Quarterly

Research . & News

Centre for Public Policy & Governance

From the Director's Desk

2019 has been a remarkable year for CPPG on several counts. First, for the past four years our faculty has been working in preparing the launch of our PhD Program in Public Policy. Devising courses, seeking agreement from the various academic bodies of the university and finally an approval from the HEC. All this is a time consuming process but we were successful in accomplishing this. It gives me great pleasure to report that in September 2019, we launched the PhD program and we are grateful to our Rector, Dr. James Tebbe, the faculty of CPPG, and all the academic bodies and officials of the university for their unflinching support and encouragement. While welcoming the first batch of doctoral students, we are conscious of the challenges and opportunities the initiation of this program offers. The program gives us an opportunity to inspire and empower our students to contribute towards developing CPPG into a Center of Excellence in research, teaching, training, professional ethics and knowledge creation. And through an effective use of these tools, influence ....

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CENTRE FOR PUBLIC POLICY AND GOVERNANCE

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...the process of public policy making in the country.

Second, we have striven hard and worked diligently with our MPhil students, persuading them to publish their research. In that spirit, the Quarterly is a platform where they can publish their research through a peer review process. This issue of the Quarterly carries shorter versions and samples of research that is being conducted under the auspices of CPPG. With this endeavor, we are aiming to transform the content and outlook of the Quarterly. Is this a move in the right direction? We look forward to your critique and feedback.

Third, we are consolidating our exchange and collaboration programs. With the Urban Unit, Punjab, we have renewed our MOU and expanded areas of cooperation in research, data sharing and capacity building. Similarly, with TEVTA Punjab, we have signed an MOU on expanding and supporting vocational education and skills development programs across Punjab. Moreover, our seminar series continue to exemplify our diverse and meaningful relations with other academics, public policy practitioners and international think tanks. Our 'Open Doors" program with French academics through the Embassy of France in Pakistan is one of many examples.

Fourth, in early 2019, CPPG signed a six-month research and capacity building program for local government officials with the GIZ. The project was titled; Consultations and Research on Local Governance in Punjab: Effective Implementation of PLGA 2019: Lessons Learnt from the Implementation of PLGA 2013. Through the project, during the year, we held three consultations with the officials of Local Government in which the Secretary and Additional Secretary Local Government, Punjab also participated. Besides publishing three consultative reports, the CPPG Project Team has just finalized and submitted the report for publication.

Finally, the China Cell at the CPPG is sharpening its focus and deepening its research on China's rise and the socio-political, geo-strategic and geo-economic impact it is having on Greater South Asia and globally. The Director and Research Fellow have been conducting research

for over a year and have completed a study on: Changing Dynamics of China-India Relations: CPEC and Prospects for Pakistan. This study was launched in January 2020 and we expect its findings will open up new vistas for research on China, Pakistan and beyond.

I am confident that the CPPG faculty and student body envisages the decade of 2020-2030 as an opportunity to contribute towards transforming the planning, formulation and implementation of public policy in Pakistan—policies that are driven by the core value of human rights (inclusive of gender and minorities) that ensure citizen welfare, equality of opportunity, elimination of hunger and alleviation of poverty, while pursuing and protecting national interests.

It is with a sense of pleasure and pride; I want to acknowledge that for this issue, our MPhil students, namely, Ammar Sheikh, Iffrah Khalid, Moazma Ashraf, Shahwar Asif and Shanza Noor have contributed in transcriptions. This is a welcome sign and we will encourage and sustain this trend.

>Punjab Domestic Workers Bill 2018: The Future of Domestic Workers in the Province

The author Kainat Shakil has completed her MPhil in Public Policy from the CPPG. This essay stems from her dissertation work on domestic workers in Punjab, Pakistan.

Introduction

In most parts of the world individuals opt for domestic work out of sheer necessity rather than the vocation's desirability. Low barriers to entry and constant demand for workers in the vocation make it easy to enter the field for those with low-education and limited work options, to earn a livelihood[1]. This vocation largely remains informal and thus is devoid of labour protection in most parts of the world[2].

In Punjab, 74 percent of labour work force is engaged in the informal sector, out of which domestic workers are the biggest chunk and 50 percent of them are female[3]. In Pakistan an estimated 8.5 million domestic workers have been involved in the vocation[4]. A recent survey of Punjab indicates that 29.1 percent of women aged 15 to 64 were unpaid domestic workers in rural and urban areas of the Punjab.[5] The plight of these workers is also highlighted by periodic cases of torture and abuses that surface on print and electronic media. This year the horrific murder of a minor domestic worker by her employers shows the extreme dangers of the unchecked informal environment in which domestic workers operate[6]. These cases are not isolated rather are the ones that get reported due to their extreme nature; abuse and harassment is a common 'occupational hazard' in the line work for these young girls and women.

The International Labour Organization's (ILO) C189-Domestic Workers Convention, 2011 (No. 189) sets out to help member countries formalize domestic workers to ensure their labour rights are protected. The convention aims to provide decent working conditions for domestic workers by ensuring a work contract between the employer and employee that guarantees fundamental human rights, universal labour safeties, social security arrangements, ensures no child labour is inducted, domestic workers have a fair bargaining power to determine the details of the contract, and have access to labour courts in case of violations[7]. Despite international recognition of the plight of domestic workers they remain subject to pitiable working conditions and are one of the most exploited members of the informal workforce in Punjab; which has not formally adopted ILO's Convention No. 189 but is framing its regulation on the Convention; thus it guarantees worker safety, human and labour rights, through a formal contract between the employer and employee and access to labour courts[8]. Under growing pressure of international trade agreements pressing for decent worker conditions, repeated surfacing of harrowing abuse cases against the workers, domestic pressure from civil society and formation of a labor union are cumulative factors that have pushed for the Punjab Domestic Workers Bill 2018. The Bill aims to tackle child labour, introduces a co-pay (employer and employee shared) scheme of social protection for the workers, promote regular working hours etc. via a formal contract between the two parties, ensures payment of a fixed minimum wage (a special rate to be decided by the labour department in Punjab), and ensures access to labour courts and dispute resolution committees in case of volition of any clause/s. However, the processes of formalizing domestic workers is only partly accomplished by legislative changes as

