging pedagogy, developing a broader perspective and creating educational communities. ”

The introduction of non-liberal arts approach can be attributed primarily to King Frederick of Prussia, who revo-

lutionized the education system by introducing early-age specializations with the aim of strengthening the Prussian economy. The success of his model can be gauged from the fact that it was borrowed by many European states. In the era of colonialism, this model became increasingly adopted elsewhere in the world, including in Pakistan. However, the US continued with its liberal arts approach.



In light of this in-depth historical analysis, Detweiler explained the key characteristics of liberal arts education. In terms of 'content', its important attributes are non-specialization, development of intellectual skills and interrelated learning, while in terms of 'context', liberal arts is about an engaging pedagogy, developing a broader perspective and creating educational communities. The real task however is to link these characteristics to life outcomes. He studied mission statements of 17 non-US liberal arts institutions including FC College, and 238 other universities to understand these characteristics, and shared six of the most common features of these institutions: one, engage individuals in civic activities; two, shape successful effective leaders; three, enable students to make thoughtful choices about life; four, produce continued learners; five, groom personally, professionally, and financially successful people; six, inculcate a commitment to culture.

Furthermore, to assess the long-term impact of a liberal arts education versus a non-liberal arts education, 1,000 College graduates in total were selected from both types of institutions. The study observed their behavior but not their attitudes. For instance, how frequently they discussed their academics outside of their classes or how well they had been able to perform in adult life in terms of their pay, first job etc. These life outcomes were then

linked back to different aspects of university experience. For instance, what aspects of university experience were related to leadership? The study results indicated that the content and context of education work best together and help create both more successful leaders and productive, intellectual and valuable members of society.

In conclusion, Detweiler reassessed the questions he had posed at the beginning of the talk, about understanding the importance of higher education and whether it should be treated as a public good or a private good. In his opinion, ideally, a university education experience should be geared towards creating a positive impact on a person's life, not just in the short-run but also in the long run.

The talk was followed by a question and answer session. Answering a question regarding, how successful are liberal arts institutions in imparting the necessary skills demanded by the job-market, he stated that they were pretty successful. Liberal arts education is able to inculcate creative problem solving skills, which are not just a valuable asset for the economy but also for students' own growth and continued learning.

“ ... content and context of education work best together and help create both more successful leaders and productive, intellectual and valuable members of society. ”

In answering a question pertaining to the importance of language in today's day and age, Detweiler explained that it was interrelated with culture and ideas. It is important that we translate texts that are in a language foreign to us, and also ensure that they are translated in a culturally-sensitive way. In addition, to be successful in today's global world, it is important that one is familiar with the global language, which seems to be English at the moment.

:Dr. Christophe Jafferlot, Director of the Centre *d'études et de recherches internationales* (CERI) at Sciences Po, Paris and a CNRS Senior Research Fellow was invited by the CPPG for a seminar on "The Growth of Indian Cities: What Place for Minorities?" on 23rd October, 2017.



Jafferlot began the session with the introduction to the Sachar Committee that was established by the former Prime Minister Manmohan Singh a year after he was elected, to review the contemporary situation of Muslims in India. There are several indicators of marginalization of the Muslim community within Indian society. At the outset he listed three; first, the level of education, which according to the 2001 census showed that Muslims lagged behind in terms of literacy. Additionally, while the average rate of graduates in India stood at 7%, it is only around 1.5% for Muslims. Second, the number of Muslims in the Indian parliament. In 1980, the percentage of Muslims in Indian society was 11% while the percentage of Muslims in the lower house of parliament was 9% only. So, the ratio of Muslims in the parliament was proportional to that of Muslims in Indian society. However, today the percentage of the Muslims in Lok Sabha, the lower house of the Indian parliament is 3.5% whereas Muslims make up 14.5% of Indian society, indicating a disproportional and declining ratio. Third factor, Jafferlot observed is the trend of communal riots that affected Muslims adversely, leading to death and destruction of their shops and homes and hence marginalization as a community. For example, the 2002 Gujarat riots, which led a significant number of Muslims to end up living below the poverty line.

