

# Quarterly

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## From the Director's Desk

*The first issue of the Quarterly Research & News was launched in April 2008, thus it has just completed fifteen years. With the blessings and support of Dr. Peter Armacost, Rector (2004-2012) Quarterly was designed with considerable thinking and planning to be the repository of institutional memory, reporting the activities of CPPG and encouraging the research publications of faculty, students and outside scholars. It was conceived to*

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## Editorial Board

Dr. Saeed Shafqat  
Raheem ul Haque  
Hurmat Nadeem  
Shahwar Asif



CENTRE FOR PUBLIC POLICY  
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*be heavy on the reporting of diverse views of the speakers, thus breaking disciplinary boundaries and encouraging deliberation on issues and policies from a multidisciplinary perspective. At the time of its inception our expectation was that we would publish four issues a year. But, by the end of the year, we realized that it was an expectation based on naivety and beyond our existing faculty capacity. So, we amended and tried publishing Quarterly bi-annually and were considerably successful. However, until 2016, it remained a duo team—me and Raheem ul Haque. Through dedication and determination, Quarterly's reporting, synergizing quality and content improved. We were also successful in soliciting articles, getting them peer reviewed and adding book reviews while sustaining its publication. In 2016, the Quarterly got a real boost as Ms. Saba Shahid joined the team, and thus by 2021 the quality, content and regularity of Quarterly's publication became routinized. Unfortunately, in late 2019 the menace of COVID 19, its spread and continuing lingering effects disrupted the publication momentum. In 2021, we decided to handover publication of the Quarterly to students on experimental basis but that did not prove fortuitous.*

*Therefore, we have decided to rejuvenate and restore the original design and spirit of the Quarterly—to sustain it as a repository of institutional memory and a platform for students' and faculty's innovative, trend setting ideas/reflections and research. The faculty and the editorial team have resolved to make it a bi-annual publication from 2024, to be published in July and January. Meanwhile, after almost fifteen months of discussion and deliberation among the faculty, we are ready with a new issue of the Quarterly, which reflects the CPPG activities and provides a sample of student's research over the past few years. As always, we welcome critical appreciation, comments and feedback.*

Dr. Saeed Shafqat

:Dr. Ali Hasanain, Associate Professor of Economics at LUMS; Dr. Altaf Ullah Khan, Dean of Humanities at FCC; Mr. Suleman Ghani, former Federal Secretary; and Dr. Saeed Shafqat, Professor and Founding Director CPPG, were invited to speak on “Elections 2024: Identifying Key Policy Issues” on December 6, 2024 in collaboration with the Consortium for Development Policy Research (CDPR).



Shafqat initiated the discussion by highlighting that the year 2024 was going to be an election year in South Asia as India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh are going to have their elections in the upcoming year. He said that it was important to understand why elections are pertinent and whether elections bring changes in policies and institutions as we foresee. He argued that elections play a key role as they inherently confer legitimacy upon governing bodies. However, in the context of Pakistan, there was hardly any change in the political landscape as it followed a recurring pattern of confrontational and highly personalized dynamics. Despite the strengthening of the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) since 2017, there are concerns regarding its credibility especially in the pre-election phases. Moreover, it is crucial to understand that even today, Pakistan is in the milieu of “establishmentarian democracy”, a system where the military influences the democratic processes and procedures. Pakistan is going to have elections but these elections will be under a military hegemonic system. The so-called longest phase of democracy since 2008 has but a democratic face with the military playing a central role in constructing democracy and maintaining its hegemony.

On the importance of party manifestos in the electoral process, Shafqat stated that these hold significance in articulating the key ideology and priorities of each political party. Political parties need to think through their manifestos and develop them in light of key issues prevalent within the country. Firstly, the demographic dividend as demography has become a core national issue for Pakistan. It will either be a dividend or a disaster, interlinked with population management, urbanization, and skill development. Secondly, parties should define their stance on local governance. They must differentiate between provincial government, and whether they want a commissioner system or an elected government system. A commissioner system is one where a government-appointed commissioner oversees local governance affairs whereas in the elected government system, local governance is administered by elected representatives such as a mayor or a council member. Thirdly, they should define their position on terrorism. If one is making a case regarding terrorism, it must differentiate between counter-terrorism and counter-insurgency. Counter terrorism refers to stopping terrorist attacks while counter-insurgency means combatting insurgency movements aiming to overthrow established government authority. Manifestos must inform party position on whether to involve the military or police in countering terrorism. Fourthly, parties should clarify their stance on the 18th Amendment as it is a key element in managing the intervention of military in politics. Parties need to critically outline the degree of provincial autonomy, both fiscal and administrative that they would adhere to.

Fifthly, the parties should talk about the status of minorities and vulnerable communities including ethnic, religious, and gender minorities. Lastly, Shafqat discussed the implications of elections on geopolitical linkages: foreign policy and the security dimension. Is there a possibility of security sector reforms or not? He argued that although we are going to have elections under a military hegemonic system with its in-built constraints, still there are plenty of opportunities as well, but only if political parties band together and develop a party system that is based on some degree of consensus and faith in democracy.

Continuing the discourse, Hasanain delved into Pakistan's economic trajectory post-Musharraf, remarking that since then we have shown no progress, the current economic situation is in dire straits, particularly in terms of burgeoning debt obligations. Pakistan has to return 90 billion dollars in the coming three years. Partly, the challenge is due to an acute shortage of foreign exchange reserves and the lack of skills in generating foreign currency earnings. Mostly, it has been due to artificial handling of the dollar by the previous governments. Hasanain argued that the approach of short-term subsidies and artificial management of the dollar has affected Pakistan's economy in the longer-run, and has led to the current economic state.



In countering this, Hasanain said that we need to develop a contextualized approach to the current economic crisis. Explaining different approaches, he said that on one side, the experts advocate for closing imports while waiting for everything to fall in place. While on the other side, they advocate for bringing in investments to overcome the default scenario. Instead, Hasanain proposed a three-fold solution. First, he suggested that to overcome the debt problem, Pakistan has to go for a structured default. There are two kinds of defaults: planned and unplanned. Pakistan needs to go for a planned and structured default which requires engagement with creditors to negotiate terms, thereby buying time to implement substantive reforms and restructuring institutions. While being burdensome, it can reap long-term benefits.

Furthermore, Hasanain proposed that Pakistan should

set the dollar price above the market equilibrium, for example, taking it to almost PKR 500. In doing so, it will seem difficult at first for the masses but it will help in stabilizing Pakistan's currency in the longer run. Quoting China's example, China kept Renminbi (RMB) undervalued against the US dollar. This step aided in limiting the flow of foreign currency within the market and allowed the country to keep foreign exchange reserves. Additionally, Pakistan should keep the dollar reserved rather than spending it in the market. The accumulation of foreign exchange reserves acts as a buffer against currency fluctuations, providing stability to the national currency. It can also be used for building the country's credibility with creditors.

In further addressing the debt burden, he proposed that there is a need for the development of a comprehensive strategy to revitalize exports, which have witnessed a significant decline in recent years. Pakistan's exports as percentage of GDP has decreased by half from 13% to 7% in the past 5 years. Exports have also suffered as the business community relies on import-based products. This has increased the import bill and has enhanced trade deficit. Lastly, commenting on the presence of a hybrid government, he argued that there is no benefit of this system as it creates uncertainty for business owners and investors. The hybrid system is a blend of authoritarian and democratic forces where rapid changes in policies and legislative frameworks disrupt the workings of businesses.

With a career spent in public management, Ghani argued that party manifestos must not be solely made for winning votes and elections but must include key policies, which are then debated and critically evaluated by the public, and revised by incorporating their feedback. Moreover, these policies should have clear implementation mechanisms backed by proper legislation and institutional strengthening, for lasting impact. He stressed the need for aligning policies with appropriate pathways and monitoring their effectiveness while also addressing cross-departmental issues. He further called for public service delivery reforms by setting defined performance standards and targets while strictly enforcing working timelines through

penalties for delays, and minimum service standards for federal, provincial, and local governments.

Ghani highlighted that manifestos must incorporate pathways for overcoming power issues within structures. As with government structures, power struggles arise between different branches i.e. legislative, executive and judicial or even among political parties vying for control. Thus, there must be a consensus on core values for safeguarding both constitutional and institutional integrity among all parties. He further argued for the crucial role of provinces in maintaining the federal structure of the state, which must be whole-heartedly respected. Similarly, local governments must also be empowered with resources and decision-making authority to improve efficiency. In closing, he emphasized the formation of an internationally competitive domestic market as a way to solve our economic issues.

As the last speaker, Khan highlighted the vital role of media during elections from mere reporting to creating a platform for generating public discourse that analyzes manifestos and evaluates candidates. Further, media performs two main functions during elections: one, interest aggregation through which it gathers and represents diverse interests, concerns, viewpoints, and preferences of the public; and two, interest projection which is an act of conveying public needs, wants, concerns, and demands to the politicians and the general public. However, the current highly polarized media landscape has instead produced polarized rather than informed audiences. On the contrary, responsible reporting would involve a comprehensive coverage of constituencies beyond regional and party biases, including their histories, problems, and current issues. The objective should be to go beyond a particular region such as Punjab which holds centrality in the parliamentary structure to providing a holistic profile of the entire country while being inclusive of marginal voices.

These initial comments by speakers, was followed by a vibrant question and answer session. Answering a question regarding the evolving media landscape, Khan stated that by media, he was referring to all

forms: print, electronic, and social media, as it's becoming increasingly difficult to restrict it to traditional boundaries. Each media platform presents its own set of challenges and dynamics. While social media has emerged as a potent force, it is often characterized by aggressive and emotionally charged content as it operates in a more decentralized and unregulated manner. Although we cannot ignore its influence, it's imperative to distinguish between misinformation and credible sources. Thus, despite the pressures to cater to popular sentiment on social media, mainstream media must uphold truth and integrity in its reporting, even if it means sacrificing popularity for accuracy. Mainstream journalism has the added responsibility to adhere to principles of fact-checking and authenticity.

Answering a question regarding the devolution of health and social service delivery responsibilities to the provinces after the 18th amendment and its challenges, Ghani accepted that this has indeed expanded the scope of the primary health sector. However, it also means that provinces bear greater accountability for ensuring effective service delivery at the grassroots level. He argued that community involvement was pivotal in this context as local governance structures can help in a more efficient healthcare system. Further, capacity building, resource allocation, and developing linkages with the private sector are crucial aspects to consider.

Lastly, responding to a question regarding leadership crises and the proliferation of vested interests that hinder progress, Ghani articulated two approaches to solve the leadership crisis: one, generate public demand for transparent and accountable leadership that prioritizes the common good over personal agendas; two, not confine leadership to a singular figure but decentralize it across various levels of society so as to nourish an inclusive, responsive, and committed leadership culture. He argued that all institutions play a vital role in shaping leadership dynamics, and in producing effective leadership allowing national level leadership to emerge organically from within the nation.

## Evolution and Development of Hazara Identity in Quetta City

Imran Ali

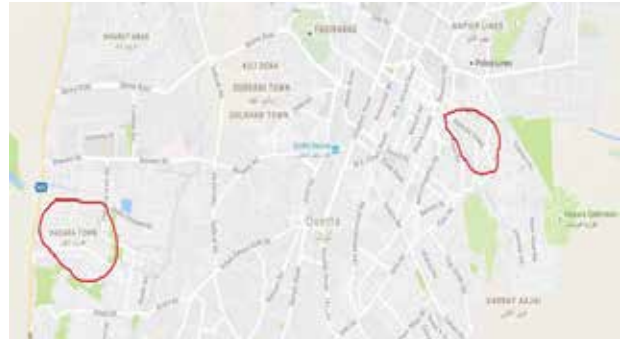
MPhil National Defense University 2017

### Introduction

The Hazara community of Quetta, Balochistan has been impacted by violence and migration for decades but in the past decade, violence against the community became unbearable and has roused fears of an existential threat to the community. The repressive policies of Afghan rulers forced the Hazara to migrate to Quetta in 1894.<sup>1</sup> At this point, the British rulers of India welcomed them for two reasons: first, the Afghan-British India government relations were hostile; second, the British India government provided refuge and protection but took advantage of Hazara migrants' plight and began to recruit them in the British India Army to combat the Afghans.<sup>2</sup> The Hazara adapted themselves well to the Quetta environment and began to seek government jobs and moved into trade, commerce, and other professions.

Upon their arrival in 1894, the Hazaras began to settle in the northeast of the city, adjacent to Kohi Muhardar Mountains. This area had been a temporary abode of the Marri tribe and came to be called "Marriabad". As their population grew, Hazara moved into lower Marriabad areas known as Hajiabad, Theyl Godown, Camp (named after the camps set up for the 1935 earthquake survivors), and adjacent places<sup>3</sup>. All these places were connected by a main road, which was later named the Alamdar Road. Alamdar Road by its very nature sounds sectarian, as the word Alamdar stands for the one who carries the "Alam", a religious flag that was carried by Imam Hussain's brother, Abbas ibn Ali in the battle of Karbala. The next big wave of Hazara migrants came from Afghanistan in the wake of the Soviet invasion and subsequent civil war of the 1990s, and these migrants settled in what came to be called Hazara Town, a few kilometers away from

Alamdar Road.



Source: Google Maps (n.d).

A feeling of persecution coupled with migration, linguistic, religious, and cultural affinity infused strong communal sentiments among the Hazara of Quetta, leading it to become a cohesive and well-knit group, that is conscious of its identity.

### Tools of Violence Used

The Taliban and the Lashkar-e-Jhangvi (LeJ), a Sunni terrorist group, had developed a nexus in Afghanistan during the 1990s civil war when they fought against the Northern Alliance, which included the Hizbe Wahdat, a Hazara Shia militant group. As these groups settled in Pakistan after the US invasion of Afghanistan and the fall of the Taliban government in 2001, the LeJ took serious note of the Hazara, regarding them as hostile to the Taliban. This led the Taliban and like minded groups to target the Hazara in Quetta.

The targeting of Hazara has a pattern. Between 2001 and 2004, there were sporadic and isolated events of target killings. During this period, the Ashura procession of 10th Muharram, Friday prayers, a van carrying the Hazara police cadets, and other vans carrying passengers from Alamdar Road to Hazara Town were targeted. However, the frequency of these killings rose in 2008-2009, particularly, following the killing of Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti by the security forces. This created an environment of violence and anger in and around Quetta and Balochistan. It is pertinent to note

<sup>1</sup> Muhammad Owtadolajam, *The Hazara Tribe in Balochistan: An analysis of Socio-cultural change* (Quetta: Hazaragi Academy, 2006): 437.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Altaf Qadir, "Reforming the Pukhtuns and Resisting the British: An Appraisal of the Haji Sahib Turangzai's Movement, *National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research*, 2015.

that Saryab Road and adjacent areas have a heavy concentration of Baloch population and it is also an area where government offices are located. Many Hazara being employees of the Balochistan government had to routinely travel to office and back on Saryab Road and became easy targets. Recognizing that Saryab Road had made them an easy target, the Hazara adopted Sabzal Road for travel between Hazara Town and Alamdar Road. However, they were targeted in the commercial markets or other parts of the city as individuals or as a group. The method varied from target killings to suicide bombings. Invariably these target killings were driven by sectarian motives. This forced the Hazara to live in isolation, disrupting their social cohesion while aggravating social, political, and economic problems for the community.