[1] Martha Alter Chen, "Rethinking the Informal Economy: Linkages with the Formal Economy and the Formal Regulatory Environment", *DESA* Working Paper no. 46, (July 2007), 78-9, http://www.un.org/esa/desa/papers/2007/wp46_2007.pdf.
[2] International Labour Organization, "Domestic Workers Across the World: Global and Regional Statistics and the Extent of Legal Protection", International Labour Office Geneva, (2013), 43-50, http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/ publ/documents/publication/wcms_173363.pdf.
[3] Staff Reporter, '29.1pc women unpaid domestic workers in Punjab: report', *Pakistan Today,* 26 June, 2019, https://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2019/06/26/29-1pc-women-unpaid-domestic-workers-in-punjab-report/
[4] ILO, "Giving rights to millions of domestic workers in Pakistan", 26 February 2015, https://www.ilo.org/islamabad/info/public/fs/WCMS_347029/lang--en/index.htm
[5] Staff Reporter, '29.1pc women unpaid domestic workers in Punjab: report', *Pakistan Today,* 26 June, 2019, https://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2019/06/26/29-1pc-women-unpaid-domestic-workers-in-punjab-report/
[6] Jahangir Akram Khan, "Woman beats 16-year-old domestic worker to death in Lahore for eating from her daughter's plate: police", SAMA, 28 January 2019, https://www.samaa.tv/news/2019/01/woman-beats-16-year-old-domestic-worker-to-death-in-lahore-for-eating-from-her-daughters-plate-police/
[7] International Labour Organization, "C189 – Domestic Workers Convention, 2011 (No. 189)", (16 June 2011), https://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEX PUB:12100:0::NO::P12100_ILO_CODE:C189
[8] International Labour Organization, "C189 – Domestic Workers Convention, 2011 (No. 189)", (16 June 2011), https://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEX PUB:12100:0::NO::P12100_ILO_CODE:C189

there are social-political dimensions that need to be considered when reconnoitring the issue of domestic work. The socio-political issues relate to the role and interaction of state and civil society in the process of any change that comes in labour dynamics. For the Punjab Domestic Workers Bill 2018 to be successful the legislative effort requires a state and civil society joint and concerted effort. It is common to find cases where legislation has been passed but the process of implementation remains vague and uncertain. Due to the inability to implement a policy the state eventually compromises on its legitimacy as an effective body of governance.

Civil society-led initiatives have great power to mobilize people but are dependent on factors such as political will, capability of the state, and synergy in society. Informal labourers have also gained recognition given that the state has passed laws to regulate them; however effective communication and feedback loops between the state and informal workers remains evasive.

Theoretical Framework

Centeno and Portes' (2006) rationalize that when the state takes the role of a welfare state it passes laws for the welfare for its people[9]. However, for a state to reach the status of a *welfare state* there are two possible hurdles: first the *inability* to implement a law and thus turning into a frustrated state. The second challenge is being unable to win the *confidence of its people* to follow the rules or avail benefits. Further, during the legislative or policymaking process if the concerned parties are not taken on board, they feel disempowered and disinterested with the outcome being provided. Alienation of stakeholders from the policy making process also leads to failure to address the needs of the people for whom the policy is made resulting in them staying away from the policy and not claiming benefits that the scheme provides. This inability and capacity to implement and lack of

confidence amongst people combine and result in a *frustrated state* where laws are limited to paper only[10].

The case studies of India and South Africa give insight into the two different approaches that the states have taken. At one end, civil society has played a central role while on the other hand, the state has been the legislator and initiator for policy related to domestic workers. The case studies of bottom-top or top-bottom approach to the issue will help view where Punjab can be positioned in this nexus and what are some of the measures to improve the working conditions of domestic workers.

Methodology

The study used secondary data sources gathered through a desk review of the case studies of India and South Africa. For Punjab Pakistan, primary data was gathered by interviews with state and civil society organizations involved with domestic workers' rights.

Case Studies
South Africa

South Africa has a centuries-old tradition of domestic work embedded in its social fabric. Having one or two domestic workers has always been a status symbol[11]. Since the 1940s and onwards the state apparatus ensured that a constant supply of domestic workers remained cheap and heavily regulated. The regulations curtailed the right of associations, freedom of assembly, promoted lax labor regulation, and even limited movement of workers to and from areas of the country. During the apartheid women began to dominate domestic work and faced the "*three yoke of oppression*"; based on their race, gender, and social class native South African women endured severe marginalization[12]. The apartheid state provided no labour law coverage for domestic workers; they were only protected under common law that left them exposed to all kinds of abuse and exploitation[13]. These conditions provoked domestic workers to take to the