Continuing the discussion on marginalization, he then shared the employment indicators. A very small percentage of Muslims are in the formal sector, quite similar to

their share in the public sector including the railways, universities and the banking sector. While the railway employees comprise of 9.3% lower caste Hindus, Muslims are only 0.4%. Their pay is also much less. Similarly, among the teachers hired in universities, 17.6% are Hindus whereas only 1.4% are Muslims. Here Dr. Jafferlot said he was not considering higher caste Hindus as they were way ahead of all other groups. However, the situation is better in the private sector. Still, discrepancies in terms of remuneration impact the level of poverty experienced by Muslims. Thus, in contrast to all other communities except the Sikh, the proportion of poor Muslims is higher in the cities than the villages as about 37.5% of Muslims in the cities are poor.

Following an overview of the situation of Muslims in India, Jafferlot discussed his research project that focused on 11 cities including Bangalore, Jaipur, Bhopal, Delhi, Mumbai and Ahmedabad, with the objective to understand the socio-economic standing of Muslims including their physical residence within Indian society. He pointed out that a sizeable percentage of poor Muslims live in the cities. According to him the, data collected in 2001 revealed that Muslims were 13.4% of the total Indian population while they represented almost 17% of the urban population. His research showed that a substantial number of Muslims were urban dwellers. Jafferlot highlighted that in many Indian states, more than 50% of Muslims lived in cities. For example, Chattisgarh had 63%, Gujarat 59%, Karnataka 59% and Maharashtra 70%, while the Indian average was only 13%.

“...today the percentage of the Muslims in Lok Sabha, the lower house of the Indian parliament is 3.5% whereas Muslims make up 14.5% of Indian society,...”

Focusing on Ahmedabad in particular, he explained that it was a typical city experiencing infrastructural decay, and was demographically, a 'mosaic' with mixed population. One can hear not only temple bells but also the *Azaan* from the mosques, which indicates the diversity of cultures that exist. Lanes or '*poles*' are named in ways that are indicative of the community that lives there. For

example you can have a Jain *pole*, a Pathan *pole*, a Patel *pole* or a Qureshi *pole*. Each *pole* is homogenous within itself but the chemistry of the city is such that these communities live right next to each other. This system has existed since the 15th century. A second city within Ahmedabad emerged following the industrialization process; cotton mills were introduced and workers relocated for better employment. In this part of Ahmedabad, social identity rather than religious identity was the primary determinant of cohabitation. A third city then emerged in Ahmedabad that was developed on the other side of the river. Bridges were built to connect people to this part and most of the families who moved here wanted to exit the congested older city. This 'third city' is greener, more modern and is characterized by housing societies. These buildings follow a similar pattern of *poles* but of a vertical *nature*, where each building houses a particular community. So Hindus and Muslims live separately but next to each other.

Despite the fact that Muslims were well settled in Ahmedabad, the frequency of riots devastated the Muslims and the 1969 riots in particular proved disastrous. The reasons were social as well as political. There was a crisis in the textile mills leading to retrenchment of staff members. However, those fired first were mainly Hindus as the Muslims comprised of skilled workers. This created resentment, and religion was used as a political tool to create disruption within society.

Since then, there has been a major riot after every decade in Ahmedabad. In 1985, there were caste based riots which led to Hindu nationalist forces realizing that they could not divide the Hindus to serve their political purposes, and so the best way was to unite all Hindus to fight against the 'common enemy', i.e. the Muslims. Thus, the riots transformed from being class-based to becoming communal in nature. In 1992 after the Babri Masjid was demolished, there were riots across India and mostly state symbols such as the post office or public buses were attacked. A similar trend occurred in Ahmedabad. Interestingly these riots only affected the old town and the industrial belt of Ahmedabad. The new town comprising mostly of the middle class, was spared.

However, the 2002 riots were different because the new

residential areas were also targeted. Here affluent Muslim communities, such as Bohras and Khojas and Muslim public officials holding positions of power and authority--judges, inspectors of Police or IS officers were targeted.

Jafferlot mentioned the case of Ahsan Jafri, a prominent member of the Indian parliament for the Congress Party, who was attacked in 1969 and 1985 but did not relocate elsewhere. It was believed that his home was a safe haven for other Muslims. However, the 2002 riots were so deadly that even his place was not safe, and he was killed along with other Muslims.

Building a link between anti-Muslim riots and the process of 'ghettoization' of Muslims, Jafferlot identified its three manifestations: one, the rich and poor live in the same area to be safe; two, the ghetto is not provided state services such as education or health that are usually provided elsewhere, and lastly, the ghetto is badly connected to the rest of the city. Ghettoization also produces a psyche of fear-- of leaving the ghetto and of entering it.