### Research Objective, Question & Methodology

This study aims to understand how violence has transformed the Hazara identity and constrained their mobility, socio-economic well-being and other opportunities. Literature on identity and conflict suggests that when a group thinks it is a target, changes occur in the way it sees itself in the community of people. This study attempts to understand the everyday ethnic identity of the Hazara through participant observation as the researcher is a Hazara and has been brought up in the community. Further, to explore how perpetual conflict has impacted the community, data collection was done through focused group discussions and interviews. Interviews were conducted with political figures, intellectuals, and historians of the Hazara while focus groups were conducted informally at a local café visited by members of the community.

### Formation of Hazara Identity

Identity has been defined as membership in a group, which is determined by a belief held by both “insiders” and “outsiders”. Beyond a collective belief in kinship, a multitude of other features such as language, religion, race, cultural traits, a sense of shared history, and powerful symbols associated with the group can

serve to reinforce and perpetuate a subjective feeling of belonging.<sup>4</sup> The idea of everyday ethnic identity refers to the ways in which daily activities can have an ethnic element in almost every aspect. It starts with behaviors based on particular patterns, which keep intact a set of rules while performing all other tasks, and also includes but is not limited to having friends from the same group, marrying within the group, feelings of obligation towards the group, etc.

Owradolajam (1975), conducting an ethnographic study of the Hazara community of Quetta, observed that the Hazara since their migration from Afghanistan in 1894 have continued to lead an independent and exclusive life within a segregated and special circle of their own.<sup>5</sup> Owradolajam pointed out that although Hazara worked with the Baloch living in the vicinity and enjoyed all the privileges that the people of Balochistan had, yet there was little or no social interaction with the Baloch. It remained an exclusive and isolated community. Following on the footsteps of the pioneering study by Owradolajam, this research explores to what extent the isolation of the Hazara in Quetta led to their target killings? and were the Hazara ethnically conscious because of their bitter memories of Afghanistan which did not let them intermingle with others around Quetta?

### Common Religious Identity

The ethnic identity of Hazaras would be incomplete without their religious identity. The Hazara in Quetta are predominantly Shia, and though there were rumors of Sunni Hazara living in Kharotabad and other areas of Quetta, it was not possible to get in touch with them during fieldwork. The month of Muharram in the Islamic calendar, which marks the martyrdom of Prophet Muhammad’s (PBUH) grandson, Imam Hussain along with family members at Karabala, is an important part of the identity of Hazara, who mourn the whole month, as they believe that Hussain was innocent and did not deserve to be killed. Like the Shias, the Hazara receive Muharram with gloom. Men,

<sup>4</sup> Erik H. Cohen, “Components and Symbols of Ethnic Identity: A Case Study in Informal Education and Identity Formation in Diaspora,” *Applied Psychology* 53, no. 1 (2004): 87-112.

<sup>5</sup> Mohammad Owradolajam, *The Hazara Tribe in Balochistan; An analysis of Socio-cultural change* (Quetta: Hazaragi Academy, 2006): 11.

women, and children wear black color clothing; Alam (a religious flag) is raised on the rooftops; Nohas (lamentation) are played at Imam Bargahs (a separate place in mosques for religious sermons, chest-beating and mourning) and homes. Women mostly remain busy with preparing the Niaz (meal meant to be eaten by mourners and the needy) while men mostly constitute the mourners. Religious gatherings on the streets are led by men, whereas, women participate in mourning at the Takia Khana (a separate place either at the Imam Bargah or at home). This religious zeal in the community is met with the abandonment of daily activities i.e. business, education, etc. and life goes back to normal after the Ashura (the 10th day of Muharram).

### Feeling of Obligation Towards the Group

Hazara community members in Quetta also feel obliged to follow certain obligations towards other group members. This norm is of utmost importance as one's loyalty is primarily judged by one's actions towards the community. No matter where one is or what one does, one is obligated to listen to and try their level best to address an issue forwarded by a fellow community member. Otherwise one would have to listen to taunts in various gatherings later on. This is especially the case with the Hazara who are government servants. A general feeling is that whatever may be the position or designation of a Hazara official, they are bound to leave their entire task and listen to what their fellow Hazara have brought to them. In Baloch tradition and Quetta's cultural environment, solidarity with one's ethnic group is a respected practice: the Pashtuns will show similar affinity with their group and so will the Baloch. Further, persecution syndrome has led the Hazara to believe that they are not treated fairly by other ethnic groups; therefore, for the resolution of their grievances, they must cling to a Hazara official.

This sense of a close-knitted identity is reiterated by a common language, Hazaragi; Hazara belong to

an altogether different race and their features differ markedly from their counterparts in the city. Further, the group identity is reinforced by community-based organizations through political gatherings and publications that reiterate Hazara's shared history of persecution in Afghanistan, starting with Ameer Abdur Rehman's era in the 1880s to the Taliban rule in the 1990s.

### Aspects of Identity Most Affected By Violence

Structurally inspired anthropological analysis of war and war-related violence has primarily focused on the inherent potential of violence and war to create identities. The line of reasoning suggests that identity is built on difference and becomes threatened when differences become too small. Violence instead recreates or reinforces differences.<sup>6</sup> Simon Harrison states that violence has a structural function, that is, groups do not create war, but war creates groups.<sup>7</sup> It is not violence that is creative, but rather people's reactions to violence that constitutes the creative element.<sup>8</sup> For example, in the case of Stolac, a town in Bosnia and Herzegovina, violence has unmistakably created potential for unambiguous identities by politically ethnifying all aspects of everyday life.<sup>9</sup> Thus, Muslim nationalism in Bosnia and Herzegovina grew not because it had been lying dormant throughout the years, but because the (nationalist) logic of war created it.<sup>10</sup>

However, the case of Hazara is slightly different as the previous section suggests that they already had a pronounced everyday ethnic identity. Thus, violence while not creating their identity, still impacted it. When individuals or collectivities perceive themselves as "addressed" by an act of violence and recognize (or misrecognize) themselves as its intended recipient, they not only mobilize towards a "defensive" reciprocation but also "via a process analogous to their own generic identification with the actual victims of violence, de-individuate the agency of the literal agents of violence to make it the violence of a collectivized 'Other'".<sup>11</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Bronislaw Malinowski, *An anthropological analysis of war*, 521-550.

<sup>7</sup> Torsten Kolind, *Post-War Identification: Everyday Muslim Counterdiscourse in Bosnia Herzegovina*, (Aarhus: Aarhus Univ. Press, 2008).

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Torsten Kolind, "Violence and Identification in a Bosnian Town: An Empirical Critique of Structural Theories of Violence." *Warfare and Society: Archaeological and Social Anthropological Perspectives* (2006): 447-468.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Glenn Bowman, "Violence before Identity: An Analysis of Identity Politics", *The Sociological Review*, vol. 62, Issue 2, (2014): 152-165. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-954X.12195>



### Collectivization of the Other

Hazaras' perceive that their targeting was not a sudden spate of terror but a well-chalked-out plan against them. They were first killed in the surroundings of the city, then in the city center, and lastly confined to their neighborhood, which had now become an open jail for the community with its segregated lifestyle. The results of being cut off from the rest of the city were numerous. One, the younger generation mostly has friends from the same community. There are some professional friendships but these are rare. Generally, it was observed that contact with the outside world had almost finished. Those who had relations in earlier times are carrying on with them, but the youth was not able to develop relationships with other communities. "Chances of socializing are no more there", says Ibrar Hussain.<sup>12</sup> "There was a time when we used to go to Burma Hotel, Saryab Road just to have a cup of tea in the evening. That would also allow us to exchange thoughts with our Baloch counterparts", but such events of inter-ethnic interactions are now only a part of history.

Government servants had to leave their jobs; students had to abandon schools, colleges, and universities; while businessmen incurred losses or left the main bazaars, the chances of exposure to the outside world and getting to know them are meager, which has resulted in the Hazara simply believing what they hear or read about other communities. Fida Gulzari opines that "non-Hazara exploit the vulnerability of Hazara for being a soft target of terrorism" citing the example of his wife, who used to teach in Pak-Turk School in Quetta. She won the Best Teacher's Award but had to leave her job later because the colleagues with whom she used to travel to school feared that Fatima (being a Hazara) was a moving target and refused to have her on the van<sup>13</sup>. Constant fear and target killings have pushed Hazara to think of themselves as victims and of all non-Hazara (i.e. Baloch and Pashtuns) the collectivized 'Other', as a sense prevails that all non-Hazara form a group that is indifferent to the problems of the Hazara. Thus, it was found through discussions with various Hazaras that migration is

yet another phenomenon of the overall situation as many have left Quetta to settle in Karachi, Lahore or Islamabad. But these are the wealthier families or those with government jobs, while the bulk of migration has been to Australia and Europe. Although it has helped some families through remittances, the problematic part is that now everyone wants to move outside Pakistan to escape death, live a better life, and help those left behind in Quetta.

As part of defensive reciprocation to target killings, the community considers it important to be united against an invisible enemy and have a representative to raise their voice in the assembly. Thus, every effort is made to ensure that a Hazara wins the elections. This race for representation has resulted in the division of Hazara society into two poles. On one side are the ethno-nationalists and on the other are religious groups. Hitherto, both groups are busy trying to win the confidence of the people and for this purpose, they use all tools available to them.

### Surge in Religious Identity

There is a growing and strong sentiment among the Hazara that they are being targeted because of their faith, Shiaism. Other factors need further research but Shiaism appears the most visible. Yet, the incidents and tactics of terrorists are interpreted differently by various segments of Hazara society. While ethno-nationalist groups such as the Hazara Democratic Party term the killings as 'Hazara Genocide',<sup>14</sup> religious groups such as Majlis Wahdatul Muslimeen insist that Hazara killings are directly linked to Shia killings across the country.<sup>15</sup>

Violence, terrorist attacks, and migration have further energized religious sentiment amongst the Hazara community. For example, previously, it was only the month of Muharram that constituted religious zeal and expression, but now Ayyamay Fatimiyah (the twenty days signifying the death of Fatima Zehra, daughter of the Prophet and wife of Ali ibn Abi Talib - the first Imam of the Shias), and also birthdays of religious figures are commemorated with ever-

<sup>14</sup> *The Express Tribune*, "Balochistan violence: Hazara Democratic Party protests against targeted killings", November 12, 2012. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/464342/balochistan-violence-hazara-democratic-party-protests-targeted-killings>

<sup>15</sup> Syed Ali Shah, "Countrywide protests against Mastung Bloodbath", *The Express Tribune*, January 22, 2014. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1081977>

growing zeal. Religious groups have changed their strategy; there was a time when they used to deliver sermons in pure Persian language, which most of the attendants especially the youngsters could not understand. But now they talk in plain Hazaragi. They have also glamorized religion as they call on the masses to celebrate the birthday of Ali as Father's Day, have named the birthday of Fatima Zehra as Mother's Day, that of Imam Hussain as Brother's Day, and so on.

Further, the pilgrimage to holy sites in Iran, Iraq, and Syria has been named as "Safar-e-Ishq" (Journey of Love). In the past, this journey was made in November and December (due to school winter holidays) but now it is considered a must for Ashura, the tenth day of Muharram, or for Chehlum (Arbayeen), which commemorates the fortieth day of the martyrdom of Imam Hussain, in the form of a large gathering. One can see posters and Facebook posts with appeals to Shias to take part in these two grand gatherings in order to pay tribute to Imam Hussain. In the past, one could listen to music in the month of Muharram, between Ashura and Chehlum, but now no one dares to do that.

### Conclusion

This research points out that the Hazara community has been facing constant violence in the form of target killings and suicide bombings, which has led to the community's isolation. Their locality has been walled and there is an embargo on their movement beyond those boundaries. Practically, the community finds itself trapped in two neighborhoods of Hazara Town and Marriabad of Quetta city. The feelings of obligation towards the group have resulted in the establishment of a number of community-based organizations, which range from welfare to education and healthcare, catering to the needs of the deprived members of the community.

However, violence against the community and resulting isolation of one and half decades have increased vulnerability among the Hazara, not only in terms of security but also traditions, culture, and language.

This has resulted in radicalization along two different tangents. One, violence meted out to the community in the name of faith has made it easy for religious groups to invoke the religious sentiments of community members, and get them involved ever more in religious activities as a gesture of showing resentment towards the perpetrators of violence. Further, the pilgrimage to holy sites, which was once voluntary, has acquired the overtones of religious duty. Two, the nationalist propaganda has led the Hazara to fancy a separate land in the form of Hazaristan, as some groups consider a separate homeland (going back to Hazarajat, the historical home of the Hazara in central Afghanistan) as the only alternative to the current helplessness.<sup>16</sup> A growing sense of victimhood and helplessness has ignited religious zeal and ethnic consciousness. Ethnic politics is currently at its peak with its torch-bearers representing themselves as the only saviors against the community's current isolation through the use of their connections outside the community.

### Recommendations

- **Show Zero Tolerance Towards Hate Speech:** The government in coordination with Pashtun and Baloch communities should make sure that those preaching hatred against the Shia or Hazara are dealt with according to law while educating the people about the consequences of hate speech.
- **Set Goals to Demolish Walls Built around Hazara Neighborhoods:** Instead of concentrating on the security of the Hazara community within secluded neighborhoods, the state should make all efforts to dismantle terrorist networks.
- **Initiate Activities for People-to-People Contact in Quetta City:** Government should initiate strategies for people-to-people contact beyond the walls built around Hazara neighborhoods in the form of political, social, religious, and literary festivals consisting of all ethnic groups of the city. This will help diminish misunderstandings and rumors concerning each group. Rebuilding of trust among the Hazara, Baloch, and Pashtuns of Quetta is impera-

<sup>16</sup> Farha Sameen, "The Hazaras of the Afghanistan in Mughal Times", *JSTOR*, vol. 70, (2009).

tive.



Imran Ali is currently pursuing his Masters in Peace and Conflict Studies at Otto Von Guericke Universität

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## Construction of Citizenship Education in Social Studies Textbooks in Punjab

Ayesha Khalid

### Introduction

The concept of citizenship has evolved from its conventional definition, restricted to the political and legal membership of citizens in a society, to its contemporary aspects which include citizens' rights and duties to fulfill civic entitlements and obligations. While the former concentrates on elements such as equal right to vote, to protest, and to have political debates, etc.; the latter focuses on citizens' working towards a common good. It was only after the French Revolution that the intrinsic value of citizenship and the instrumental value of equality based on liberal notions came together within the modern nation-state. These include ideas related to equality, freedom, and reconciliation. However, due to the constraints of neo-liberal policies and multiculturalism, the challenge remains in broadening the notion of citizenship in both theory and practice.