[9] Miguel Angel Centeno and Alejandro Portes, "The Informal Economy in the Shadows of the State", Out of the Shadows Political Action and the Informal Economy in Latin America, ed. Patricia Fernandez-Kelly Jon Shefner (Pennsylvania State University, 2006), 29-30.
[10] Ibid.,
[11] Judith Nolde, "South African Women Under Apartheid: Employment Rights, with Particular Focus on Domestic Service & Forms of Resistance to Promote Change", *Third World Legal Studies,* 10, (October 1991) 214, available at http://scholar.valpo.edu/twls/vol10/iss1/10
[12] Harold Wolpe, "Capitalism and cheap labor-power in South Africa: from segregation to apartheid", Economy and Society, 1 no. 4 (1972) 212, DOI: 10.1080/03085147200000023.
[13] Deborah Gaitskell, Judy Kimble, Moira Maconachie, and Elaine Unterhalter, "Class race and gender: domestic workers in South Africa", Review of African Political Economy, 10:27-28 (1983) 102, DOI: 10.1080/03056248308703548.

streets despite police brutality and arrests as, early as the 1950s[14]. The rise of the labour unions lead to protests against the Apartheid regime and eventually helped in organizing women which led to the creation of one of the first union of women domestic workers in South Africa[15].

When the Apartheid regime fell it gave way to democratic rule: the new government was determined to rule out racial prejudices and promote a society with equal opportunities. Under the banner of *gendered citizenship,* advocacy for domestic workers took up momentum in South Africa[16]. *Gendered citizenship* was ideal in South Africa as it advocated for equal rights for women from all walks of life[17]. When Sectoral Determination 7 for the Domestic Work Sector was implemented in 2002 it aimed at turning 'servants' into "dignified workers" by formally recognizing them as part of the formal labour force. This move made it clear that employers need to have a written contract that states minimum wage, fixed working hours, right to paid leaves, and termination rules[18]. In addition to legislation, the South African government heavily invested in the skills development and training of domestic workers under the project called Domestic Workers Skills Development Project[19].

Despite these developments, most domestic workers in South Africa predominately still view domestic workers as a "branch of illiterate worker"[20]. At the same time domestic workers view their vocation as a "dead-end job" with little career advancement or room for improvement in terms of their skills and position in the vocation[21]. There is a clear need of

reassessment when it comes to pension rates, set minimum wage, and other entitled benefits provided to domestic workers to improve their livelihood conditions[22]. The once vibrant unions have faded away giving fewer opportunities to domestic workers to stage their problems; workers still feel hesitation when reporting volitions in the legal system due to a clear power hierarchy between the employer and employee[23]. "Nature of imbalance of power between the employer (and employee) obliged to stay quiet" is an observation by one survey study from the post-reform period[24]. Domestic workers were molded into a narrative of "vulnerability" by the state.

The victimhood identity took away agency from the workers; the state became the canvasser of the concerns, issues, and advocacy for domestic workers, which were previously done by the workers themselves[25].

The state's proactive role in formalizing domestic workers has been unable to change the social dynamics that work at the disadvantage of these workers. The state has over shadowed and disempowered the civil-led movement in South Africa. Despite the initial state-civil society efforts there has been no noticeable effort to synergies both the stakeholders and aim for a collaborative outcomes.

India

India like South Africa has been home to a vibrant civil society[26]. Living up to the Gandhian spirit, in the 1950s, a twenty-nine-day hunger strike in Delhi was organized in sympathy with the plight of do-

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[14] ibid, 213.

[15] Judith Nolde, "South African Women Under Apartheid: Employment Rights, with Particular Focus on Domestic Service & Forms of Resistance to Promote Change", *Third World Legal Studies,* 10, (October 1991) 214, http://scholar.valpo.edu/twls/vol10/iss1/10

[16] Shireen Allay, *From Servants to Workers: South African Domestic Workers and the Democratic State,* (London: Cornell Paperbacks, 2009) 68.

[17] Jennifer N. Fish, "History of South African Domestic Worker Labour Activism", http://www.sadsawu.com/history.html

[18] Department: Labour Republic of South Africa, "Sectoral Determination 7: Domestic Workers", last modified February 1, 2018, http://www.labour.gov.za/DOL/legislation/sectoral-determinations/sectoral-determination-7-domestic-workers.

[19] Tersia Susara Wessels, "The Development Impact of the Domestic Workers Skills Development Project on its Participants" (master's thesis, University of South Africa, 2006) 180, http://uir.unisa.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10500/1720/dissertation.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y.

[20] Ibid., 83.

[21] Christel Marais and Christo van Wyk, "Future Defectiveness within the South African Domestic Workers' Work-Life Cycle: Considering Exit Strategies", *Indo-Pacific Journal of Phenomenology* 15 (2015) 7, DOI: 10.1080/20797222.2015.1049896.

[22] Nkosinathi Gama and Lodene Willemse, "A descriptive overview of the education and income levels of domestic workers in post-apartheid South Africa", GeoJournal 80, (2015) 726-7, accessed 2018 March 14, DOI 10.1007/s10708-014-9591-5 ; Christel Marais and Christo van Wyk, "Future Defectiveness within the South African Domestic Workers' Work-Life Cycle: Considering Exit Strategies", *Indo-Pacific Journal of Phenomenology* 15 (2015) 6-8, DOI: 10.1080/20797222.2015.1049896.

[23] Thenjiwe Magwaza, "Effects of domestic workers act in South Africa: A steep road to recognition", Agenda 22:78, (2008) 84, http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10130950.2008.9674986.