“ In 1985, there were caste based riots which led to Hindu nationalist forces realizing that they could not divide the Hindus to serve their political purposes,... ”

To illustrate his point on ghettoization, he cited the case of Juhapura (Ahmedabad), which was initially formed in the 1960's after the floods. It had started as a kind of a model town where both Hindus and Muslims were to live together. However, the 1969 and 1985 riots forced more Muslims to seek refuge here. By 2002 middle class Muslims were moving to Juhapura as well. Estimates suggest that there are half a million Muslims living in this ghetto. Only recently, it has become part of the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation but was isolated for a long time. Ironically, the ghettoization of Juhapura also has a brighter side, because the rich have now moved here, they are bringing quality services such as schools, thus providing an opportunity for education. Some of these institutions are quite large, attracting thousands of students to them. The fact that modernization of this ghetto is education-oriented indicates that the communities living here want

to be a competitive part of modern India.

Jafferlot's talk was followed by an interactive question and answer session. Answering a question regarding the reaction of the state to the process of ghettoization, he commented that the state's main concern tends to be security as it suspects Muslims in these ghettos for involvement in criminal activities. Resultantly, Juhapura has a police colony along with the largest police station.

Responding to a question on what led to decline in the frequency of riots in Indian cities, Jafferlot suggested that the trend could be explained by political motivation. For instance, after the Babri Mosque demolition, the riots subsided because elections became a motivating force for which the BJP needed partners and thus votes of the Muslims.

Answering a questions regarding why Muslims had voted for BJP in Uttar Pradesh (UP) despite Modi's unpopular policies, Jafferlot explained that this was a myth and that in fact the Muslims did not vote for the BJP. The percentage of Muslims who voted for the BJP was only 6% in 2014. There are geographical variations and surprisingly Gujrat had one of the largest numbers of Muslims supporting BJP in 2012 (around 12%). He speculated that the Muslim voter became pragmatic and instead of opposing BJP and suffering, they preferred to support Modi. The other possibility of why Muslims voted for the BJP is due to the occurrence of riots. Riots have a polarizing effect on the voters especially when the BJP is in the opposition. So conversely, if the BJP is in power, maintaining law and order becomes the party's responsibility and the incidence of conflict will decline. The third reason for why Muslims voted for the BJP in Gujrat could be the role of the Bohras specifically of their leader, Syedna Mohammed Burhanuddin, who had always indicated his allegiance to the BJP. Therefore Gujrat's case was special, but in the rest of India very few Muslims voted for the BJP.

Jafferlot was also asked why there was a decline in riots in the 1990s, to which he answered that in 1993, the BJP lost state elections in Madhya Pradesh. This occurred in the aftermath of the Babri Masjid incidence. As the BJP's popularity was very low, it needed to foster partnerships and thus could not afford to alienate the Muslims. Similarly in 1996, when Vajpayee could not form a govern-

ment within two weeks, the BJP realized that it had to put the Ayodhya incidence on the backburner; suspend criticism of Article 370 that gives significant autonomy to the state of Jammu and Kashmir; and reduce attention on the uniform civil code, which attempts to superimpose general laws over religious laws including of marriage, divorce etc. which are currently specific to each religion. These measures helped Vajpayee to form a coalition.

On a question regarding the social transformation of Juhapura, the social make-up of the neighborhood and whether any political figure had taken the place of Ahsan Jafri, Jafferlot responded that doing politics in Gujrat as a Muslim was very difficult; you may be influential in the background but not in the public eye. Even the Congress party would find it very hard to give tickets to Muslims as in 2010; they only gave 7 tickets to Muslims out of 182 seats, including the constituencies, which are dominated by Muslims.

On a question regarding collecting data on minorities, Jafferlot said that it was a real concern and even the Sachar Committee found this challenging. However, he had used the Census data and the National Sample Survey, the latter has nonetheless been criticized for being conducted in a hasty manner.

The participants were equally keen to learn about the political standing of Dalits in Indian society, and whether their social standing had changed over time. Jafferlot commented that the Dalits generally tend to be associated with the Congress. However the BJP has been effective in mobilizing resources to use Dalits against Muslims in situations of riots. He was quick to add that in terms of social standing, Dalits are in as bad a situation as the Muslims. For instance, the recent policies of 'cow protection' have hurt the economic wellbeing of Dalits more, as they often use cow carcasses for their skin for leather trade. So the empowerment of Dalits in Gujrat is questionable. Upper caste Hindus have staged a major comeback in UP as many quotas are not met and it is very difficult for the Dalits to compete given their meager resources.