Citizenship education in Pakistani schools is integrated through Social Studies and Islamiyat textbooks perceived as inculcating religious & moral values, civic values, and duties as these subjects remain compulsory in all provinces. At the same time, national curricula in many religious countries include 'moral education' to instil rules and regulations within a religious context, such as in Pakistan and Iran. Other Muslim-majority countries like Malaysia and Turkey have devised moral education for non-Muslims in addition to Islamic education for Muslim students, to learn shared values of common good for their pluralistic societies. Both the above scenarios show that religious societies inculcate citizenship education through the ideas of peace and harmony based in Islam as Farahani & Salehi argue that Islam is a complete prospect for mutual harmony, societal unification, and justice according to several verses from the Holy Quran.[1] However, the current scenario in Pakistan which has compulsory Islamic education, shows a lack of education for social justice and transformation. One can then accept the argument that the Islamiyat curriculum was devised to generally focus

on establishing religious hegemony, as there is hardly any room for citizenship education for non-Muslim students as they must complete both the lengthy courses of Social Studies and Islamiyat.[2] Although Pakistan's National Education Policy 2009 stressed that promulgated curricula should be in accordance with the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which emphasize global citizenship. It is also closely related with SDG (Sustainable Development Goals) target 4.7, which is to inculcate critical global citizenship through the curriculum and school setting.

By 2030, ensure that all learners acquire the knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development, including, among others, through education for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles, human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship and appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture's contribution to sustainable development (Goal 4.7, The UN Goals)

The statement above proposes that the knowledge and skills promoting ideas for sustainable life, equality, pluralism, and social justice should be a part of schooling. Textbooks are a good medium to understand national and social values at play, and how civic values are being taught and embedded in early childhood through a set of historical, ideological, or liberal concepts in the curriculum. Historically, the militarized curriculum under General Ayub's (1958-1969) education policy had few propositions for citizenry values.[3] The revised education policy during the Zia ul Haq regime under the National Education Policy and Implementation Program of 1979,[4] imparted particular Islamic values in the entire curriculum, neglecting pluralism and equality. Resultantly, the curriculum depicted the notion as if only Muslims were authorized to have a sense of citizenship while non-Muslims were excluded from Pakistani nationality. Major reforms also came about during the Musharraf era (1999-2008) that included Education Sector Reforms (ESR), which was devised in the wake of 9/11. Its main objective was to incorporate secular studies in religious institutions and establish an

inclusive curriculum to reduce sectarian and religious intolerance.[5] After the passage of the 18th amendment to the Constitution of Pakistan in 2010, the curriculum is now designed by autonomous provincial bodies. Still, the Punjab Curriculum and Textbook Board (PCTB) has been influenced by national policies such as the National Education Policy 2009 and follows the framework of the National Textbook and Learning Materials Policy and Plan of Action 2007. This paper researches the textbooks of Social Studies and Islamiyat revised in 2007, since then, the new Single National Curriculum of Pakistan was developed in 2022. It is for future studies, that a comparison can be made as to how the new curriculum supports the SDG goals. While public schools follow the PCTB curriculum, numerous local publishers have designed textbooks for private schools by following the Cambridge curriculum. There are approximately 4 million students currently enrolled in government primary schools[6] and as per the World Bank, enrollment in private schools has risen from 36 to 38 per cent in Pakistan.

### Research Problem, Objective and Methodology

Civic education being a prominent subject in early schooling in most liberal democracies can be associated with the level of productivity, work ethic, community building, and higher levels of tolerance in society.[7] The Pakistani education curriculum is however based on the amalgamation of both ideological frameworks as well as modern liberal education with the added complexity of multiple school systems. In one of the studies done on civic education in Pakistan, three out of four respondents declared that they received no civic education in schools, colleges, or universities.[8]

While several studies have been undertaken how citizenship is constructed in textbooks, there has been little research on the pedagogical implications of the content in Social Studies textbooks. This study aims to fill this gap by providing insights into how Social Studies textbooks in Punjab construct the notion of citizenship, if and how this notion is different in public versus private school textbooks, and how teachers influence students' understanding of citizenship edu-

cation in public and private schools respectively, with the view to give sound and viable recommendations to improve citizenship education.

This qualitative research analyzes the contents of Social Studies textbooks for citizenship education using Discourse Analysis. The contents of the General Knowledge/Social Studies textbooks published by PCTB & Oxford University Press (OUP) for classes 3-5 have been analyzed to identify the presence of or lack of citizenship elements. Furthermore, in-depth interviews were conducted with heads of the Social Studies department, class teachers, and students of classes 3, 4, and 5, both in private and public schools respectively.

### Conceptual Framework

Mal Leicester centralizes the feeling of citizens' identity at the base of solidarity, mutual respect, and execution of democratic institutions. For him, a person's sense of dignity is the recognition of an interpersonal feeling that presupposes the relationship among citizens of a community.[9] This puts an added burden on the educational curriculum to instill the above values as it is an important contributor to identity construction.

Sears & Hughes conceptualize citizenship education based on different levels such as knowledge, values, and skills while assigning it a progression from formal understanding towards contemporary learning, which involves inclusive activities and freedom of expression to achieve justice and equality for every race, religion or ethnicity.[10] They consider a commitment to environmental responsibility, social justice, pluralism, and anti-racism as key values that students should develop to understand that their choices and actions have global consequences. As globalization progresses, societies need more fluidity and flexibility in citizenship education models. However, academic literature that touches upon the concept of citizenship education usually fails to form a link between globalization, citizenship, and technology. This is especially true in the context of emerging mass electronic media as the meaning of pedagogy is also changing.

Further, Anderson et al. argue that the role of citizenship education is not a subject matter in the same sense as history or the social sciences, even though it is purportedly a purpose of social studies, and various reports by commissions and councils, and frameworks designed by social studies' educators consider citizenship education as *raison d'être* of social science.[11] But, it could be a challenge to incorporate citizenship principles such as history, geography, civic values, and democratic state-building elements in the social studies curriculum. Here, Barr, Barth, and Shermis' articulation of three main traditions in the social studies curriculum shed light on how this challenge may be overcome as these traditions focus on different purposes and methods of social studies curriculum. [12] The first, Citizenship Transmission (CT) provides students with fundamental knowledge, values, and skills to become responsible citizens; second, Social Studies as Social Science (SS) focuses on teaching the structure and method of social science, and last, Reflective Inquiry (RI) encourages value analysis and decision making through the exploration of significant problems and issues in society.

Based on the above discussion, I have identified twelve elements to assess the level of citizenship education within the Social Studies curriculum which

include: the definition of citizenship, accuracy of historical facts, political awareness, social responsibility, civic engagement, rights and duties, critical and participatory learning, factual accuracy, and elements of inclusivity and sexism. Due to limitations of the subject matter in Punjab's Social Studies textbooks, I have further consolidated citizenship education into four main elements: civic values, participative learning, political awareness, and discriminatory elements; for ease of comparative analysis between PCTB and Oxford Social Studies textbooks.

### Research Findings

At the primary level, children are essentially learning key concepts of the topics that they will be studying in higher classes. The government of Pakistan has formulated benchmarks for each class for the subject of General Knowledge/Social Studies, based on which textbooks are devised in each province. The benchmarks prominently propose a progression from class 1-3 to class 4-5 and have standardized values that are to be promoted in textbooks. For instance, understanding rights and duties, institutions, and global citizenship are some of the concepts that may become part of the curriculum.

Table. Citizenship Education in the PCTB & Oxford (OUP) Textbooks for Class 3,4, 5

Constituents of Citizenship Education	Punjab Curriculum & Textbook Board	Oxford University Press
Definition of Citizenship	Not present in grades 1-4, Traditional definition in grade 5	Traditional Definition
Historical Facts	Inconsistent/Biased	Unbiased; however lacking depth
Political Awareness	Average	Above Average
Social Responsibility	Average	Above Average
Civic Engagement	Not Present	In Activity Only
Rights	Little Information	Present
Duties	Average	Not Present
Critical Learning or Memorization	Memorization	Critical Learning (Activity Based)
Participative Learning	No	Yes
Factual Accuracy	Minimal	Maximal
Elements of Sexism	Present	Present
Elements of Inclusivity	Not Present	Present

### Civic Values:

Till class 3, the General Knowledge textbook in the PCTB curriculum provides basic information about the environment and helps create a national identity based on state religion. There is no information about the political history or social responsibility of being a citizen. Whereas, Oxford class 3 Social Studies has a separate unit on citizenship, which helps students develop a national identity through the traditional understanding of citizenship. All the main religions are given equal value in text with illustrations of their place of origin. Rights and duties are mentioned in a very didactic manner, with no participative skills proposed. In the PCTB textbook, three rights are mentioned i.e., to have schools for education, hospitals for health, and police to help guard one's life. In contrast, rights in Oxford textbooks are mentioned with contemporary ideas of citizenship such as: the right to be loved, the right to life and freedom, the right to belong to a country, the right to education and health facilities, etc.

In classes 4 and 5, with the conventional definition of citizenship provided in the Social Studies textbooks, the notion is conceptualized as having nationality of a particular country. Civic values or civic engagement roles have been mentioned minimally and these encompass only basic human rights and duties. Though definitions of good citizens are emphasized in PCTB textbooks, there is still no elaboration of these definitions for contemporary understanding. Positive and negative externalities of human actions/behaviour are not mentioned. However, participatory learning of citizenship is promoted through extra-curricular activities in some schools. For example, understanding of Climate Change is not prominent in textbooks but many private schools incorporate activities related to Global Warming and recycling. Under social values, only birth rituals, marriage, and death rites are mentioned in PCTB books.

### Political Awareness & Discriminatory Elements

In class 4 and 5 Oxford Social Studies books, greater value is given to general information about Pakistan's resources, government, history, arts, and festivals in progression. Class 5 gives information on neighbour-

ing countries and Pakistan's position in the world. Whereas, class 4 and 5 PCTB books lack a proper progression. Historical events are stated on the surface without a context. Additionally, only historical figures from Punjab are mentioned. For instance, in class 4, it is implied that the movement for the creation of Pakistan arose from Punjab, "the fertile land of Punjab and its hardworking people raised the importance of Pakistan in the eyes of British." The text does not give any information about the "movement." There is no mention of the role of other provinces in the events leading up to independence including that of East Bengal.

While both PCTB and Oxford books are filled with gender-biased roles in text and illustration, the PCTB books have elements of blatant sexism. Gender roles are defined for women as homemakers, as nurses or teachers; and more strenuous work is allocated to men. Further in PCTB textbooks, distorted history is given as facts while requiring memorization, that leaves no room for further questioning. Very little information is given about other provinces and their cultures. Furthermore, the chapters on cultures and festivals of various provinces instead inculcate an 'us versus them' prejudice. Moreover, modernization is equated with Westernization and is considered immoral. Modernization and Westernization are further denoted by clothing and the use of mobile phones.

Text in Oxford textbooks only provides information on the rights of students whereas no information is given on voluntary actions and obligations. In PCTB textbooks, however, self-awareness and political awareness have been argued along the nationalist narrative of the state. Overall, all books lack current affairs and up-to-date portrayals of the country's national and global matters.

Interviews conducted in both private and government schools suggested that primary-level students had a sense of patriotism infused with hatred towards Hindus and other minorities. Students in public schools also showed hostility towards other ethnicities such as Sindhis or Pashtuns and categorized people from other religious backgrounds as 'kafir/infidel' and

'bad'. We relate this with the use of loaded words to describe citizenship in Social Studies textbooks that develop no social responsibility towards other members of society while encouraging students to be hostile towards minorities. This is because PCTB Social Studies textbooks focus mainly on Punjab without an element of inclusivity of other cultures.

### Participative Learning of Citizenship Concepts

The learning instruments such as text, teaching, and activities work in coherence to form a learning environment for a child. As much as the text influences the notion of citizenship among students, it was observed that teachers and school administration play a vital role in developing an understanding of these concepts. During the interviews in both public and private schools, students were more comfortable talking in private than in the presence of a teacher. They were hesitant to speak their minds freely in front of a teacher as classrooms were filled with the fear of authority. Thus, when children themselves are not aware of their rights and duties, they may as well lack the ability to feel responsible for certain actions.

Civic education and active citizenship are not given enough representation in the content of Social Studies textbooks. As in PCTB textbooks, rights and duties are merely written which neither encourages participative learning nor critical reasoning in the classrooms. Therefore, the notion of citizenship is passive and conventional, and children cannot imbibe the notion of 'good citizen' in their daily lives as they do not see themselves as active members of society.

Further, the books do not inculcate the values of citizenship and morality independent of the conditionality of religion or patriotism. Further, there is little room for children to practice what they learn leading them to be passive learners of these concepts with no engagement with the real world. Thus, the concepts they read have no real implications.

### Conclusion & Policy Recommendations

Overall, the contents of both PCTB and Oxford books do not resonate with the proposed curriculum bench-

marks defined by the Government of Pakistan while the curriculum lacks progression from class 1 to 5 concerning civic education and participative learning. There is ample evidence of the negation of citizenship education in these textbooks: discrimination towards marginalized genders, religions, and ethnicities, and a lack of understanding of global issues altogether. Furthermore, the classrooms don't provide students an environment for healthy debate and discussion to make learning more reflective. Thus, we are raising a generation that may not be considered informed and active citizens.

Despite the errors and inaccuracies, both textbooks have their pros and cons in teaching the concept of citizenship. The four million students studying PCTB textbooks are being instilled with a narrative that undermines religious plurality, portrays the glorification of one ethnicity over the other, and does not encourage participative learning as experiential education is limited to activities provided in the chapters. Comparatively, OUP Social Studies textbooks have additional activities to promote a sense of active citizenship. For instance, there is an activity in class 4 to visit any local voluntary organization that helps people to understand the organization's work. PCTB textbooks could thus be categorized as merely providing a formal understanding of citizenship whereas Oxford textbooks have a more reflective learning approach that promotes active citizenship.

How states define citizenship and how effectively their education policy cultivates the values of empathy, compassion, and basic civil rights and responsibilities, goes a long way to transform a country's value system. Thus, to build a more inclusive and civically conscious society where citizens are informed of each other's rights & duties, the educationists need to reform the education system in Punjab. For this purpose, the following policy recommendations are suggested:

**Eliminate Discriminatory Elements by Accepting Cultural Diversity and Global Citizenship:** The Government of Punjab needs to revise the curriculum to



remove distorted history; gender bias; and prejudice towards other ethnicities, religious minorities, and races; as this is at the core of global citizenship. Instead, cultural and religious diversity should be acknowledged through knowledge about diverse cultures and religions in Pakistan.