[24] Ibid.,

[25] Ibid.,

[26] Shakuntala Rao & Vipul Mudgal, "Democracy, Civil Society and Journalism in India", *Journalism Studies* 16 no.5 (2015), 166-67, https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/1461670X.2015.10 54135?needAccess=true.

mestic workers of the country[27]. The hunger strike resulted in the introduction of a bill, in the Lower House of Parliament, the Domestic Workers (Conditions of Service) Bill 1959[28]. The bill never passed but the efforts by all India Democratic Unions became an incentive in other cities to form organizations related to domestic workers. The 1970s, and more so the 1980s, became an active period for collectives to form in different states in India; these groups were formed under churches, women's groups, Dalit rights collectives, and informal worker collectives[29]. Alongside the growth in the number of such organizations, the focus on domestic workers also intensified. For instance, Jagori, Self Employed Women's Association (SEWA), National Domestic Worker's Movement (NDWM), and All India Democratic Women's Association have been involved in pioneering research on domestic workers in different states of India[30]. These activities facilitated the lengthy process of formation of Domestic Workers (Regulation of Work and Social Security) Act, 2017 that has been contested since 2009[31]. Organizations such as SEWA and NDWM have been frontrunners in the advocacy for domestic workers. NDWM focuses not only on engaging with the government on formulation of legislation for domestic workers but it is also involved in the process of organizing, building skills capacity of domestic workers, acting as a bridge to help workers gain access to entailed social security, and prevention of interstate human trafficking of domestic workers[32]. These collectives are collaborating with the state to launch pilot projects such as Skills Development Initiative Program for Domestic Workers[33]. The skills program holds great potential, but lack of funds and corruption are serious hurdles that have led to the failure of such programs[34].

Another force behind domestic worker's collectives is citizenship[35]. Agarwala (2017) for example argues that even with the decline of unions in the neo-liberal economy, workers have banded together under citizenship rights to demand their rights as citizens[36]. The author argues that workers trade voters to bargain for the effective passing of legislation that concerns them with a presidential candidate; this model is effective in states where political leadership is pro-poor and competitive[37]. Her argument is also extended to domestic workers rights in India. The first effective legation and its implementation regarding domestic workers wage and social security came in states like Tamil Nadu, Kerala, and Karnataka[38]. In these states left leaning inclinations of political parties have helped workers to band together in building citizenship rights. Additionally, unions and NGOs remain a dominant avenue for domestic workers advocacy in India in the informal sector. The meshes of different organizations since the 1980s have been active in demanding worker rights from Indian domestic workers, which are rooted in active civil society, a bond of sisterhood in organizations like SEWA, and through citizenship rights.

SEWA is a trendsetter of civic action and women empowerment in India. It has established models of micro-financing, health insurance, and other banking schemes, which are an opportunity for women from the informal formal sector to save and invest at an affordable cost. This model is helping empower domestic workers by addressing issues they face and boosts the workers' self-sufficiency[39]. Women run SEWA BANK and other schemes from the same community or vocation as the clients, which encourage them to

[27] Shraddha Chigateri, Mubashira Zaidi and Anweshaa Ghosh, "Locating the Processes of Policy Change in the Context of Anti-Rape and Domestic Worker Mobilisations in India", United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, (2016), 107, http://www.unrisd.org/80256B3C005BCCF9/search/03AB499766D6FDB2C1257F9B004F6BDF?OpenDocument.

[28] Shraddha Chigateri, Mubashira Zaidi and Anweshaa Ghosh, "Locating the Processes of Policy Change in the Context of Anti-Rape and Domestic Worker Mobilisations in India", United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, (2016), 107, http://www.unrisd.org/80256B3C005BCCF9/search/03AB499766D6FDB2C1257F9B004F6BDF?OpenDocument.

[29] Ibid., 108.

[30] Ibid., 111.

[31] The Domestic Workers (Conditions of Service) Bill, 2009, http://164.100.47.4/BillsTexts/LSBillTexts/Asintroduced/4084LS.pdf.

[32] National Domestic Workers Movement, "Social Security", http://ndwm.org/social-security/.

[33] Shraddha Chigateri, Mubashira Zaidi, and Anweshaa Ghosh, "Locating the Processes of Policy Change in the Context of Anti-Rape and Domestic Worker Mobilisations in India", United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, (2016), 135, http://www.unrisd.org/80256B3C005BCCF9/search/03AB499766D6FDB2C1257F9B004F6BDF?OpenDocument.

[34] Ibid., 134-6.

[35] Rina, Agarwala, "Using Legal Empowerment for Labour Rights in India" (World Institute of Development Economics Research Working Paper, No. 2017/15) 16.

[36] ibid.,21-23.

[37] Rina, Agarwala, "Using Legal Empowerment for Labour Rights in India" (World Institute of Development Economics Research Working Paper, No. 2017/15) 25.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Ela R. Bhatt, *We are Poor but So Many: The Story of Self-Employed Women in India,* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 4, 68, & 103-4.

freely ask questions, invest, and take part in the process[40]. In addition, steps such as running radio shows on domestic workers have also contributed to create public awareness about the value of domestic work[41]. The outreach has been great but not large enough to save many domestic workers from the debt cycle[42]. The Indian Government under the Unorganized Workers' Social Security Act (2008) guarantees domestic workers sickness coverage, pre and post-natal care, life insurance; the act ensures that unorganized workers are given the same social security as formal labor in India.[43] In a decade since the act was passed, a pilot run in Delhi, on one of the health schemes that is under the ambit of the act, revealed the issues faced by workers who have tried to avail the scheme under Rashtriya Swasthya Bima Yojana (RSBY) that translates to National Health Insurance Program. To address these specific problems of domestic workers in a broader context Domestic Workers (Regulation of Work and Social Security) Act, 2017 was introduced in the Indian Senate by a member of the Communist Party of India, Shri Sankar Parsad Datta[44]. However, it remains partially implemented.

It is clear, that in India the bottom-top approach has given a voice to domestic workers, but it faces problems on two fronts. One, the lack of structure to carry out the proposed policy on a large-scale, and second, historical experiences that have resulted in certain attitudes towards domestic workers is a harder challenge to counter. The state has taken steps not because of political will, rather decades of mobilization of domestic workers has resulted in this change showing hallmarks of a frustrated state.