:Dr. Charles Ramsey, Non-Resident Fellow, Institute for Studies of Religion, Baylor University, Texas was invited by the CPPG to deliver a talk on “Sufism, Pluralism and Democracy” on 26th of September, 2017, based on his publication titled “Anti-Saint or Anti-Shrine? Tracing Deoband’s Disdain for the Sufi in Pakistan.” Further, Dr. Shehzad Qaiser, a Sufi philosopher, researcher, poet and a former Federal Secretary was invited as a discussant.



Ramsey began with a brief background of his paper stating that it was broadly accepted as axiomatic that the Deobandi in Pakistan were unequivocally antagonistic towards Sufism despite the fact that founders of the Deoband movement were prominent leaders in Sufi orders (*tariqa*). Thus, the objective was to explore how this was even possible and why this general opinion existed.

He argued that Deobandi are a heterogeneous community with many differences among them. While considerable work has been done on this, what lacks is a clear taxonomy to describe those differences, which he tries to address in his study. Broadly, the Deobandi can be categorized into two major categories namely, the Hayati and the Mamati, based on the understanding of the condition and abilities of holy persons after death. In other words, the questions such as ‘are they alive in the grave?’ or ‘is there an enduring link between their soul and the corpse?’ become significant points of debate. The central issue within this is the efficacy and power of intercession (*shafa’a* and *ta-wassul*). Though this terminology has crystallized since the past two decades, it is indicative of preceding theological differences that date back hundreds of years. The *Hayati* believe that the dead still have contact with the living while the *Mamati* believe otherwise. Through a process of

shifting from being Hayati to Mamati, there has been an increase in the Wahabi influence.

Discussing religious revivalism, Ramsey gave a brief historical recap of the emergence of the Deoband movement and stated that religious activism which arose in the Sub-continent about three hundred years ago led to a greater significance being placed on the role religion played in the lives of people. This era marked the emergence of some of the key writers and founders of the Dar ul Aloom Deoband in present day India. Rashid Ahmed Gangohi, Muhammad Qasim Nanautawi and Khalil Ahmed are some of the prominent founders. Quoting the work of various other notable scholars in this field, like Shahzad Bashir, Ramsey concluded that it was impossible to disambiguate the influence of tasawwuf from the study of Islam in South Asia and same is the case with Deoband.

“...it was impossible to disambiguate the influence of tasawwuf from the study of Islam in South Asia and same is the case with Deoband. .”

In justifying the significance of his study, Ramsey stated that Deobandi in Pakistan are not a “fringe element” but one of the largest groupings of Muslims in the world. Particularly in the 1980s, Pakistan experienced a substantial rise in the number of madrassas (religious schools), of which the Deobandi madrassas have been the largest and continue to rise. Further, the largest increase has been in Punjab which make the study the Deobandis important.

Discussing taxonomy under the major categories of Hayati and Mamati, he shared that the traditional Hanafi view within the majority Hayati group is that holy persons are alive in their grave and can be approached for spiritual intercession. This system is shaped by a spiritual authority and has been relevant for over 1,000 years. The subcategories of Hayati are *Furohi* and *Usooli*. The Farohi don’t ascribe to a specific set of principles on how to conduct themselves in religious affairs, like what to wear, how to groom the beard, or what to do when visiting a shrine. The Usooli on the other hand have a set of principles drawn from the teachings of the Prophet, the Sunnah, and of leading Deobandi scholars. The Usooli are further divided into the *Tanzihi* and the *Takfiri*. The fact that there are

so many subsets and people are eager to differentiate a person down to this last subset indicates a lot about the society, culture and thinking of people. Moreover, those associated with the 'Takfiri' branch may find a person's beliefs so different from their own that they are willing to classify them as *kafir* (non-believer). This is a serious issue within Muslim theology. Such practices can grow into activism and hence radicalism. For example, a Hayati may find the difference on the question of intercession, whether a holy person is alive or not, enough to declare the Mamati as non-believers, and take it to the extreme by terming them as *wajib-ul qatl* (justified to be killed). Thus, these terminologies and vocabulary are worth noting to analyze the current state of affairs.