**Concentrate on Content Depth rather than Number of Topics:** The PCTB textbooks need to include details of pre/post-independence history rather than mentioning a list of names and dates, as few but in-depth topics would improve comprehension while a large number of topics would only lead to memorization.

**Encourage Reflective Approach & Active Engagement:** The PCTB should incorporate global and national issues using a reflective approach by adding exercises of civic engagement to supplement theory, as more than theory, children learn through practice. Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) need to be kept in mind while reforming the education policy.

**Conduct Teacher Training on Content & Critical Pedagogy:** Teacher training must be provided by subject specialists so that teachers can reform and redevelop content to give more detailed information to students. Additionally, the authoritative role of the teacher needs to be transformed into that of a discussant to allow for critical engagement with the concepts.

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## Interfaith Dialogue Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow: The Case of Lahore District

Naseer John

MPhil Forman Christian College 2017

### Introduction

Lahore, the capital city of Punjab province has remained a multi-religious and multicultural space for centuries. People from various beliefs, ethnic and cultural backgrounds used to live here and took part in the joys, sorrows, famines, and festivals of each other.<sup>17</sup> Lahore has been home to eight major religions of the world i.e. Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, Zoroastrianism, Christianity, Islam, Judaism and Sikhism<sup>18</sup> and people from diverse religious arrays enjoyed interreligious dialogue, where they shared their world-views and perspectives freely.<sup>19</sup> This religious diversity can be seen through the various mosques, shrines, churches, temples, and gurdwaras that spot the city.<sup>20</sup>

But at present, Lahore has lost most of its religious and cultural diversity, and interreligious harmony due to the cataclysmic violence of Partition in which 11.2 million people crossed the newly drawn border<sup>21</sup> with Hindus and Sikhs migrating to India. The Hindu, Sikh and Muslim communities which had coexisted for approximately a millennium violently attacked each other and as a result, thousands lost their lives in the carnage.<sup>22</sup>

After independence, religious violence erupted in the early 1950's in Lahore, against the Ahmadiyya community. After that, Lahore generally maintained its tradition of interfaith harmony but the conflict returned in the 1970s and heightened in the 1980s, initially against the Ahmadiyya community and later also against the Christians. Structural discrimination based on laws and recurring violent incidences has tested the pluralistic, multi-cultural, and harmonious

<sup>17</sup> Majid Sheikh, *Lahore the tales without End* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2015).

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> Shahid Mukhtar, *Din-e-Ila'hi Aghaz Say Anjam Tak* (Lahore: Shahid Publishers and Book Sales) 100-131.

<sup>20</sup> F.S. Aijazuddin, *Lahore Recollected an Almumb* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2004).

<sup>21</sup> K. Hill, W. Selzer, J. Leaning, S. J. Malik et. al, "The Demographic Impact of Partition in Punjab in 1947", *Population Studies*, Vol. 62, No. 2, (2008): 155-170.

<sup>22</sup> William Dalrymple, "The Great Divide", *The New Yorker*, June, 22, 2015. <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2015/06/29/the-great-divide-books-dalrymple>

inter-faith character of Lahore, enhancing the feelings of insecurity and vulnerability among religious minorities.

### Research Objective and Methodology

To counter such feelings and develop the inter-faith harmony of yesteryears, multiple inter-faith dialogue initiatives have been taking place in the city. However, little academic work has been done to put these dialogues in the context of the historical tradition of interaction among various faith-based communities, as well as within the contemporary context of inter-faith dialogue being practiced around the world. As interfaith dialogue can promote pluralism, inclusivity, and social harmony for peaceful coexistence, it can lead to the dismantling of societal and institutionalized discrimination against religious minorities.<sup>23</sup> This study is an attempt to understand the historical evolution and nature of interfaith dialogue in Lahore, while critically assessing the current practice of interfaith dialogue in the city.

For a deeper understanding of current dialogue practices in Lahore, it uses the triangulation method inclusive of interviews, focused group discussions, and participant observations of inter-faith dialogue activities. A total of twenty-one interviews, two focused group discussions, and six participant observations were conducted consisting of interfaith practitioners, academics, religious leaders, public policy experts, government officials, women's rights activists, civil society activists, social and political workers, inter-faith scholars, Christian religious leaders, and common people mainly in an urban setting.

### Theoretical Framework

The root of the word "dialogue" comes from the Greek word *dia-logos* which means 'to talk something through'. It refers to a reciprocal movement in which engaged partners are open to differences and otherness. Leonard Swidler stresses five elements of a dialogue including listening, learning, respecting the

other, comparing apples with apples rather than with oranges, and not denigrating the other in case of a disagreement. Stressing the importance of listening, he states that "overall, respect for listening serves as the ground rule for dialogue and further keeping in view that not any single group holds the absolute knowledge about nature and the deeds of the Almighty."<sup>24</sup>

Kenneth Cracknell provides further guidelines for interfaith dialogue suggesting that "dialogue acknowledges various religious, political, economic and cultural orientations and loyalties of the dialogue partners. A careful consideration of specific dictions with regards to culture and context is vital among dialogue partners while the effort to proselytize or to prove religious superiority by any adherent can hinder the productivity and integrity of the dialogue. Mainly, 'dialogue of life' is a transformative form of inter-faith dialogue when people share their lives with each other by opening their homes and praying together. This means opening your mind and spirit through a broader vision in the presence of Almighty."<sup>25</sup> Though this suggests that interfaith dialogue involves the complete socio-political and economic context of dialogue partners, Imam Abdul Malik Mujahid, former chairman of the Parliament of the World's Religions goes a step further by stating that even talking to neighbors of a different faith on mutual human issues is also dialogue, and a constructive dialogue would move from conversation to action on common ground. He further adds that for the common human good, interfaith dialogue should deal with all necessary issues in a comprehensive way but should avoid issues that can lead to conflict.<sup>26</sup>

Supporting Mujahid's position on interfaith dialogue among common folks during their daily interactions, Michael Nazir-Ali, president of the Oxford Centre for Training, Research, Advocacy and Dialogue (OXTRAD) further differentiates between "discursive dialogue", which is about the exchange of information; "spiritual dialogue", which shares the riches of spiritual experi-

<sup>23</sup> Parliament of the World's Religions, "Publications and Reports", <https://parliamentofreligions.org/publication> (Accessed 5 January, 2017).

<sup>24</sup> Yvonne Aburrow, "How to do Interfaith dialogue", Patheos, July 15, 2014. <http://www.patheos.com/blogs/sermonsfromthemound/2014/07/how-to-do-interfaith-dialogue/> (13 November, 2015).

<sup>25</sup> Gerard Forde, "A Journey Together: A resource for Christian Muslim Dialogue", Cois Time, 2013. <https://www.pobal.ie/Publications/Documents/A%20Journey%20Together%20-%20Cois%20Tine%20-%202013.pdf> (Accessed 17 May 2015).

<sup>26</sup> US- Pakistan Interreligious Consortium organized by UMT in Lahore Pearl continental hotel at March 27-29, 2017.

ences; from a third type of dialogue about fundamental freedoms and of building a common home. This dialogue should also take place between neighbors and colleagues at work, beyond the level of religious leaders or scholars.<sup>27</sup> Thus, effective interfaith dialogue requires that it is inclusive of women, youth, and ordinary citizens, and adopts a holistic approach to discussing building a common home together in the spirit of peace, social justice, and community service.

### History of Interfaith Dialogue in Lahore

The history of interfaith harmony and dialogue in Lahore and Punjab owes a great deal to the Sufi and Bhagti movements. Their lives and teachings served as a symbol of social harmony and created a spirit of togetherness which led to a culture of religious fusion while also influencing the rulers. Though this tradition of religious interaction, inclusivity, and communal meals as practiced by Baba Farid (1179-1266), Guru Nanak (1469-1539), Shah Hussain (1538-1599), Mian Mir (1550-1635), Bulleh Shah (1680-1757), Waris Shah (1710-1738) and others still continues, it has drastically weakened owing to various factors.

### Mughal & Sikh Period:

The era of Mughal Emperor Akbar (1556-1605) is considered exemplary for interfaith harmony in India. He promoted religious cohesion between Hindus and Muslims.<sup>28</sup> To institutionalize the idea of interreligious discourse, he built two buildings in Lahore: at Khair Pura for Jews, Christians, Zoroastrians and Muslims and at Dharam Pura for Hindus, Jains, Buddhists, and Valmiki.<sup>29</sup> He frequently took part in those meetings to improve his understanding of these religions.<sup>30</sup> Akbar also facilitated translation of various Hindu books<sup>31</sup>, and expedited the translation of the four Gospels of the New Testament into Persian by the

engagement of Jerome Xavier, a Jesuit priest. These translations opened the door for theological dialogue among various religious experts. It is further claimed by Falix Vayle that after the year 1576 when Ibadat Khana (house of worship) hosted cosmopolitan communities for scholarly exchanges, Akbar constituted the 'First Parliament of Religions'.<sup>32</sup> Though interreligious discourse seemed to continue in later Mughal period with the notable example of Prince Dara Shikoh (1615-1659), the tradition of tolerance and interfaith harmony was systematically reversed during Aurangzeb's (1618-1707) period.

The early 19th century reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh<sup>33</sup> was again a throwback to Akbar's time, as he advocated diversity and religious plurality<sup>34</sup> and his administration and army constituted peoples of all religions. The Maharaja facilitated the translation of Hindu and Muslim holy literature into various languages, and the Holy Quran was translated into *Gurumukhi and Shahmukhi* for the first time.<sup>35</sup> He equally acknowledged celebrations of religious festivals with great festivity as a dialogue of life and deed. He observed the fast with Muslims in Ramazan, celebrated Holi with Hindus and traveled to Amritsar every month to perform Sikh rituals,<sup>36</sup> while asking people of various religions to pray for him.<sup>37</sup>

### The British Period:

The British period was a mixture of interfaith dialogue, polemics, and apologetics towards the 'religious other'. After the 1857 rebellion, religious debate, proselytization, missionary activity, and religious revivalist movements emerged as the new norm in India, and Lahore retained its tradition of religious dialogue and interfaith harmony.<sup>38</sup> The policy of religious freedom and tolerance was adopted by the British in India post

<sup>27</sup> Lecturer on 17th November, 2016 Center for Public Policy and Governance Forman Christian College Lahore.

<sup>28</sup> Shankar Nair, *Translating Wisdom: Hindu-Muslim Intellectual Interactions in Early Modern South Asia*. (California: University of California Press, 2020).

<sup>29</sup> G.C. Walker, Esquire, *Gazetteer of the Lahore District 1893-94*, (Lahore: Sang-e-meel Publications, 2006).

<sup>30</sup> Awami Jhamoori Forum, "Akbar aur Punjab 1556- 1605", *Apna Org*. <http://apnaorg.com/books/magazines/ajf-50/book/page0013.jpg>

<sup>31</sup> Shahid Mukhtar, *Din-i-Ilahi Aghaz say Anjam Tak*, (Lahore: Shahid Publishers and Book Sellers, 138).

<sup>32</sup> Shahid Mukhtar, *Din-i-Ilahi Aghaz say Anjam Tak*, (Lahore: Shahid Publishers and Book Sellers, 148).

<sup>33</sup> Mushtaq Soofi, "Punjab Notes: Space for Religious Diversity", *DAWN*, November, 14, 2014. <http://www.dawn.com/news/1144364> (Accessed 12 April 2016).

<sup>34</sup> Mushtaq Soofi, "Gora Raj: our elders and national narrative", *DAWN*, April, 11, 2014.

<sup>35</sup> TEDx. "The untold history of Sikh rule under Ranjit Singh in Lahore, Fakir Syed, TEDxULahore" Filmed [May 2014]. You Tube video, 1951. Posted [May 2014]. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yWxDhT3ybUs>.

<sup>36</sup> The Sikh Court, "The Legacy of Maha Raja Ranjit Singh", Gateway to Sikhism, <http://www.sikh-history.com/sikhhist/warriors/ranjit10.html> (Accessed 17 December, 2016).

<sup>37</sup> Gurdashan Singh Dhillon, "The Sikh Rule and Ranjit Singh", Gateway to Sikhism, <https://www.allaboutsikhs.com/sikhism-articles/the-sikh-rule-and-ranjit-singh> (Accessed 21 December, 2016).

<sup>38</sup> Maqsood Kamil, "Religious Extremism and Christian Response in the context of Pakistan" (Paper presented at Stott-Bediako Amman, Jordan, 2015), 20.

Queen Victoria's proclamation of 1858,<sup>39</sup> which allowed people of all religions to freely preach, practice, print literature, and engage in dialogue and debate, and there were instances when the government-supervised interreligious dialogues and debates through its magisterial bodies.

Dr. Charles Forman (1821-1894), the founder of Forman Christian College, encouraged interreligious discussions on a daily basis in different parts of the Walled City of Lahore during his forty-year educational career.<sup>40</sup> In 1872, the Brahmo Samaj built a *mandir* in Anarakali for their prayers on Sunday, while facilitating interreligious dialogue sessions every Friday where people from all faith were welcome.<sup>41</sup> Similarly, the Sanatan Dharm Sabha established in 1889 organized lectures and seminars every Sunday evening to encourage all faith groups to participate in interreligious dialogical exchanges. The society was so deeply interwoven that someone from outside could not make a clear distinction between various religious groups.<sup>42</sup> This religiously diverse and plural Lahore had far-reaching influence on Western theologians, academics, and workers who lived and served in Lahore. For instance, Gottlieb Wilhelm Leitner, the principal of Government College Lahore, set up the Oriental Institute to teach oriental languages, cultures, philosophies, and religions in Britain.<sup>43</sup> Similarly, Wilfred Cantwell Smith, a Presbyterian minister and scholar of Islam established the Institute of Islamic Studies at McGill Canada and was one of the founders of the Center for the Study of World Religions at Harvard University.<sup>44</sup>

### Restoration of Dialogue after Partition

The Partition of Punjab disrupted interfaith harmony, mixed neighborhoods, and an evolving syncretic

culture by polarizing the population along religious lines while leaving bitter memories of sectarian warfare.<sup>45</sup> As Sikhs and Hindus left Lahore, Muslims and non-Muslims stopped being equal parties in dialogue, while any interfaith dialogue that did take place, moved into private spaces. Further, the state after independence made limited attempts to build intellectual, historical, and multi-cultural linkages among different regions of the country and instead, the monist Islamic State identity glossed over the respect for religious and cultural diversity.<sup>46</sup> For example, festivals of religions other than Islam have been removed from the national calendar since 1953, which has led to pluralism coming under stress.<sup>47</sup>

The impact has been tremendous. While the Sikh, Hindu, Ahmadi, and Shia communities have been a target of various religious groups since independence, the physical persecution of the Christian community began during General Zia's regime when Blasphemy Laws were amended,<sup>48</sup> while attacks against these communities increased after the American invasion of Afghanistan post 9/11.<sup>49</sup>

### A Critical Appraisal of Interfaith Dialogue in Contemporary Lahore

Though Lahore has a rich historical tradition of interfaith harmony, interaction, and dialogue, this has waned since independence because the present generation is less familiar with people of other faiths and has a narrow knowledge of the 'religious other' as compared to earlier generations who lived, studied or worked with Hindus, Sikhs, Parsis, Jains, Jews and Buddhists in Lahore. Interfaith dialogue between peoples of different faith traditions thus becomes imperative and its effectiveness becomes critical to

<sup>39</sup> Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, "*Asbab-e- Baghawat-e- Hind*" (Lahore: Mazbua-e-Mustafa-e- Press Lahore, 17).