With the two case-studies, it is evident that change is lasting if domestic workers are aware and actively involved in the process. The state has the power to pass laws but to get those laws implemented a level of political will and strong institutions are needed for large-scale tangible outcomes.

The Case of Punjab: the relevance of South African and Indian models

Domestic work in Lahore has been a part of the social fabric for centuries, just as in South Africa and India. Bringing change to the conditions of work is a long process that requires mobilization of civil elements as well as the state apparatus. Social change along with legislative changes hold the key to success for domestic workers struggles.

> ❝ Civil society led initiatives have great power to mobilize people for a cause but the situation of civil society in Pakistan has crumbled over time. ❞

Civil society led initiatives have great power to mobilize people for a cause but the situation of civil society in Pakistan has crumbled over time. The prolonged spells of dictatorships and censorship have hampered the capacity for forming collectives. In recent years Punjab has become home to three unions for domestic workers in the cities of Kasur, Lahore and Sheikhupura under the Pakistan Worker's Federation (PWF). These unions have been trying to mobilize themselves but face issues such as lack of leadership, difficulty in assembling, harassment from employers, discouragement from family, and lack of funds.[45] In addition, NGOs such as HomeNet Pakistan have been instrumental along with labor unions in pushing forward the Bill and in consultations with the government. However, just like the Unions, the NGOs also have not been able to truly mobilize domestic workers. In the case studies domestic workers were centric to the rights struggle and managed to bargain with the sate using their citizenship rights. In Lahore's case the mobilization of domestic workers is in its infancy

[40] Ibid., 103-4.
[41] Kamala Sankaran, Shalini, and Roopa Madhav, "WEIGO Law Pilot Project on the Informal Economy: Domestic Workers- Background Document", Women in Informal Employment Globalizing and Organizing (WEIGO), 2013, 1, http://www.wiego.org/sites/wiego.org/files/resources/files/dw_background_note.pdf.
[42] Anuradha Nagaraj, Deep in Debt, Indian Maids Demand Living Wages, *REUTERS,* December 3, 2017, April 14, 2018, https://in.reuters.com/article/india-women-wages/deep-in-debt-indian-maids-demand-living-wages-idINKBN1E71ZT.
[43] Ministry of Law and Justice India, The Unrecognized Workers Social Security Act, 2008, December 31, 2008, 8 http://www.ilo.org/dyn/travail/docs/686/Unorganised%20Workers%20Social%20Se curity%20Act%202008.pdf
[44] Bill No. 92 of 2017, "The Domestic Workers (Regulation of Work and Social Security) Bill, 2017, file:///E:/Domestic%20Workers%20Thesis/Chapters/Chapter2/India/act.pdf; Indian Government, National Portal of India, "Shankar Parsad Datta, last updated September 1, 2017, https://www.india.gov.in/my-government/indian-parliament/sankar-prasad-datta
[45] This information was based on an interviews with PWF, Hone Net, PLWD, and ILO

and the front runners are not domestic workers themselves.

Without ownership and awareness of their rights there will be little or no pressure for the government or employers to abide by the regulation. International Labour Organization (ILO) began a pilot project for skills development of domestic workers through short training programs at Government APWA College Lahore. The program later found that most domestic workers who went through the program did not received a salary raise and thus left the vocation for alternatives such as setting up tuck shops at schools. The employers' resistance to pay and the job's undesirable status made most, if not all, domestic workers look for alternatives. The results of the pilot reflect that attitudes towards the nature of work and towards workers are a huge hurdle to bringing about tangible change. The Labour Welfare Department of Punjab (LWDP), the instrumental state body in forming the union and legislation for domestic workers, recognized the need to address the precarious conditions of domestic workers but does not show interest in the social aspects or implementation mechanisms involved in bringing the change, showing traits of a frustrated state. Lack of funds is voiced as the prime reason by LWDP in being unable to have any media awareness and campaigns regarding the bill. However, lack of political support for the bill is also a prime reason. Discussions with government representatives and civil society members revealed that there is also little synergy between organizations directed towards the same cause. In both South Africa and India synergetic relationships between unions and NGOs for domestic workers, women's collectives, and other informal workers played a meaningful role in mobilization and giving strength to the cause. We cannot say the same for the case of Punjab.

A Few Recommendations for Effective Implementation of Punjab Domestic Workers Bill 2018:

    1. Actions to ensure effectiveness of Bill
        a. There is a need for a synergetic relationship between agencies working with domestic workers, so their efforts can have a collective impact.

        b. The Union and NGOs need to focus of capacity building of the workers so they are ready to take ownership of their rights and have the right advocacy and leadership skillset to do so. The Local Government Act of Punjab 2019 promises to empower grassroots politics. With this initiative, just as in India, locals will have the bargaining power to influence local politicians. Domestic workers live together or in close vicinity to one another indicating the potential to build momentum. Awareness regarding the bill and its ownership will ensure that they have the skills to bargain for their labour rights based on their citizenship rights. The NGOs and Unions need to reorient by acting as liaisons for domestic workers and other networks in the society.

        c. Both the case studies demonstrate that state provided welfare only ensures minimum living standards for the domestic workers, which due to inflation are not always equal to livable standards for domestic workers and their family members. To ensure that the inter-generational poverty trap is broken, micro-finance schemes can provide a credible alternative to domestic work. India provides an excellent example of this through SEWA's finance and insurance schemes. NGOs and unions working for domestic workers can facilitate such activities by scaling up local microfinance programs such as the Benazir Income Support Program and collaborating with microfinance institutions like Akhuwat Foundation.

        d. Skills development program as well as certification of domestic workers is essential to ensure that the vocation is viewed seriously in the future and can be made more profitable for those involved in it.

        e. Awareness campaigns through radio, media, and social media can be facilitated by organizations involved with domestic workers as world of mouth has not been effective.