Ramsey also shared the sub-categories of Hayati-Tanzihi, which are divided into Mutashadid and Mutadil depending on the means one can use to convince others of the need for compliance to achieve Muslim fidelity, with the former resorting to the use of force if necessary and the latter adopting kind behavior. While there are multiple areas of overlap among the above categories, it is imperative that even the minutest of differences in these classifications is looked into carefully so that one can truly find where the issue lies. While money was an influencing factor, it was not a driving force for these differences as ideological differences definitely impacted people's thinking. Despite the many differences in traditions, most of which are subtle, followed by each of the categories, there are still similarities among the majority of Deobandis as for instance, all of them believe in the sayings and blessings of the Prophet. He then shared a personal experience to elaborate his point of view. While people generally thought that Deobandis would not visit the shrine of Data Ganj Baksh, he himself had encountered a number of Deobandi Hayatis there. Though they would typically not be found engaged in taking drugs or playing instruments, still they participated in laying down flowers or *chaadars* on graves. Their participation is indicative that spirituality is still alive in the Deobandi school of thought.

In conclusion, Ramsey discussed the participation of Deobandi in the political arena and its implications. A diverse range of political views existed among the Deobandi, and a marked increase in their political participation should be encouraged rather than feared as they primarily comprise the rural and urban poor who largely remain marginal-

ized in the political stream. He argued that their increased political participation could not be associated with votes for militant extremism. Recent research indicates that most radical extremists are not the product of Deoband madrassas but rather of modern and Western universities. As Tahir Mahmood Ashrafi, former Chairman of the Pakistan Ulema Council said, youth are absorbing new religio-political ideologies, which are distinct from those held by the Deobandi, Barelvi and Ahl-e-Hadis schools of thought. Takfiri ideology is gaining ground amongst students of mainstream educational institutions which is not the case for madrassas, where religious scholars can at least guide their students on critical religious issues. He argued that if Ashrafi's conclusions are correct, then a shift in perspective is needed, whereby the traditional religious leaders or mullahs are not treated as a problem but instead as a crucial element in reaching a solution for Pakistan's quest for peace and sustainable development.

After Ramsey's presentation, Qaiser shared his thoughts. He stated that achieving a middle position in terms of Islamic theology was very difficult. He suggested that the Deobandis did not extend the boundaries of spirituality and instead, occasionally fell into the 'pit of religiosity'. He argued that this ritualism rather than spiritualism allows them to lean towards politics, and is the reason why different sects have metamorphosed into political parties, by becoming insulated from the common man.

This was followed by a question and answer session. Answering a question regarding militancy within Sufism at large, and particularly in the urban centers in recent times, Ramsey referred to the theological section of his writing and pointed out that it could be associated with a rising sense of injustice, alienation and exclusion. Add to this, the problem of the use of technology, as a result of which one never really knows what is authentic or not, and so there is a greater tendency of being misguided.

On the issue of our perception of religion, Ramsey argued that a lot of it has to do with the education system and how we introduce the concept of religion to our children. The education system also has a role to play in how open we are to disagreement and how we relate certain symbols to religions.

Book Review

Pakistan under Siege: Extremism, Society and the State by Madiha Afzal
Dr. Imdad Hussain

Pakistan under Siege is an important contribution to scholarship on the causes and consequences of Islamization of Pakistani state and society. It has come out at the right moment for a serious debate on Islamization in the country. The book offers arguments based on careful analyses of state-led Islamization in the country. It is a distinctive work, which speaks to the ordinary people and specialists alike, and which is free from turgid academic prose. Madiha Afzal has composed some of the sections of the book in a storytelling manner, which attracts the reader into the book. The storytelling makes the book alive, engaging, and conversational.

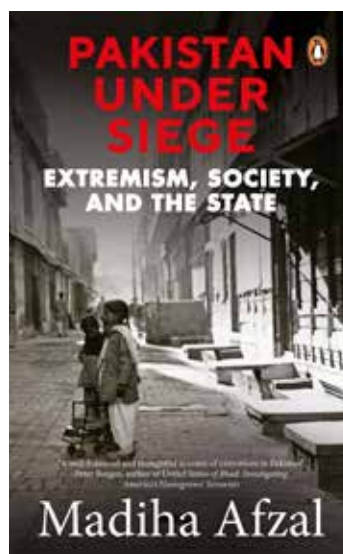
The introductions to chapters speak to the reader and take them along. Afzal has been successful in telling the complicated story of Islamization of laws and education in Pakistan in a simple and accessible way.