<sup>40</sup> Tahir Masood, "Urdu Works of Dr. Charles W Forman", *The Nation*, March, 05, 2014, <http://nation.com.pk/national/05-Mar-2014/urdu-works-of-dr-charles-w-forman>

<sup>41</sup> G.C. Walker, Esquire, *Gazetteer of the Lahore District 1893-94* (Lahore: Sang-e- Meel Publications, 2006), 92-97.

<sup>42</sup> G.C. Walker, Esquire, *Gazetteer of the Lahore District 1893-94* (Lahore: Sang-e- Meel Publications, 2006), 92-97.

<sup>43</sup> *The Times*, "Travails of The Mecca of Suburbia", March, 29, 2008, <http://www.shahjahanmosque.org.uk/travails-mecca-suburbia> (Accessed 20 September, 2016).

<sup>44</sup> Harvard University Gazette, "Wilfred Cantwell Smith", November, 29, 2001, <http://news.harvard.edu/gazette/2001/11.29/27-memorialminute.html> (Accessed 12 April, 2016).

<sup>45</sup> William Dalrymple, "The Great Divide", *The New Yorker*, June, 22, 2015.

<sup>46</sup> Ishtiaq Ahmad, Adnan Rafiq, ed., *Pakistan's Democratic Transition Change and Persistence*, (New York: Routledge, 2017), 128-171.

<sup>47</sup> Rasul Bakhsh Rais, "Pluralism under stress", *The Express Tribune*, August, 13, 2012.

<sup>48</sup> Roger Ballard, *The Christians of Pakistan: A historical Overview and an Assessment of their Current Position* (United Kingdom: CASAS, 2015), 9.

<sup>49</sup> Tina Mercep, "Pakistan: Opportunities and Threats to the Development of a Pluralistic Society", Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, June, 29, 2016. <http://www.kas.de/bruessel/de/publications/45961/> (Accessed 18 August 2016)

rebuilding religious harmony.

Since the clergy leads dialogue, communication is limited to a pastor and an imam, and mostly similarities are discussed while differences in beliefs and practices are avoided. This segmentation of participants along religious lines and concentration on theological issues in the dialogue prompted responses from multiple interviewees. A senior social activist stated that “the parameters of dialogue are wrong as the people meet on the basis of beliefs but they should meet on humanitarian grounds” while another respondent stated that the main focus of dialogue should be on social issues instead of theological ones. An interviewee suggested that “dialogue should be based on local cultural values because cultural festivals have more commonalities and bind people together.”

However, this requires a certain level of openness among the participants. But the majority of respondents said that there was no openness even among the progressive people of the majority community on religious issues. A respondent said, “People from the religious minority, even leaders and bishops are afraid to talk openly on theological issues in these meetings.” Thus, these meetings do not address the issue of mistrust that still exists and the conversation remains cosmetic. One respondent stated “once some government officials came to participate in an interfaith dialogue organized by a local church. They were offered food but regrettably they refused to eat. This incident not only hurt our feelings but also destroyed the mutual trust which was built through this meeting.”

Effective interfaith dialogue also requires a certain level of equality among participants. But socio-economic disparity between religious communities leads to a gap in the dialogue process especially when the minority community is socially, economically, politically, and legally much weaker than the majority community. To highlight this fact, one respondent stated that “the majority community behaves in a way that they dominate the dialogue meetings”.

Another overlooked factor is the intra-faith dialogue that is crucial to promoting interfaith dialogue but

is not being practiced because of the risk of reaction from within own communities. Further, there is a minimal participation of Hindus, Sikhs, and Bahá'ís in these dialogues, partly because of their minute numbers in Lahore and also because of xenophobic hostilities against India. Lastly, the Ahmadiyya community is totally deprived of participation in the dialogue as was confirmed through participant observations and interviews. There is also minimal participation of women in dialogue meetings, even though their role is vital in promoting interfaith relations. This was underscored by a participant who stated that “when families come together for a dialogue, it can be more fruitful. The food, clothes, colors and festivals, commonalities and social issues must be the basis of our dialogue.”

Additionally, almost all respondents said that dialogue meetings mostly took place in luxury hotels and thus the fruits of dialogue were not conveyed to the common people. There is little effort to hold these dialogues in mosques and churches.

#### **Role of the State:**

Almost all respondents showed their dissatisfaction regarding the existing institutional support of the state to promote interreligious relations. One respondent said that “when any bad incident happens, only then the government ministers appear.” This was attested by a respondent from the Lahore Deputy Commissioner’s office who said that “we have a ‘District Peace Committee’ and if any interreligious conflict happens, then we involve religious leaders to manage interreligious conflicts. But mostly, this committee meets before the month of Muharram to manage law and order situation regarding sectarian violence.” The lack of state’s commitment towards supporting interfaith harmony can be understood from the absence of interfaith committees at the union council level which one of the respondents described as “one of the major reasons for interreligious conflict.” Ironically, the Ministry of Religious Affairs & Interfaith Harmony mainly deals with Hajj applications.

#### **Conclusion & Policy Recommendations**

Lahore has a rich history of interfaith dialogue that

most people are unaware of because interreligious dialogue spaces have gradually shrunk since Partition. Whereas the constituency of interfaith dialogue exists, research findings suggest that most dialogue organizers and participants do not understand the very concept of interfaith dialogue and its various forms i.e. dialogue of life; dialogue of deed, and dialogue of religious experience. Thus, interfaith dialogue which is currently taking place can be categorized more as a diatribe or a monologue among a select group of people, who seem to be repeatedly invited.

Unfortunately, because of a lack of state support and a lack of conviction by society, the current dialogue activities are not self-sustaining and are mostly based on foreign funding. Thus, interfaith dialogue has primarily become a project-based activity rather than being considered a mission, or a social, religious, and national responsibility. To reorient and restructure the nature of this current pattern of interfaith dialogue, following is recommended.

**Develop a Framework for Interfaith Dialogue in the Local Context:** To improve the effectiveness of and broaden the framework of interfaith dialogue, the dos and don'ts of interfaith dialogue need to be comprehended; the importance of listening and respecting the 'other'; the need to include women, youth and families; to move beyond theology to also include socio-cultural and political issues; and to acknowledge diversity through joint celebrations of cultural and religious festivals such as Basant, melas, Holi, Dewali, Eid, Christmas, Bisakhi, Nowruz and others.

**Institutionalize Interfaith Dialogue Process at the Local Level:** State and civil society should work together to institutionalize interfaith dialogue at the union council level through the formation of peace committees. The interaction of local representatives with various religious communities on a sustained basis will help eliminate violence at the grassroots level through pinpointing and removal of hate literature and hate speech.

The state should also support the production of interfaith dialogue guidelines and peace literature while providing neutral venues to the peace committee for

dialogue and community interaction.



Naseer John is Adjunct Faculty in History & Pakistan Studies, Forman Christian College

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## Seminar Series

:Dr. Ayra Indrias Patras, a CPPG Alumni and Assistant Professor in the Department of Political Science, Forman Christian College, was invited to discuss her book *Swept Aside A Story of Christian Sweepers in Lahore* (Lahore: Folio, 2023) on February 20, 2023. She was joined by two discussants: Neelam Hussain, an educationist and researcher, and Dr. Asad ur Rehman, an Assistant Professor at Forman Christian College.



Introducing her book, Patras shared that it has already been substantiated in existing literature that religious minorities in Pakistan have been marginalized on a social, political, and economic level. Her book further investigates the intersection between caste, class, gender and religion under the broad rubric of Subaltern Studies, which identify colonial populations that are socially, politically and economically excluded from the hierarchy of power. She highlighted the historical structures and forces that have shaped Christian communities as religious minorities and subdued class communities. More so, she argued that there was stigmatization within the Christian communities as well, based on existing class divisions and other contours which highlighted the need for researching this topic. Through her research, she has brought forward the voices of those who navigate through this uneven terrain eclipsed by various strands of marginality, and social and class divisions.

Patras' book focuses on the way waste management is structured in Pakistan in relations to lower-hierarchy women workers engaged in janitorial services. It also explains how women traverse the challenging landscapes of caste and social disparities. Shedding light



on the relationship of people who are on the fringes of the state, she explained the perspective of citizenship in the minds of these communities and how they related it to nationalism. Finally, the book delves deeper into the response of church institutions to the challenges faced by the Christian community.

Elaborating on the topic, Patras pointed out that more than 90 percent workers in WASA and public schools belonged to the Christian community. Initially, the domain of janitorial services came under the public sector. However, in 2010, it was leased to Turkish companies which subleased it to private companies. This multiple leasing structure was quite disadvantageous for the sweeper community as it deprived the community of job security, pension, and medical care, leading to further alienation along with socio-economic poverty. She identified the gaps between private companies' contracts and practices and remarked that these companies are duty-bound to provide safety standards, free meals and medical needs to workers. But these workers are not aware of their labor rights and their ignorance is further played up by their weak social position in society.

Patras further discussed the absence of technological innovation in janitorial services and the discrimination faced by women workers in their workplaces. The process of cleaning is still manual and strenuous with continuous exposure to dust affecting the health of workers and leading them to death traps. Further, the non-availability of public toilets for women is another case of inequity. Moreover, in the past, women workers were in larger numbers. But the hierarchy of private companies has contracted women employment opportunities in this janitorial occupation. Thus, the new liberal employment design, which aimed to counter capitalism's unregulated and hostile conditions for laborers, has been unable to discontinue the discrimination and exploitation faced by the workforce. Instead, it is playing havoc with the everyday realities of sanitary workers.

Highlighting the salience of caste in Pakistani society, she observed that the society conveniently discards the notion of caste division. Caste division is mostly understood as an Indian/Hindu phenomenon, because

it is argued that Pakistan is an egalitarian society based on Islamic principles which doesn't allow caste division. However, it must not be forgotten that caste has been recognized as a category of governance in colonial administration and governmentality. Caste governs our social and political behavior, influencing voting patterns and socio-political transactions. It is present in the corridors of bureaucracy and comes across all classes. Class mobility is relatively easier than changing one's caste. Hence, to deny the existence of caste means closing one's eyes in the face of a major societal discriminatory structure.



Such divisions are evident when we look closely at the experience of Christian minorities. They are kept separated at workplaces, their utensils are separated and they face various other forms of discriminatory practices. These practices instill alienation, perpetuate victimhood, and obstruct their political agency for social action. These behaviors and practices took root in colonial history where the Chura caste, as recorded by missionaries, was considered the untouchables. They were known for their dirty work. The rising number of Christian sanitary workers from 4,000 in 1871 to 5 lakh in Punjab by 1941, is not only because of historical recruitment practices but also the persistence of policies which declare this work as an "untouchable caste occupation." This caste-based Chura identity has had an adverse impact on the Christian identity as this vulnerability and marginality have served as a sight of deprivation, rather than of resistance. Internalized victimization and lack of political agency have brought no change in their lives, making it imperative for us to look at the concept and issues of minorities, and their marginalization from a holistic point of view.

Commenting on the book, Neelam Hussain stated that the book reminded her of the gap between the stories we tell ourselves and how they occur in reality. It reminds us that even though we claim that ours is an egalitarian society but its soil is much older than that, and this is reflected in our behavior patterns. The caste system is embedded in our psyche whether we accept it or not and it comes out in government policies and structures as well. The identity of low-caste Christians was constructed as untouchables. It is important to ask ourselves about these constructed notions and reflect on how it has been internalized in our behaviors.

Dr. Asad Ur Rehman also shared his insights on the book by stating that the book explicitly describes how identities could be a baggage and how this baggage can haunt us on an individual as well as the communal level. Patras' book highlights how the concept of labor is undermined in Pakistan especially in the case of lower caste members of society. He remarked that the discussion on a communal level is also pivotal to cater to the victimization experienced by the Christian community at the hands of the majority populace.

**Mohsin Termezy**, a digital banking evangelist, founder of Finclude, co-founder of Dastak, and author of a sector landscape study titled *Fintech Ecosystem of Pakistan*, was invited by the CPPG to deliver a talk on “**Financial Inclusion: Public Policy for Open Data Driven Solutions**” on April 12, 2023.

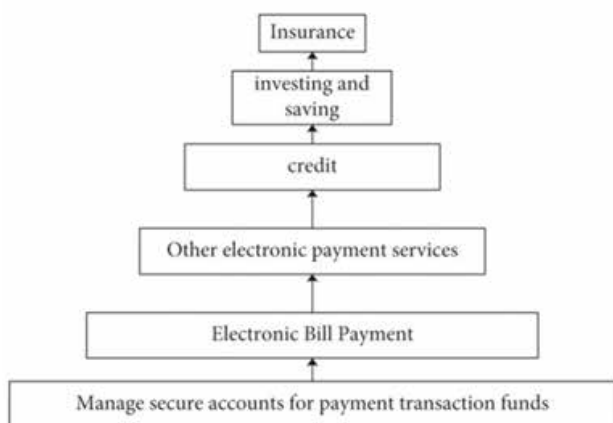


Termezy initiated the talk by defining the term financial inclusion, which means providing fair access to financial services to different economic strata of society so that they can access, utilize, and consume financial services in a sustainable and responsible way. He shared that out of 180 million smartphone users, only 30 million people have access to financial services. The highest penetration is in Islamabad and Gilgit-Baltistan, owing to high literacy rates of these regions, while male registrations are more than double that of females.

He pointed out that in examining the hierarchy of financial needs, it was essential to understand the progressive nature of individual's financial goals and responsibilities. At the foundational level, the primary need is to establish a secure and dedicated account for the purpose of storing one's financial resources. This marks the initial step towards financial stability as it involves moving funds from informal and often insecure locations, like under the pillow or mattress, to a safe, secure, and convenient financial repository. This facilitates the ability to manage and grow those funds for future use or investment. Once a secure financial account is established, the next tier of financial needs involves the consumption of these funds to cover essential expenses, such as utility bills. This stage addresses the immediate financial obligations of an individual or a household.