    2. Additions to the Bill
        a. Given that domestic workers come from marginalized segments of society there is a need of a hotline that provides them legal aid and

assistance. Establishing this service will ensure that illiteracy, lack of functional literacy and excessive red-tape do not come in the way if a breach of law is reported or more information about legal rights is required. In Punjab hotlines for digital harassment 'Digital Rights Foundation Hotline' and women employment trough 'Job Assan' have been successful models.

b. In addition, the registration process needs to be digitalized so agencies and employers can easily and readily register with the system. Digitization will increase outreach and simplify the process.

c. In South Africa the Labour Department's website provides sample contracts and pay slips. This step will help with standardization and create ease of access to the documents for employers and employees.

d. The Bill and related documents should be available online in both the official and local languages.

e. Agencies that provide employment to domestic workers should be legalized and monitored differently from employers who find house helpers on their own. Domestic workers agencies are known to be involved in illegal activities such as child labor and human trafficking in India. To prevent this a special clause on registration of these job agencies needs to be added to the Bill.

f. The Bill needs to be more specific when it defines "decent living" conditions. In South Africa the law defines the size of the separate living place for the domestic worker as well as the number of meals etc. that a live-in domestic worker is entitled.

g. The Bill must oblige the Labour Department to run media/social media awards campaigns about the law.

h. Currently the law only allows a labour inspector to visit a house on receiving a complaint. However, there is a need for bi-monthly random labour inspections to ensure the employers always comply. South Africa has been using house-hold surveys by inspectors to ensure compliance.

i. Punjab has 11 Labour Courts in which the Labour Department's Magistrate executes decisions. In India the use of a tri-party board has helped remove the burden of cases from the labor court as well as helped with better representation. Having a body comprising of members of domestic workers union, government labour department and employers can lead to quicker and more equitable decisions. The current Bill mentions a Dispute Resolution Committee but is not clear if it is a Labour Court or a tri-party board.

j. The Bill should ensure a higher wage for certified and formally trained domestic workers.

k. The Bill does not apply to the rural context where domestic workers are frequently categorized as farmworkers. As they interchangeably switch roles between domestic and farm work but are identified as farmers by employer. There needs to be deliberation on the rural context in which domestic works are employed in small towns and villages.

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>What are religious values and worldviews?

This article is a part of a more extended article by Dr. Raja M. Ali Saleem for Oxford Research Encyclopedia. The full article can be found at (https://oxfordre.com/politics/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.001.0001/acrefore-9780190228637-e-1158) Dr. Saleem is Associate Professor at CPPG.

Pakistan is a Muslim-majority country and the 1973 Constitution declares Islam as the state religion. Besides playing a key role in the creation of Pakistan and, subsequently in the politics of Pakistan, Islam has an overwhelming influence on social life in the country. Islam is the criterion by which not only state policies are judged but it also forms the basis of how one should talk, dress or wash one's hands. Religious values and worldviews are predominant as even the most of the (less than five percent) religious minorities value their own religious precepts rather than adopting secular ideas. Some Pakistanis would object to the above statements and claim that Islam does not prescribe or promote values and worldviews that most Pakistanis adhere to. They would contend that Islam, if interpreted correctly, is much more liberal and much less sexist, anti-sematic and xenophobic than what most Pakistanis believe in. Others would argue that an ordinary Pakistanis' Islam is much more liberal and accommodating than the Islam promoted by the Pakistani state. Expanding this idea of more than one Islam further, more enlightened Pakistanis would point out that there are countless forms of lived Islam, each considered real and authentic by its followers and adherents. All these statements are true but they do not change the basic fact that Islamic or religious values and worldviews are ascendant and prevalent, governing the social and individual life in Pakistan. Even those who go against definite and indubitable precepts of Islam try to justify themselves by quoting some Islamic scholar, instead of defending themselves using secular ideas. However, despite this overwhelming presence, research on religious values is paltry. Aristotle was quoted as saying, "knowing yourself is the beginning of wisdom." The following article elucidates religious values and worldviews in general and is not specifically related to Islam or Pakistan as it was written for an international audience.

Religious values and worldviews have influenced human

behavior and conduct for millennia. In fact, it is not incorrect to say that they are one of the most important influences outside of the two basic human instincts: hunger and sex. The excavation of 11,600-year old Gobekli Tepe temple in Turkey has strengthened the theory that humans were religious long before farming, domesticating animals, or living in large-scale human settlements. Maybe it was the craving for something sacred or religious that led to human civilization, and not the other way around (Mann, 2011).

> ❝ The last few decades have, however, provided enough evidence, not for the death of religion, but for the burial of the secularization thesis. ❞

Religious worldviews challenged each other at least two millennia before the advent of modernity. The religious and transcendental outlook was not contested until the Age of Enlightenment. The Scientific Revolution and the Industrial Revolution gave rise to secular worldviews. Nonreligious values and beliefs were gradually embraced by millions, giving rise to the secularization thesis. It became close to orthodoxy in the social sciences that religious values and worldviews were on the way out, and modernity would eventually lead to the demise of public, large-scale, institutionalized religions followed by billions of people. The last few decades have, however, provided enough evidence, not for the death of religion, but for the burial of the secularization thesis. Globally religiosity is on the rise and religious values and worldviews continue to shape the world.