“ The survey data cited in the book supports the assertion that insecurity from India is a major driver of Islamic sentiment in the country. ”

The book traces the origins of Islamization policies in the Objectives Resolution of 1949, which gave Islam a prominent role in ordering state and society in the country. Afzal has tried to explain one of her main arguments, i.e. the connection between Islamization policies and extremism in Pakistan very well. Developed over many decades, Islamization policies have indoctrinated many. Afzal's contribution is of immense value because it makes claims on the bases of survey data. The survey data shows an overwhelming majority of Pakistani citizens possessing a religious worldview. The book, however, cautions that the majority of its people are not extremists. The good news is that they do not support militant Islamic groups. One of its arguments, i.e. that Pakistan's enmity of India is largely responsible for its Islamization policies, holds currency. The survey data cited in the book supports the assertion that insecurity from India is a major driver of Islamic sentiment in the country.

Afzal rightly mentions that in the early years of Pakistan's

independence, Pakistani rulers were inclined to Islamize on a modernist line. However, she does not give an analysis of how this modernist program faded away. In fact, the story of the marginalization of modernist Islam needs to be told, as without understanding the failure of modernist Islam in Pakistan, it is difficult to understand the domination of exclusionary version of Islam.



(Penguin Random House India, 2018)

Afzal provides an analysis of the country's blasphemy law. She points out that the Pakistani state is part of the problem of religiously inspired violence because it has enforced regressive laws in the name of Islam. She tells that the Islamic laws, mainly the blasphemy law (and Hudood laws too) encourage violence by vigilantes and religious groups. As a result, many people have misused the blasphemy law, as there have been false accusations of blasphemy. Though many people have become victims of false accusations, the Ahmadis have overwhelmingly been its target. No wonder, as Afzal tells, the number of people charged under blasphemy law has increased significantly in recent decades.

The books also provide insights into the Islamization of education as a political project of the Pakistani state. Like some of the earlier studies, her arguments are also largely based on review of Pakistan Studies textbooks. One wishes other textbooks were also included in this review. Nevertheless, it has aptly identified flaws in the official

historical narrative presented in Pakistani textbooks. The book tells us that the religious minorities along with ethnic groups are the real victims of official narratives.

Afzal's assertion that the domination of Islam in textbooks oust the religious minorities from the sphere of the nation is understandable. She tells us that the textbooks erase the pre-Islamic past of Pakistan. No wonder some of our students grow up myopic. Another problem with textbooks is that they portray India and West as enemies of Islam and Muslims. One notable problem with the textbooks is that they construct the idea of ideological frontiers of Pakistan and encourage students to protect them. We know that textbooks do not allow students to question these narratives. As a result, they are victims of this indoctrination.

Afzal laments that the official ideology is so heavily entrenched in textbooks that even the military regime of General Pervez Musharraf could not purge these narratives from textbooks. She aptly argues that teachers, textbook writers and reviewers, and examiners combined with the pressures of religious groups failed the textbook reform.

“ She rightly argues that it is difficult to eliminate extremism in Pakistan without displacing country's existing “ideological framework.” ”

Afzal found little evidence of any direct relationship between madrasa education and extremism. She rightly notes that Islamists do not constitute a unified group. She has intelligently highlighted the doctrinal/sectarian differences among madrassas. She aptly shows that intolerance is embedded in the curricula of madrassas. This assertion is certainly true. However, it is also true that some madrassas have reformed their curricula. The number of these madrassas may be small but their story needs to be told. I wish Afzal had discussed these madrassas in this book. A discussion of reform-oriented madrassas would have helped Afzal balance her argument. I wish she had also highlighted that the Barelvi and Shia madrassas have not been a part of the jihadi enterprise. Nevertheless, many would agree with Afzal that it is not easy to reform many madrassas.

In the end, Afzal calls for the “ideological realignment of the state,” which is a sane advice for the Pakistani ruling elite. She reiterates that terrorists take recourse to the country's laws to defend their acts of terrorism. Her assessment of the National Action Plan, a 20-point strategy formulated to combat terrorism in 2015 in Pakistan is convincing. She has rightly pointed out that the Plan does not admit that state policies of Islamization have been complicit in producing terrorism. She rightly argues that it is difficult to eliminate extremism in Pakistan without displacing country's existing “ideological framework.” Many would agree with her that “a conscious ideological shift” is what Pakistan needs to combat extremism and it requires delinking nationalism and religion. She also recommends teaching “critical thinking” to students and to “un-indoctrinate” citizens. This is a sound advice if those who matter in Pakistani policy making are willing to pay heed to it.