Moving up the hierarchy, the third tier introduces electronic payments as a pivotal element. This includes transactions related to e-commerce purchases and educational fees. The adoption of electronic payment methods signifies a transition towards more convenient and efficient financial interactions, aligning with the evolving digital landscape. Beyond immediate expenses and electronic transactions, the subsequent stage centers on the need to access credit or borrow money. This financial capacity is crucial for various purposes, including the creation of new capital avenues, wealth generation, employment opportunities, and the development of infrastructure. The next stage in this hierarchy emphasizes the importance of savings and investments. By this point, individuals have not only secured their funds, covered essential expenses, and accessed credit but are now actively seeking ways to grow their wealth. Savings are the foundation of this growth, allowing individuals to set aside a portion of their income for future financial security.

Finally, at the top of the financial services pyramid, insurance plays a significant role in the financial needs' hierarchy. As individuals accumulate wealth and assets, safeguarding these resources becomes paramount. Insurance provides protection against unexpected events that could otherwise jeopardize financial well-being. Assessing the current provision of financial services, he stated that about 30 percent of the entire population has been able to secure accounts at the base of the pyramid, while only 3 percent have insurance.



Source: Yuan, Feng. (2022)

Termezzy then focused on the underlying infrastructure. Talking about the Internet in today's world, he argued in favor of Fin-internet, a financially enabled internet that helps people to create wealth for themselves. Further sharing the journey of the fin part of the internet, he explained the evolution of digital banking from traditional brick-and-mortar banking. The progression has been in alternate channels, starting from the teller to ATMs, call centers, web, mobile, and social sites. It began with connecting banks to telecom operators. The journey of 'telcos with banks' started from airtime. It began with charging phones through a scratch card, later shifting to transfer mode. Telcos had this pseudo currency called airtime that enabled people to buy goods through additional airtime. However, policymakers decided that they could not allow telecoms to form a new money format that may enable money laundering and increase the money supply. It was thus pertinent to keep airtime and money in separate boxes, which contributed to the creation of a novel concept called a wallet. Through wallets, phone balance and money balance could be kept separate. This further revolutionized the system of branchless banking, where agents were created. It helped in serving the biggest need through which money could easily be sent to remote areas.

Sharing the evolution from payment to purpose-based banking, he discussed how billing became the first value proposition through the Easy Paisa wallet, and it became easier to provide payroll through wallets. Further, the introduction of international remittances made it easy to send money to relatives. This entire process was followed by the creation of cards, e-commerce, ATMs, savings, microfinance, and now health cards. Gradually, the boundaries between telcos and banks started to blur, and the system gradually moved from payment to transaction banking. Now, the system also records the purpose and story behind each transaction, which helps in predicting future transactions. We have now moved from basic payments to purpose-based or purpose-remembering payments. Another feature of new-age banking, alongside transactions and purpose-based payments, is connectivity. The State Bank of Pakistan has issued digital bank licenses to telecommunication companies enabling them to provide internet and infrastructure

in aid to the completion of transactions. Hence, these companies can provide transactions, purpose, and connectivity all at the same time. This new-age bank acts like a marketplace like Uber and Careem, where multiple buyers and sellers are connected.

While this transformation and digitalization of financial services is revolutionary and promising, Termezy shared his skepticism towards the situation of financial inclusion in Pakistan. One-third of cash is out of the State Bank's system, instead residing in informal destinations like under mattresses or in prize bonds. Further, with the rise of crypto and digital currency, financial inclusion has become increasingly challenging, where regulatory bodies are trying to cover cash discrepancies to eliminate potential money laundering rather than ensuring the financial inclusion of the masses.

In conclusion, Termezy stressed the need to create a link between banks, fintech, and academia. He argued that academia must help in carrying out research related to payment methods, value proposition, acquisition of customers, and work on bringing use-case studies so that the persisting knowledge gaps within the digital banking industry could be filled. Moreover, innovation labs should be created where social experiments are carried out. He shared the story of his organization, Dastak, which is working along the same lines, acting as an alternate channel in carrying out experiments through innovation labs.

The talk was followed by a lively Q&A session with the participants. In answering a question on how to harness micro-savings of individuals at the base of the economic pyramid, Termezy shed light on Pakistan's relatively low savings levels due to the presence of potential alternative avenues such as savings committees or asset-based savings. However, there hasn't been significant progress in transforming these avenues. Prize bonds, once a popular savings instrument, are not issued now, indicating a shift towards digital options, with cryptocurrencies also making their presence felt. Additionally, the idea of demonetization as a strategy to reach a larger population was discussed, taking inspiration from India's successful mass digitization of payments. However, Termezy also

highlighted the need to consider the drawbacks of this approach.

In the context of global efforts to promote financial inclusion, Termezy provided examples from around the world. Nigeria stands out with its direct integration of ID cards with Mastercard, effectively creating a digital wallet. Iran, too, has made strides in building a robust payment infrastructure and reaching more individuals as the government incentivizes citizens to open bank accounts by offering coupons tied to the purchase of a certain amount of oil.

Regarding a question on data protection, Termezy emphasized the complexity of this issue, calling for solutions on three fronts. First, consumer-consent-driven data infrastructure must be secure. Second, robust legislation must be in place to protect this data. Lastly, banking apps need to be compliant with both data infrastructure and legislation. He noted that Pakistan's government has been actively addressing the legislative aspect of data protection. Nevertheless, challenges remain, particularly related to data infrastructure security and app compliance. It's worth noting that data protection is a global challenge, and effective deterrence mechanisms are essential to address it.

:Dr. Matthew McCartney, Senior Researcher at the Charter Cities Institute and the author of *The Dragon from the Mountains: The CPEC from Kashgar to Gwadar* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), was invited by the CPPG for a webinar on “**Transformations in Pakistan’s Political Economy and CPEC**” on February 17, 2022.



The session began with the Director of CPPG, Dr. Saeed Shafqat, providing a context for China’s Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) within the larger US-China geopolitical rivalry spanning technology, economy, culture, and cyber activities. He then asked Professor McCartney about the potential ramifications of the BRI, including the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) for Pakistan.

McCartney commenced the discussion by emphasizing his interest in the economic dimensions of CPEC. He underscored CPEC’s pivotal role within the broader framework of the BRI, its geographical significance, and the economic impact of the western and eastern routes on Pakistan’s regions. He expressed that CPEC promised to be a pathway of regional connectivity that will benefit China and Pakistan and positively impact Iran, Afghanistan, India, the Central Asian republics, and the region. Underscoring the significance of CPEC, he said that the project’s aim is to enhance geographical linkages, focusing on an improved transportation system and promoting people-to-people contact through academic, cultural, and knowledge activities. He added that Pakistan’s regional and global position is also likely to see a strong boost with the positive conclusion of CPEC. The success of

CPEC is also crucial for the geopolitics of South Asia as strengthened Sino-Pak relationship may trigger concerns for India.

According to McCartney, the success of CPEC is hoped to normalize ties between Afghanistan and Pakistan. China, Pakistan, and Afghanistan signed a trilateral understanding on enhancing counterterrorism security cooperation. In this context, he highlighted the need for a deeper understanding of CPEC’s potential impact on mainstream regions.

He added that initially, CPEC was estimated to cost about \$46 billion, approximately 70% of which was being invested in energy, 8% in rail, 13% on roads, and 4 to 5% in Gwadar. But by 2017, the estimate had bumped up to \$60 billion. He acknowledged the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic, which sparked discussions on scaling back investments.

Additionally, McCartney had observed a discernible shift in economic dialogues during his travels to Pakistan spanning fifteen to seventeen years. The conversation, which had earlier been dominated by discussions on U.S. and IMF programs, has evolved to trade relations with China in recent years, reflecting the changing dynamics of global economic partnerships and the growing significance of China in economic discourse. He highlighted the polarized opinions generated by CPEC, particularly among politicians, which underscored the complex socio-political landscape surrounding the project, where diverse perspectives and interests intersect. Acknowledging these nuanced viewpoints laid the groundwork for a more comprehensive understanding of CPEC’s reception and impact within Pakistan.

Diving into the intricacies of his research methodology, McCartney expounded a two-pronged approach: the first involved an examination of historical and contemporary case studies, unraveling the impact of large-scale infrastructure projects on social, human, and economic development, and the second delved into pre-existing studies, providing a baseline understanding of the economic context before and after the implementation of significant infrastructure projects. Based on this approach, he countered the scholarship that portrayed CPEC as Pakistan’s absolute savior.

It is hoped that CPEC will completely transform its economy. Ethiopia is an example to learn from. Ethiopia regards itself as an important country and gets aid from different donors. This gives Ethiopia the upper hand, and it can dictate its own agenda. Pakistan should also leverage its 200+ million population and nuclear power and try to assert its diplomatic power and not rely only on one donor. While acknowledging the CPEC's role in addressing key constraints in investment, economic growth, production, and manufacturing, he underscored the indispensability of robust domestic policies to address challenges related to education, skills acquisition, long-term credit, political uncertainty, and property rights protection in harnessing the full potential of CPEC.

For future research, he envisioned a four-country comparative study encompassing Pakistan, Ethiopia, Sri Lanka, and Zambia to unravel the impacts of Chinese-led large infrastructure projects on diverse economic landscapes. Each of these countries have a unique economic trajectory and geopolitical positioning, which promises a rich tapestry of insights into BRI's global impact. Zambia and Ethiopia, both landlocked, faced distinct challenges in their industrialization processes. Sri Lanka and Pakistan, as transit states connecting to key ports, presented unique dynamics in their economic structures. Further, Ethiopia's sustained economic growth and Sri Lanka's successful upgrading of textile export structures contrasted with Zambia's stalled industrialization and Pakistan's shift towards de-industrialization. Adding a geopolitical layer, McCartney emphasized the significance of Ethiopia and Pakistan in global politics. With its diplomatic reach in Somalia and South Sudan, Ethiopia stood in contrast to Pakistan's economic penetration into Afghanistan and Western China. Both countries, he noted, possessed immense potential for leveraging their geopolitical positions to maximize benefits in terms of diplomatic influence and trade negotiations.

McCartney further underscored the differing mainstream perceptions of Chinese investment in these four countries. While Ethiopia viewed it as successful, Sri Lanka's experience with the Hambantota Port was often portrayed as a cautionary example of failed Chi-

nese investment. Zambia, meanwhile, exhibited mixed views, and Pakistan's evaluation remained ongoing as the project unfolded. According to McCartney, this comparative lens offered a nuanced understanding of the diverse outcomes and perceptions of Chinese-led infrastructure investments.

Ambassador Masood Khalid, former Pakistan's Ambassador to China, emphasized the potential of CPEC in leveraging Pakistan's geopolitical advantages and trade activities. While appreciating McCartney's thorough analysis, he disagreed with some of his reservations, highlighting the transformative potential of Chinese-built railway infrastructure, exemplified by the ML1 project, which would modernize the 1800 km plus railway system from Peshawar to Karachi.

The session was followed by a dynamic questions and answers session. Answering a question regarding the potential increase in Pakistan's economic dependence on China due to CPEC, McCartney acknowledged the likelihood of increased dependency on military supplies, trade, technology, and donor relations. However, direct access to Gwadar's export linkages and diversified trade partnerships, particularly with Central Asia, were identified as avenues for Pakistan to mitigate economic dependencies.

Regarding a question about the extent of skills and technology transfer facilitated by CPEC, McCartney acknowledged the significant employment opportunities generated for unskilled Pakistani workers, who constituted around 80 percent of the workforce in Chinese infrastructure projects. Further, there was an exchange of human resources from both countries, which led to mutual training and skills development.

In conclusion, McCartney emphasized big infrastructure projects' inherent nature to generate winners and losers. The key lay in deploying policy mechanisms to address and level off the distributional impacts of CPEC for a more equitable and widely accepted implementation of this large-scale infrastructure project.

:Asim Rafiqui, a social anthropologist and PhD candidate at the Delft University of Technology, was invited by CPPG to speak on “Reflections on Gwadar: Troubled Fieldwork” on October 26, 2023.



Rafiqui began by delving into the intrinsic importance of fieldwork and the transformative impact it holds in shaping policies. He pointed out the need to experience a place firsthand to be able to bring forward meaningful policy changes, as a researcher needs to go beyond the limited lens of formed theories and methodologies. Sharing his own experience, he contended that his research work was based in the vibrant landscape near Mula Band, Durya, and Mohalaband in Gwadar, where the *mahigeer* (fisherfolks) community resides. In this close-knit community, there is mutual familiarity and a profound sense of interconnectedness based a geographical backdrop of “invisible mapping.” This intricate mapping, unseen at first glance, hints at layers of societal connections and dynamics that operate beneath the surface.

He further elaborated the importance of the ethnography of law, arguing that it was important to see how laws circulated down to the grassroots level as this exploration helped in understanding the experience of people regarding the application of laws. Talking about the politics of visibility, Rafiqui questioned whether showcasing certain aspects of a community enhances its power and accountability. He questioned the assumption that there was a relationship between visibility and the political empowerment of historically marginalized communities. He remarked that visibility is a trap which is evident in the ways electronic and social media data has been used to

recreate crimes through forensic investigations. Rather than politically empowering communities, visibility inadvertently feeds into building state-controlled narratives as the state is much more informed about the happenings, and can manage and circulate different types of narratives. For example, states use narratives of human rights to control social media. He thus argued that if one intends to carry out research, emersion in the field is critical to underscore real-life happenings and stories.

Discussing the next step of choosing a research topic, Rafiqui argued that he had found an overwhelming amount of research on Gwadar pertaining to infrastructure, development, poverty, marginalization, geopolitics, and resources but not a single study on the *mahigeer* community. Usually, port cities are studied through the lens of over-determined themes involving infrastructure and logistics, referred to as the creation of an “idealized research subject”. However, this idealization of research soon broke for him when he encountered the reality surrounding the *mahigeer* community, communicating a story unidentified by these formulated and over-determined themes. Therefore, it is important to move from generalized perceptions and focus on listening to a story rather than starting out from an already conceived story.

Further drawing attention to the oxymoronic relationship between researcher expectations before fieldwork and what actually happens when one undergoes field experience, he shared multifaceted challenges including logistics, deadlines, data collection and community reluctance to share information, particularly emphasizing the community’s intense refusal at various levels. He initially felt a sense of rejection from the *mahigeer* community on his selection of themes, frameworks, and questionnaires, highlighted by the existence of strange silences in their mutual interactions. Neither his questions were comprehensible for them nor their answers for him. These epistemic confusions seemed to create an unbridgeable disconnect between him and the community. Amidst such rejection, Rafiqui was able to find his silver lining when he started adopting alternative methods such as writing blogs and essays to capture nuanced details. Moreover, it gradually became clear to him that using

drifters and galvanometers, devices used for studying ocean currents and waves, was not considered effective by the community. The community instead relied on studying weather patterns through reading stars and ocean waves. It became apparent to him that the community's resistance took a distinct form in his lack of comprehending their environment and conditions on their terms. This involved a lesson for him that the world does not bend for the researcher but rather the researcher has to bend him/herself to understand things at a deeper level.