Defining Values

Values and worldviews influence human behavior. Values are sometimes considered finite explanations of complex phenomena but lately have been considered too subjective or too difficult to be distinctly specified to operationalize or measure. According to Milton Rokeach (1973, p. 5), a value is "an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence." Values can be held consciously or unconsciously.

Values change, but the change is slow, making values a significant influencer of behavior and actions. Schwartz and Bilsky (1987) identified five characteristics of values form the myriad definitions. According to them, values are (a) concepts or beliefs that (b) transcend specific situations. Values are (c) ordered by relative significance and (d) assist the selection of behavior and events (e) based on desirable end states. Rokeach (1979), for the first time, devised a system to measure individual and societal values, and argued that self-concept is at a higher level than values, but both influence each other.

Every individual has multiple values that are organized and ranked. The order and prioritization primarily depend on the personal preferences and the culture he or she belongs to. These personal hierarchies develop into an individual value system. The popular Schwartz's Value Theory (Schwartz, 2012) apprises about 10 broad values and the motivations underlying them. The values in the cones or triangles opposite to each other are contradictory. Hence, more self-enhancement would lead to less self-transcendence and more conservatism would decrease openness to change. It is important to note that the world's major religions have been the source of all these value constructs except perhaps hedonism.
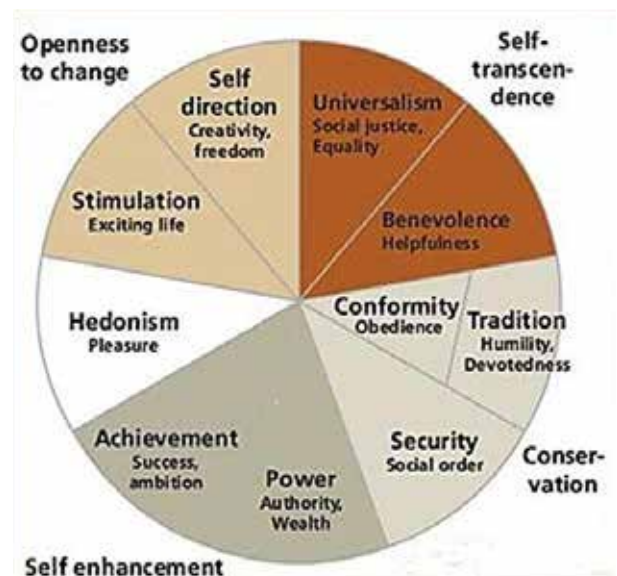
Source: Elvira 2010

Defining Worldviews

Historically, the concept of worldview has come from the

German word "weltanschauung," denoting beliefs that guide and frame thoughts and action. A worldview has been defined as a value system, a cosmology, an interpretive framework, a perceptual framework, a view of the world and life within it, and a comprehensive framework of one's beliefs. It has been compared to a lens or a pair of sunglasses that affects everything one sees, sometimes without the knowledge of oneself. Worldviews are based on (grand) narratives that answer life's biggest and deepest questions. According to David Naugle (2007), some of the questions that worldviews try to answer are the following:

- Theological questions: Does God exist? What is God like? What are God's nature and properties?
- Metaphysical questions: What is the nature of reality? What is ultimately real? How do we know we exist?
- Epistemological questions: What is the nature of knowledge and its sources? What are the possibilities of acquiring knowledge and its goals? What is the truth?
- Cosmological questions: How did the universe originate, and how is it going to end? Why did the universe originate?
- Anthropological questions: What is a human being? Why are humans here? Where are humans going? Do we have a soul?
- Ethical questions: What is right and what is wrong? How should one live? Do we live in a moral order?
- Aesthetic questions: What is beauty? Why are there arts? What role do beauty and art play in life and culture?

> " Every individual has multiple values that are organized and ranked. The order and prioritization primarily depend on the personal preferences and the culture he or she belongs to. "

Other scholars have also associated the worldview concept with life's most fundamental questions (Sherwood, 2012, pp. 86–87; Yandell, 1999, pp. 3–4). James Sire has given one of the most succinct definitions of the worldview (2015, p. 141):

A worldview is a commitment, a fundamental orientation of the heart, that can be expressed as a story or in a set of presuppositions (assumptions which may be true, partially true or entirely false) which we hold (consciously or subconsciously, consistently or inconsistently) about the basic constitution of reality, and that provides the foundation on which we live and move and have our being.

Religious Values

Values that are considered desirable or mandatory because of some religious principle, order, or edict can be termed as religious values. Being humble or helping others are considered religious values by Christians, Jews, Buddhists, and Muslims because their respective religions terms these actions or behavior worthwhile.

Religious values can be divided into groups based on their acceptance outside a particular religion. It appears a small set of values is entertained by almost all religions (and by nonreligious cultures and philosophies). These values, it is argued, are based on long lineages of religious and intellectual thought and centuries of human experience. The remainder of the religious values are specific to a religion or a group of religions. Examples of the former group of religious values are the golden rule (treat people like you want to be treated); speaking the truth; being just; honoring the elders; helping, loving and forgiving others; being humble; doing no harm; and avoiding anger, jealousy, and covetousness. Examples of the latter group of religious values are worshipping one God, loving and respecting nature, not harming any living thing, and celibacy.