“ ...the story of the marginalization of modernist Islam needs to be told, as without understanding the failure of modernist Islam in Pakistan, it is difficult to understand the domination of exclusionary version of Islam. ”

Having said that, I want to register two disagreements with Afzal. She has taken the results of Pew surveys without discussing their validity and reliability issues. Pakistan is a highly diverse country and the results of sample surveys may not reflect its diversity. Secondly, Afzal has argued that the Cambridge textbooks of Pakistan Studies are objective and better than government textbooks. I have noted that Cambridge textbooks also have problems. They do not give adequate space to cultural diversity in the country. They also do not adequately mention that it was not Islam but the Muslim majority provinces, which played a central role in the establishment of Pakistan. I wish Afzal had identified and noted these problems in Cambridge textbooks.

Tribute to Dr. Kaniz Fatima Yusuf (1923-2018)

Dr. Kaniz Fatima Yusuf, an eminent scholar and educationist, passed away on November 23rd 2018 in Islamabad. She was 95 years old. She was a remarkable person, compassionate, always ready to speak for the marginalized and concerned about improving the wellbeing of ordinary Pakistanis. She was an independent thinker, a geo-strategist, an inspiring teacher and an extraordinarily efficient administrator. She was constantly thinking and debating about how to make Pakistan peaceful, a tolerant society and a progressive state. This is best manifested in her writings and deliberations on Iqbal, Jinnah and the Pakistan Movement.

She was the first woman Vice Chancellor of Islamabad University (renamed as Quaid-e-Azam University-QAU in 1976), from 1972-1976. Before becoming the vice chancellor, she had been a principal of several women's colleges across Pakistan. She was a political geographer who had a deep understanding of history and culture of South Asia and the Muslim World. In the mid 1960's, she was instrumental in introducing Masters in Geography program at the Government College, Rawalpindi. That program became a vehicle through which she articulated and conveyed her thoughts on geopolitical theories and geo-strategic realities. Dr. Yusuf influenced several generations of scholars, policy analysts, social activists and students through her teaching, writings, and her passion for making Pakistan a better place.

However, Dr. Yusuf's greatest contribution was in laying the foundation of social sciences and expanding the realm of natural sciences at the Quaid-e-Azam University. During the 1970's, and even in the subsequent decades, the university became an attractive destination for eminent academics from across the country and abroad. Dr. Yusuf was a scholar of international repute and had personal and professional contacts with scholars in the USA, UK and Europe. To mention a few, through her links with Professors Ansile Embree and Howard Wriggins at Columbia University, and Professor Richard Lambert at University of Pennsylvania, she was able to evolve an educational exchange programs with Columbia University in the city of New York and University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia. Through such exchange programs, younger members of the social science faculties were sent to these reputed universities. This is to the credit of Dr. Yusuf that a gen-

eration of academics who were recruited in the 1970's at QAU have contributed enormously in academia and some are still active.

Yet another significant achievement, along with Dr. Hafeez Malik, distinguished Pakistani Professor at Villanova University, was the idea of establishing an American Institute of Pakistan Studies (AIPS) to promote Pakistan Studies in the USA. In fact, Professor Malik was the principle architect of AIPS and was successful in bringing the idea to fruition in 1973, impinging upon the US and Pakistani government to band together to create it.

In the 1970's, Dr. Yusuf had access to parliamentarians and was influential in policy circles of the country. Throughout her life, she was persistent in pushing the cause of education, emphasizing affordable and quality education for the poor and opening up horizons of merit-based, innovative and quality higher education. Dr. Yusuf will be missed by generations of scholars and policy makers, who had the pleasure of knowing her and the opportunity of benefiting from her contributions in numerous ways.

I am proud of the fact that she was my teacher and mentor.

Dr. Saeed Shafqat, Professor and Founding Director, Centre for Public Policy and Governance (CPPG), Forman Christian College (A Chartered University), Lahore.

Visitors and Activities

January 10, 2018

CPPG organized a seminar on [American Foreign Policy in the Age of Trump](#) with Dr. Farhat Haq.

January 17, 2018

Director, CPPG was invited for a talk on [US Policy in South Asia](#) at the Lahore College for Women University.

February 6, 2018

[Mr. Omer Rasul](#), Additional Chief Secretary, Government of Punjab held a meeting with Director, CPPG.

February 9, 2018

The team of [Crop Life Pakistan Association](#) met Director, CPPG regarding collaborative opportunities.