As Rafiqui moved with a more nuanced understanding, he was able to gather support from his students in Gwadar, to whom he had taught photography. As his students ventured through the streets of the neighborhood for their own projects, he was able to tag along and gain information by listening to their conversations, obtaining valuable knowledge and insights about the community. With the help of his students whom he regarded as 'the gift', he was able to understand the stories of the *mahigeer* community which revealed its sense of identity not as individuals but rather through the community's relationship with land, sea, fish or even djinns.

Elaborating on the construction of knowledge, he used Heidegger's point of view in *The Age of the World Picture*, stating that, "this objectifying is accomplished in a setting-before, a representing, that aims to bring each particular being before it in such a way that man who calculates can be sure, and that means be certain of that being". Rafiqui argued that there was a large gap between what we considered as knowledge and what constituted knowledge for the indigenous people. For his particular case, he highlighted the need for including semiotics (study of signs and symbols and their use or interpretation) as there was a disparity between the post Enlightenment modern scientific knowledge with its pre-existing forms centered on modeling that confine knowledge to the certainty of representation. Here, representation not only serves as a model of the real but reinforces the belief in its undeniable reality, thus becoming a mechanism of control by fostering domination over the comprehension of nature and humanity.

These epistemological (theory of knowledge) questions helped Rafiqui to eventually surrender preconceived frameworks when engaging with the *mahigeer* community. Through his research, he was able to understand that there is never a single form of literacy but rather there are multiple literacies indicating that no one form of knowledge is superior to another. Hence, researchers need to move beyond the "I" and willingly become the "instructed third". This transformative process involves leaving preconceived notions and engaging with others on a common ground. Thus, rather than necessitating data and surveys, it is instead an openness for new experiences, and a willingness to travel and be transformed.



:Ahmed Nawaz, a CPPG Alumni and doctoral fellow at the University of Iceland's Environment and Natural Resource (ENR) Department, was invited by the CPPG to speak on "Changing Discourse of the Protected Areas of Governance in Pakistan: Analysis of the Natural Resources Regimes of Central Karakoram National Park" on Thursday, September 14, 2023.



Nawaz presented his comprehensive analysis pertaining to the regulatory framework governing natural resources regimes within the Central Karakoram National Park. He began by presenting the International Union for Conservation of Nature's (IUCN) definition of protected areas as geographical spaces recognized, dedicated, and managed through legal or other effective means to achieve the long-term conservation of nature with associated ecosystem services and cultural values. Within this paradigm, a series of pivotal questions arise, each encapsulating its own distinct governance concerns. For instance, it is significant to know: who defines these areas? how those decisions are made? are people taken on board when making those decisions? who conducts this process, manages it, and regulates people? and who has the power to enforce these values?

Elaborating on the definition, Nawaz presented the six broad categories of protected areas with particular emphasis on national parks. Notably, Pakistan's approach leans heavily towards national parks, encompassing a strategy that allows the usage of sustainable resources while concurrently pursuing conservation. This approach is inclined towards biodiversity conservation, ecosystem protection, and scientific and educational recreation. In contrast, neighboring

countries in the Hindu Kush region, such as Nepal, Bhutan and India, exhibit a more landscape-oriented approach. An approach that integrates policy and practice to promote multiple land usages and creates a link between nature, culture, and community. The former focuses more on the conservation and utilization of resources while the latter focuses on promoting traditional modes of land maintenance concurrently creating a link between people, state, and nature. These variations related to governance and resource allocation provide for a lot of maneuverability as to who has access to these resources and who governs them. These protected areas are essential instruments for in-situ conservation (preservation of species in their natural habitat) and safeguarding biodiversity resources. Additionally, these are also aimed at offering a broad range of socio-economic and cultural benefits to society, especially to the communities that live next to the park.

Moreover, the Global Biodiversity Framework has set a 30x30 target, calling for the conservation of 30% of Earth's land and sea through the establishment of protected areas and other conservation measures by 2030. Focusing on Pakistan and its target of achieving "30x30" as part of the global expansion of protected areas, Nawaz argued that it was important to see how Pakistan is going to achieve this long-term objective. As of now, Pakistan has 14% of its land protected. In the next seven years, how is Pakistan going to have an additional 17% of land as protected area, while also doing conservation, providing ecosystem services, and bringing socio-economic benefits to communities? Keeping in mind, the most critical of these is the achievement of effective management and socio-economic benefits.

Delving further, he discussed that Pakistan's legislative framework concerning biodiversity conservation has experienced notable changes over time. The whole conservation strategy, wildlife protection, and establishment of protected areas have been under continuous change depending on the constitutional arrangements observed through martial laws and other governmental regimes. In the near past, The Protected Areas Initiative launched in 2020 under the PTI government, aimed to expand the country's

coverage to 15% of the total area by 2023 while also declaring 15 new national parks with an additional goal of developing effective management regimes for existing protected areas. It was pertinent to note that only a limited number of protected areas in Pakistan have approved management plans or effective governance regimes.

Central Karakoram National Park (CKNP) serves as a focal point for Nawaz's analysis due to its possession of an approved management plan and sustainable resource practices that offer an ideal context for examining the design and performance of existing governance. CKNP spans an area of 10,557 km<sup>2</sup> with 72 percent of the area as the core zone and the rest constituting the buffer zone. It was established in 1993 while the park received a five-year management plan in 2013. Approximately 230 settlements, housing a quarter million people reside there. They are fragmented and concentrated along the western and southern boundaries. These communities are mostly agro-pastoralists and understood to be the primary stakeholders of the park. They have farm and non-farm incomes depending heavily on the natural resources of CKNP. The key challenges faced by CKNP includes conservation problems, balancing sustainable socio-economic benefits, and promoting community awareness at the local level. The study's objectives encompassed an analysis of CKNP's governance framework, the interaction between different actors, and CKNP's resources to achieve desired outcomes. It had two central research inquiries: understanding how institutions form patterns of interactions between different stakeholders/actors, CKNP's resources and the effectiveness of CKNP's governance system; and how it can deliver equitable conservation while achieving socio-economic development goals.

To elucidate the analytical framework, Nawaz shared that his framework borrows from three different authors: Peterson, Christofferson, and Watten. He summarized their ideas in five main components. These include: a) natural attributes and features of protected area; b) roles and decision-making power of different actors and stakeholders within a governance system; c) institutions comprising of rules, norms, conventions, and legislative structures and mechanisms; d)

patterns of interaction - how actors interact with one another, and how actors interact with the protected area; and lastly outcomes, encompassing both positive or negative impacts stemming from modifications to the governance framework.

Further, Nawaz discussed that CKNP has four national resource regimes based on which people interact with wildlife: one, wildlife hunting, which involves hunting and retaliatory killing of carnivores like markhor, etc., and can result in biodiversity and wildlife loss; two, pasture and rangeland use, whereby unregulated use of pastures can lead to competition between livestock and wildlife, invariably resulting in disease transmissions; three, tourism, which includes porter services and tour guides that may result in uncontrolled pollution and unregulated tourism; and lastly forest resources, which includes firewood and timber collection, whose excess use promote deforestation and habitat loss.

Elaborating on the institutions governing CKNP, he pointed out that protected areas including CKNP were mostly dormant or "paper parks" as all interactions were prohibited under the Wildlife Preservation Act 1975. The protected areas governance has undergone a process of evolution and is shifting away from "fortress conservation". These protected areas became operational in 2008 as community engagement and access were recognized. The first management plan was also approved in 2013 following sustainable natural resources use in the buffer zone.

After this approval, certain modifications were observed in the interactions. Wildlife hunting introduced new forms of trophy hunting programs, livestock insurance, and predator-proof corals. This modification reaped benefits for the community as they receive an 80 percent share in permits, compensation, and prevention of depredation. In pasture and rangeland use, livestock vaccination programs and assistance with fodder production were introduced which helped in healthier livestock and in alleviating fodder shortages. The tourism regime increased support to develop local tourism ultimately helping in capacity and infrastructure development while also developing a share in waste management fees. For forest resources, tree

plantation drives were initiated that helped in increasing tree population, the proliferation of seeds, and the cultivation of saplings.

These modifications reaped several notable outcomes. The commodification of ungulates (hoofed mammals) and pastures i.e. marketable exchange of animals promoting animal care and conservation, encouraged locals to protect and conserve flagship species. Revenue sharing brought local development in communities. There has been an increase in key ungulates and carnivore populations. The introduction of protection mechanisms for disease transmissions is another positive outcome. Moreover, a certain kind of legitimacy and mechanism is evident that has aided in improving trust among local communities.

Concluding the entire discussion, Nawaz shared how local communities prioritize socio-economic benefits and overall concerns. All these communities are widely diverse and it is extremely difficult to group them into a single entity. Benefits are not equally shared across all communities. Thus, it is important to create awareness regarding key issues, resource use, and the need to work together and create linkages among these communities and different regimes.

The talk was followed by a stimulating Q&A session. One of the participants inquired about the role of traditional practices and local wisdom in achieving biodiversity conservation as people see the construction of protected areas as foreign intrusion. Also, there is a large gap that exists between society, state, and NGOs. Nawaz answered that establishing protected areas is a political decision, and conservation is one of the objectives. Overall, the larger objective is to make it a world heritage site. Overall, the study questions the role of different actors in making decisions and how these decisions are made. Another participant asked the speaker to elaborate on political issues and the sociological context under which people are now adopting state-bound activities. Nawaz replied that the conservation narrative in Gilgit-Baltistan has evolved over the last 50 years. It is shifting towards community involvement, also called as co-management, but the state community partnership will take another 20-25 years to reach the required level of understanding. This is how democracy works, it takes time.

:**Jourdain Vaillant**, a diplomat and climate negotiator; **Sohaib Anwar**, an environmental engineer at Hagler Bailly Pakistan; and **Noor Ahmed**, Deputy Director at the Environment Protection Agency Punjab, were invited by the CPPG to speak on “**International Climate Change Negotiations: Challenges to Justice and Security**” on January 25, 2023 in collaboration with the French Embassy.



Pertaining to the ongoing debate on Climate Change, Vaillant highlighted that the public understanding of climate issues has evolved in the last few years, and the international framework for the fight against Climate Change has become more integrated. United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), adopted in 1992, considered Climate Change as human-induced. To tackle Climate Change and its negative impacts, world leaders at the UN Climate Change Conference in Paris reached a landmark multilateral agreement on 12th December, 2015 termed the Paris Agreement. It sets forth three main agendas for negotiation: *one*, mitigation – limiting global warming and rise in global average temperature to well below 2°C from preindustrial levels, preferably 1.5 degrees celsius; *two*, adaptation and resilience – creating a global consensus on what adaptation means. It is a fairly difficult task because some countries believe that adaptation requires funding and that creates financial constraints; *three*, provision of financing to developing countries to mitigate Climate Change. In COP15 (2019), the developed countries promised to channel US\$100 billion a year to less wealthy nations to support climate action. Needless to say, the promise has not been met as yet. However, Vaillant shared that efforts are being made to bridge this financing gap.

Vaillant provided a deeper insight into the well-documented historical fact that the industrialized nations of 19th-century Europe played a significant role in driving Climate Change. He emphasized the ongoing proactive efforts aimed at reducing greenhouse gas emissions. He acknowledged the complexity of addressing greenhouse emissions, emphasizing that there is no one-size-fits-all solution. He further highlighted the importance of involving local communities, including women and students, in raising awareness about climate issues.

Shifting to the domain of international law, Vaillant expressed skepticism about its ability to yield results on every issue. Instead, he highlighted the pivotal role of 'national will' in effectively implementing domestic and international provisions.

Sharing the Punjab government's perspective on Climate Change, Ahmed drew the audience's attention to the initiatives taken by the Environment Protection Department, Punjab (EPD). The EPD is working on provincial Climate Change policy within the broad framework of the National Climate Policy. It is also working closely with the federal government to finalize a national adaptation plan for building a resilient Pakistan. Additionally, EPD is on board with irrigation, agriculture, and energy sectors; and is working with different academic institutions to spread awareness among the masses.

Lastly, Anwar brought to attention the issue of 'institutional incoherence' in Pakistan. He pointed out that there was a lack of cohesion between institutions at the local, provincial, and national levels. He observed that one of the important events in the political history of Pakistan was the Eighteenth Amendment, which had devolved legislative powers from the federation to the provinces and declared local government as the third tier of government in the constitution. But unfortunately, powers and capabilities that were required by the devolved institutions were never fully invested in, leading to limitations in capacity. It goes without saying that Pakistan has limited operative capacities and financial resources. Therefore, one of the main challenges facing Pakistan today is how to build the capacity of the state and how to enable markets

within this domain to absorb technology. Further emphasizing the deficiencies in Pakistan's institutional framework, Anwar listed: limited comprehension of climate science, inadequate capacity for data assimilation and interpretation, and, most crucially, challenges in effectively translating data and information into informed decision-making processes.

The discussion was followed by an engaging question and answer session, where participants expressed concerns about various aspects of Climate Change. When delving into mitigation strategies, there was a focus on international negotiations and the influence of G-20 countries, including Saudi Arabia, India, Russia, China, UK, and the US. It was argued that these nations can actively exert their power in international conventions and policy-making. However, it was emphasized that while their influence is substantial, there may exist an inequality in power distribution among these countries.

Addressing the subject of Climate Change financing, participants raised concerns about its inadequacy in meeting UNFCCC standards. Vaillant said that there was a pressing need for \$1 trillion to sustain global efforts in mitigating the effects of global warming, but current financing only stands at \$652 million. He highlighted financial disparities among countries and stressed that there was a need for a legally binding financial pact and sustainable financial infrastructure. According to him, this infrastructure would enable states to manage financial flows and participate fully in the mitigation and adaptation process. Moreover, the importance of involving the private sector in Climate Change negotiations that align with the Paris Agreement was highlighted. It can be beneficial as private entities often provide sustainable solutions.

It was also clarified that Climate Change financing extends beyond traditional grants or funds. Relying heavily on external grants and loans has been deemed unsustainable. Concessional grants have also been deemed ineffective. Instead, Climate Change financing is the total global estimation of financial flows over a given period. This leads to a call for Climate Change funds to be allocated and disbursed at the local and community levels, recognizing that the impact of

Climate Change is most acutely felt in these communities.

The conversation shifted to whether advanced nations are willing to share technologies for developing a green economy in less developed countries. The speakers responded with skepticism, primarily driven by concerns about the intellectual property rights of these technologies being held by developed nations. Ahmed highlighted that technologies are helpful only to a certain extent, so there is a need for effective and actionable policymaking. Further, the significance of capacity building is a key factor in ensuring effective mitigation and resilience building. He explained that beyond government initiatives, the involvement of civil society and private entities was equally important. Creating awareness among the masses, particularly through engagement with the education sector, is essential. He stressed on the importance of educating the bureaucracy as they have greater access to the masses. It allows for the spread of awareness at the

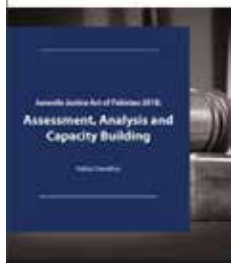
grassroots level. Not only that, it will aid in fostering a sense of community and ownership within the masses which will help build resilience.