February 12, 2018

[Enrique Blanco Armas](#), Lead Country Economist, World Bank held a meeting with Director, CPPG.

February 14, 2018

CPPG organized a seminar on [Walking Around the World: through Pakistan](#) with Mr. Paul Salopek.

February 28, 2018

CPPG organized a seminar on [Management & Professional Development Department \(MPDD\): Purpose, Function and Structure of a Training Institution](#) with Mr. Nadeem Irshad Kayani.

March 13, 2018

Director, CPPG delivered a lecture at the National School of Public Policy titled [Statecraft and Public Policy](#).

March 19, 2018

CPPG organized a seminar on [Examining Hidden Hazardous Child Labor in the Brick Kiln Sector of Pakistan: A Complex Human Rights Issue](#) with Dr. Mohammad Vaqas Ali.

March 21, 2018

Director, CPPG delivered a lecture at the National Institute of Public Administration (NIPA) on [Pakistan: State and Society](#).

April 9, 2018

Director, CPPG had a meeting with [Ms. Mary Gill](#), former MPA PML-N to discuss minority issues and marriage laws.

April 11, 2018

CPPG organized a seminar on [Walking for Maryam's Grace: Christian Piety in Pakistani Punjab](#) with Dr. Paul Rollier.

April 18, 2018

CPPG organized a seminar on [Dynamics of Internal Security in Pakistan](#) with Dr. Syed Ejaz Hussain, Additional IG Punjab.

April 25, 2018

CPPG organized a Policy Dialogue on the [Role of Local Governments in the Accomplishment of SDGs](#).

April 30, 2018

CPPG organized a reception in honor of Dr. Saeed Shafqat, Director CPPG on receiving [Tamgha-e-Imtiaz](#) from the Government of Pakistan.

May 3, 2018

CPPG organized a seminar on [Female Friendships and Frictions: Sexual Politics in 1960s Pakistani Cinema](#) with Dr. Kamran Asdar Ali, Dean of Social Sciences and Humanities, LUMS.

May 31, 2018

CPPG organized the [Graduate Seminar Series](#) for USIP M.Phil. thesis grantees of its Institutional Development in Peace Building and Conflict Resolution program.

June 12, 2018

CPPG signed an MoU with UNDP on [Sustainable Development Goals \(SDGs\)](#).

August 8, 2018

Director, CPPG hosted a meeting of [UNDP](#), and [Punjab SDG Unit](#).

September 13, 2018

Director, CPPG delivered a lecture on [Population Dynamics](#) at the National Management College.

September 18, 2018

CPPG organized a seminar on **South Africa Story: Pushing Forward the Unfinished Revolution** with Mr. Raheem ul Haque.

September 27, 2018

CPPG organized a seminar on **6th Population & Housing Census 2017** with Dr. Nasir Javed, CEO Urban Unit, Government of Punjab.

October 4, 2018

CPPG organized a seminar **Faith and Feminism in Pakistan** with Dr. Afia Zia, Ms. Neelum Hussain & Ms. Sarah Suhail.

October 10, 2018

CPPG organized a seminar on **Dynamics of Population Growth and Pakistan Census 2017** with Dr. Asif Wazir.

October 21, 2018

Director, CPPG delivered a lecture on **Sources of Public Policy** at National Defense University.

November 7, 2018

Director, CPPG chaired the International conference on **Human Rights and CPEC** at Government College University.

November 15, 2018

CPPG organized a book launch on **China-Pakistan Economic Corridor: Demands, Dividends and Directions** with Dr. Saeed Shafiq and Saba Shahid.

November 29, 2018

CPPG organized a seminar on **Is Brexit a Purely British Phenomenon?** with Dr. Christian Lesquesne.

December 6, 2018

CPPG organized a seminar in collaboration with Open Doors in Pakistan on **Can Vulnerable Nations be Weak Power Climate Leaders?** with Dr. Alice Baillat.

December 12, 2018

CPPG organized a book launch on **State, Nationalism and Islamization: Historical Analysis of Turkey and Pakistan** with Dr. Ali Saleem.

December 13, 2018

CPPG organized a **Christmas Get Together** for CPPG staff and alumni with participation of US Counsel General and Rector, FC College.

December 19, 2018

CPPG organized a book launch on **The Charismatic Leader: Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and the Creation of Pakistan** with Dr. Sikandar Hayat.

Recently Published



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