Addressing the question related to the role of geopolitics in Climate Change adaptation, Vaillant explained that imposing penalties on pollutants could be effective if execution was ensured. However, negotiating on Climate Change was acknowledged as challenging due to the geopolitical issues of different countries. The example of the Russia-Ukraine war and associated sanctions, highlighted the need for a long-term solution and a solid plan unaffected by political dynamics.

Regarding the issue of data, Ahmed explained that access to numerous open databases has enabled effective utilization for mitigation and resilience building. Contrary to popular belief, he emphasized that Pakistan has contextualized databases with high precision and warning systems.

## Recent Publications

### CPPG Publications

<p>“Juvenile Justice Act of Pakistan 2018: Assessment, Analysis and Capacity Building”</p> <p>Dr. Rabia Chaudhary</p> <p>2023</p>		<p>“Sindh’s Human Rights Institutions and Paris Principles: Do Common Grounds Matter?”</p> <p>Dr. Abdullah Khoso</p> <p>2023</p>	
<p>“Building Cultural Vibrancy Through Performing Arts”</p> <p>Dr. Saeed Shafqat, M. Mehmood Alam Chaudhary, Dr. Abdullah Khoso, Shahwar Asif</p> <p>2023</p>		<p>“Bureaucracy and Development: Insights and Reflections of a British Civil Servant”</p> <p>Graham Duncan</p> <p>2022</p>	

**“Good Health and Well Being: Achieving Sustainable Development Through Adaptive Public Healthcare Policies”**

Saba Shahid, Ikram-ul-Haq, Asma Awan, Mehwish Kalbani, Kamal Khan, Asim Raza, Fazal Akbar

2022



**“Pakistan Floods: Managing a Climate Crisis Through People-Centered Policy Design”**

Saba Shahid

2022



**“Street Vending: Secure Livelihoods and Sustainable Cities”**

Raheem ul Haque, Saba Adil, Fareeha Tehseen, Syed Hassan Raza, Kamal Ud Din Qamar, Dr. Waheed Asghar, Capt. (Retd) Waqas Rashid

2022



**“Sustainability of Lahore: How can the city meet its SDG 11 targets?”**

Rabia Chaudhary, Shahid Mehmood, Ra’ana Hameed, Adnan Mahmood, Zameer Abbas, Qaiser Khan

2022



**China-Pakistan Relations in the Twenty-First Century**

Ayesha Siddique

2022

Image to be provided

**“How is the China Pakistan Media Collaboration Booming Under CPEC?”**

Dr. Kiran Hassan

2021



**“Hospital Waste Management and Environmental Disaster Risk”**

Saba Shahid, Haider Waseem Anwar

2021



## Faculty Research

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## Visitors & Activities

**January 24, 2022**

The CPPG organized a webinar on **Geo-political transformations in the Indo-Pacific** and their relevance for Pakistan with Christophe Jaffrelot and Dr. Maleeha Lodhi.

**February 17, 2022**

The CPPG organized a webinar on **Transformations in Pakistan's Political Economy and CPEC** with Dr. Matthew McCartney, University of Oxford.

**March 10, 2022**

The CPPG organized a book launch of **China-Pakistan Relations in the Twenty-First Century** with Dr. Katherine Adeney, University of Sheffield, and Masood Khalid, former Ambassador to China.

**March 28, 2022**

The CPPG organized a workshop on **Fields of Knowledge and Dialogical Research: A Map for Engaging Academic Scholarship** with Dr. Chad Haines, Arizona State University.

**April 20, 2022**

The CPPG organized a Seminar on **Debt Sustainability of Pakistan: Underlying Challenges & How to Address Them** with Mr. Abdul Rehman Warraich, Commissioner Securities and Exchange Commission Pakistan.

**September 16, 2022**

CPPG hosted **Mr. Reed J. Aeschliman**, USAID Mission Director, at the Saeed Shafqat Resource Centre for Public Policy and Governance.

**September 19, 2022**

**Mr. Alfred Grannas**, Ambassador of Germany, and **Ms. Dorota Magdalena Berezick**, Head of Communications and Cultural Affairs, visited CPPG.

**September 22, 2022**

The CPPG organized a book launch of **China-Pakistan Relations in the Twenty-First Century** with the author, **Ayesha Siddique** and **Zhao Shiren**, Consul General, China.

October 6, 2022

The CPPG organized a Policy Dialogue on **Pakistan Floods: Managing a Climate Crisis through People-Centered Policy Design** with Dr. Omar Masud, CEO Urban Unit, Dr. Fazilda Nabeel, Coordinator for UN's Living Indus initiative, Ms. Mehreen Shahid, founder of Safe Delivery Safe Mother, and Faisal Fareed, DG Punjab Disaster Management Authority.

October 17, 2022

The CPPG organized a roundtable discussion on **Modi's India: The Rise of Hindu Nationalism and Ethnic Democracy** with Christophe Jaffrelot.

October 18, 2022

The CPPG organized a roundtable discussion on **Climate Change and its Relation to Social and Gender Equity** with Deputy Chief of Mission Andrew Schofer, U.S. Department of State.

October 31, 2022

Dr. Frédéric Douzet visited CPPG to talk about her work as part of French-Pakistani scholarly exchange.

November 4, 2022

The CPPG organized a webinar on **Reflections of a British Civil Servant: The Bureaucracy and Development** with Graham Duncan, a British civil servant.

November 11, 2022

The CPPG organized a seminar on **IT Facilitation for Sustainable Research** with Dr. Aruna Dayanatha, an Institutional Development Specialist.

November 15, 2022

The CPPG organized a seminar on **Building Economic Resilience During an Era of Political Instability** with Dr. Khaqan Najeeb, a former advisor to the Ministry of Finance.

November 23, 2022

The CPPG organized a seminar on **Christianity and Interreligious Encounter in Pakistan** with Dr. Paul Rollier, CNRS researcher at the CéSor- EHES.

November 24, 2022

The CPPG organized a seminar on **Promoting Dignity**

and Decent Working Conditions for Sanitation Workers in Pakistan with Ms. Mary Gill, lawyer and human rights activist, and Mr. Asif Aqeel, Deputy Director, Centre for Law and Justice.

November 30, 2022

The CPPG organized a Book Launch of **Pakistan's Wars: An Alternative History** with Dr. Tariq Rahman.

December 1, 2022

The CPPG organized a Roundtable Discussion on **Afghanistan: Missed Opportunities to Achieve Peace?** with Andrew Wilder, USIP and Ahmed Rashid.

December 7, 2022

The CPPG organized a seminar on **Ethnographic Practice and the Anthropology of Religion** with Dr. Paul Rollier, CNRS researcher at the CéSor- EHES.

December 12, 2022

The CPPG organized a seminar on **Universal Health Insurance in Punjab: Understanding the Sehat Sahulat Program** with Dr. Ali Razaque, CEO Punjab Health Initiative Management Company (PHIMC).

January 25, 2023

The CPPG organized a Roundtable Discussion on **International Climate Change negotiations: Challenges to Justice and Security** with Jourdain Valliant, Climate Negotiator for France in the United Nations, Noor Ahmed, Deputy Director at the Environment Protection Agency Punjab, and Mr. Shoaib Anwar, Environment Consultant, Hagler Bailey Pakistan.

February 22, 2023

The CPPG organized a panel discussion on **The Changing Nature of Street Crime: Challenges of Governance** in Karachi with Sharjil Kharal, Deputy Inspector General, Karachi.

February 23, 2023

The CPPG organized a seminar on **Humanitarianism in Foreign Missions and Pakistan's Narrative** with Ambassador Imran Ali, Pakistan's Ambassador to Oman.



March 20, 2023

The CPPG organized a Book Launch of **Swept Aside A Story of Christian Sweepers in Lahore** with Dr. Ayra Indrias Patras, Assistant Professor, FCC.

April 12, 2023

The CPPG organized a seminar on **Financial Inclusion- Public Policy for Open Data-Driven Solutions** with Mohsin Termezy, founder of Finclude.

May 18, 2023

The CPPG organized a seminar on the **Russia - Ukraine War and its implications** with Gen (R) Dr. Noel I. Khokhar, former Ambassador of Pakistan to Ukraine.

May 30, 2023

The CPPG organized a Policy Dialogue on **Juvenile Justice System Act 2018: Assessment, Analysis and Capacity Building** with Mr. Nadeem Ashraf, Member National Commission on Human Rights Punjab, Waheed Ahmad Chaudhry, Chairman Child Protection Committee of Lahore Bar Association, Muhammad Abubakar, superintended prison Hafizabad, and Neelum Anjum, Clinical Child psychologist, Pehchaan.

June 8, 2023

The CPPG organized a Policy Dialogue on **Building Cultural Vibrancy through Performing Arts** with Mr. Mehmood Alam, Director General Punjab Council of the Arts (PUCAR), Shahid Mahmood Nadeem, Executive Director of Ajoka Theater, Dr. Ghazala Irfan, HoD Philosophy department, FCC and Dr. Jawad Ahmed, HoD Philosophy Department, Punjab University.

June 12, 2023

The CPPG organized a seminar on the **Role of Science in Pakistan's Diplomacy** with Mr. Kamran Akhtar, Additional Secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

June 14, 2023

The CPPG organized a seminar on the **Electoral Process and The US Presidency** with Dr. Ryan Brasher, Simpson University.

June 19, 2023

The CPPG organized a book launch on **Pakistan,**

**Institutional Instability and Underdevelopment State, People, and Consciousness** with Dr. Akmal Hussain.

July 13, 2023

The CPPG organized a consultative workshop on **Democracy, Human Rights, and Governance (DRG)** with Dr. Nilofer Siddique, University at Albany-State University of New York, and Dr. Umair Javed, LUMS.

August 29, 2023

The CPPG organized a **Policy Dialogue on Police Responsiveness and Protection for Religious Minorities in Punjab** in collaboration with the Center for Law and Justice.

September 14, 2023

The CPPG organized a seminar on **Changing Discourse of the Protected Areas of Governance in Pakistan: Analysis of the Natural Resources Regimes of Central Karakoram National Park** with Ahmed Nawaz, doctoral fellow at the University of Iceland.

September 28, 2023

The CPPG hosted representatives of the **Consortium for Development Policy Research (CDPR)** to explore collaborative opportunities.

October 26, 2023

The CPPG organized a seminar on **Reflections on Gwadar: Troubled Fieldwork** with Asim Rafiqi, PhD candidate at TU Delft, The Netherlands.

November 6, 2023

The CPPG organized a round table discussion on Potential Partnership with the **FARM Foundation** for Sustainable Agriculture Development in Pakistan with Dr. Matthieu Brun, Scientific Director, The FARM Foundation and Dr. Kauser Abdulla Malik, Federal Minister for National Food Security and Research.

November 7, 2023

The CPPG organized a seminar on **Business Processes Re-Engineering in Police** with Muhammad Tariq Aziz (PSP), District Police Officer (DPO) Kasur,

November 13, 2023

The CPPG organized a seminar on **Sindh's Human**

**Rights Institutions and Paris Principles: Do Common Grounds Matter?** with Dr. Abdullah Khoso, CPPG.

**November 20, 2023**

The CPPG held a consultative session with the **Balochistan Think Tank Network (BTTN)** to explore future collaborations.

**November 27, 2023**

The CPPG organized a seminar on **Conducting Field Research** with Dr. Paul Rollier, CNRS researcher at the C sSor- EHESS and Non-Resident Research Fellow at the CPPG.

**December 5, 2023**

Officers for the 7th Domain Specific **Mid-Career Management Course (MCMC)** visited CPPG.

**December 6, 2023**

The CPPG organized a seminar on **Elections 2024 - Identifying Key Policy Issues** with Mr. Suleman Ghani, Former Federal Secretary, Dr. Altaf Ullah Khan, Dean of Humanities and Professor of Mass Communications, FCC, and Dr. Ali Hasanain, Associate Professor of Economics, LUMS.

**December 12, 2023**

The CPPG organized a seminar on **Human Rights, International Law, and Implications for Future Generations** with Professor Emilie Gaillard, Associate Professor in Private Law (Sciences Po Rennes) and co-head of the Risk Division of the MRSH (Caen France).



## Faculty & Staff

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

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

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

**Dr. Muhammad Rovidad** | Asst. Professor  
> PhD International Development, University  
of Vienna  
> muhammadrovidad@fccollege.edu.pk

**Dr. Abdullah Khoso** | Asst. Professor  
> PhD Sociology and Cultural Studies,  
University of Malaya  
> abdullahkhoso@fccollege.edu.pk

**Ayesha Saddiqua** | Proj. Res. & PR Manager  
> Executive Masters Public Policy, FCC  
> ayeshasaddiqua@fccollege.edu.pk

**Arfeen Baig** | Research Associate  
> M.Phil Public Policy, FCC  
> arfeenbaig@fccollege.edu.pk

**Hurmat Nadeem** | Research Assistant  
> M.Phil Public Policy, FCC  
> hurmatnadeem@fccollege.edu.pk

**Shahwar Asif** | Research Assistant  
> M.Phil Public Policy, FCC  
> shahwarasif@fccollege.edu.pk

**Shaleem Khokhar** | Admin Manager  
> Executive Masters Public Policy, FCC  
> shaleemkhokhar@fccollege.edu.pk

## Board of Advisors

: **Dr. Akmal Hussain**, a development economist specializing in action research. He runs a private manufacturing firm, Sayyed Engineers (Private) Limited.

: **Dr. Saba Gul Khattak**, former Executive Director SDPI specializes in comparative politics and state theory.

: **Dr. Anjum Khurshid (MBBS, MPAFF)**, Assistant Professor and Director of the Health and Behavioral Risk Research Centre, University of Missouri.

: **Javed Masud**, former Managing Director and CEO The Pakistan Credit Rating Agency Limited.

: **Jean-Luc Racine**, Senior CNRS Fellow at the Center for South Asian Studies, School for Advanced Studies in Social Sciences, Paris focuses on geopolitics of South Asia.

: **Kamran Rasool**, former Chief Secretary Punjab, Federal Defense Secretary and Chairman PIA.

: **Dr. Ayesha Siddiqua** is a security studies expert specializing in defense decision-making and civil-military relations in South Asia.

## Contact Us

**Centre for Public Policy & Governance (CPPG)**  
E – 017 & 018, F.C. College (A Chartered University)  
Feroz pur road, Lahore – 54600  
Phone: 042. 9923 1581 – 88 Ext. 388  
Email: cppg@fccollege.edu.pk, http://cppg.fccollege.edu.pk  
Facebook: cppgfccu

### Quarterly

Saeed Shafqat Research Centre for Public  
Policy and Governance  
Email: cppgquarterly@fccollege.edu.pk



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