But does a set of universal (religious) values exist? Scholars disagree on the existence of universal religious values. Some scholars argue that universal values exist in name only, and the absence of "universal" values becomes apparent as soon as one goes beyond the veneer. For instance, although doing no harm, especially to young children, appears to be a universal religious value, there are sharp disagreements on the issues of male circumcision or abortion (Stepanyants, 2008). The term "universal values" also triggers negative reactions from those who are inclined toward communitarianism or postmodern relativism and those who mistrust grand designs or anything

universal. Furthermore, many in the developing world are apprehensive about universal values being a cover for the imposition of Judeo-Christian, or Western, values (Dower, 2016). Others claim there are shared universal values or there can be agreement on such values. However, it must be kept in mind that shared universal values can be based on nonreligious philosophies. The underlying theory of universal values can be Utilitarian philosophy, Kantian imperative, or the equality of all humans (Dower, 2016).

Industrialization, globalization, liberalism, and women empowerment have been associated with the decline of religious values. Is the strength of religious values declining internationally? Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart (2011, pp. 215–241), based on their extensive research using the World Values Survey data, argue that, on the whole, the answer to the preceding question is "no" as there are more people ascribing to religious values than ever before. Hold of religious values in economically advanced societies, with high values of human development, is weakening, but it is strengthening in poor countries. Norris and Inglehart explain this puzzle by invoking their theory of existential security and secularization.

> ❝ Hold of religious values in economically advanced societies, with high values of human development, is weakening, but it is strengthening in poor countries. ❞

They contend that countries differ vastly in terms of economic and human development, and this is directly linked with the people's sense of existential security. When people experience life-threatening events or are vulnerable to such events during their formative years, assuming other things being equal, they are insecure, and religion and religious values play a significant part in their lives. Conversely, in countries where people feel secure because of economic and human development, religious values matter less. Norris and Inglehart also point out that as the population growth rate in developing countries is higher than in the economically advanced countries, the salience of religious values in the world will increase at least in the short term. Although, based on the inter-generational comparison, they did not find evidence of a religious revival in post-Communist Eastern Europe, the authors do

not think that the process of decline in religious values is irreversible.

Religious Worldviews

Religious worldviews are as ancient as religions. Almost all of the great religions provide worldviews for their followers to embrace, usually to the exclusion of other (religious or secular) worldviews. However, the concept of religious worldview started to gain attention within Protestant evangelistic circles in the late 19th century. The reason for the focus on this concept was the threat from modernism and secularism. James Orr, a Scottish Presbyterian theologian, was the first one to use the worldview concept for defending Christianity. He contended that to deal with the new challenges (i.e. modernity), Christianity has to be presented as a comprehensive doctrine, and a Christian worldview was the best way to do it.

There are primarily two types of religious worldviews, monotheistic and non-monotheistic. For monotheists, God is the ultimate reality. There are many types of monotheisms, but generally the concept of God entails the following:

- God is ontologically independent: God's existence is independent of everything.
- God is self-conscious: God is mindful and aware.
- God is transcendent: God is beyond all existence and God's powers are independent of others.
- God is the Supreme Being: God has the absolute authority and sovereignty over everything (Yandell, 1999, p. 85).

The whole monotheistic worldview revolves around God. One of the main differences between various monotheistic worldviews is God's involvement in the world. At one extreme is the worldview where, like a clockmaker, God created the world and then left it to its own designs. At the other extreme is a God that is continuously involved, causing public and private events (strong providence). In between these two extremes is a God that acts to cause private events that can lead to public events (weak providence). Monotheistic faiths can also be differentiated by God's knowledge and relationship with the world. In Semitic monotheism, God is an omniscient, powerful Creator. But in Greek monotheism, God has not created the

world, and the world can exist independent of God. God might not even have any knowledge of the world. Within Semitic monotheisms, the doctrine of incarnation and the Trinity differentiates Christian monotheism from Jewish and Islamic monotheism.

Non-monotheist worldviews do not focus on one God as their foundation. Each of the three Vedantic philosophies of Hinduism—Ramanuja, Madhva, and Shankara—imagines a different relationship between god(s) and the world. There is no heaven or hell in Hinduism. Justice is dispensed by karma, with (good or bad) actions in previous lives determining the status in future lives. The focus of Jainism and Buddhism worldviews is achieving enlightenment and release from the cycle of rebirths and deaths. Like Hinduism, both Jainism and Buddhism believe in karma. However, their views differ regarding the soul. Because Jains believe in an eternal soul, for them a person is someone that exists over time even after attaining enlightenment. By contrast, Buddhists consider a person as a series of composite things that has no permanence and changes with time (Yandell, 1999, pp. 102–114).

What can be gleaned from the above discussion are three observations. First, God or religion is alive and well, contrary to what Nietzsche and numerous social scientists predicted. Religious values and worldviews are not anachronistic; they are ubiquitous and permeating. Second, the concept of universal religious values is true at the broad abstract level, where it is indistinguishable from the idea of universal humanistic values, but begins to fall apart when one digs a little deep and includes all non-theistic, tribal and new age religions. Third, the decline in the popularity of religious values in not imminent. Finally, monotheism or theism is not essential to religion or religious worldviews. Trying to unpack secular or non-Abrahamic religious worldviews, using the framework of Abrahamic religious worldviews, is an intrinsically flawed exercise.

>Sustainable Development Goals and Pakistan's Implementation of Goal 4: Quality Education

The author Bushra Arfeen has completed her MPhil in Public Policy from CPPG.

"Sustainable development is the pathway to the future we want for all. It offers a framework to generate economic growth, achieve social justice, exercise environmental stewardship and strengthen governance" – Ban Ki Moon

It is believed that the scope of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) is confined to papers and there is not much that can be achieved through their implementation because they are "a high-school wish list on how to save the world."[1] However, the former secretary of the United Nations is very optimistic about the targets that these goals have encapsulated within them. Whether it be growth that is purely economic in its nature, justice that has a social connotation or governance that has a political dimension, the inclusion of all these varying targets depict the diversity of goals and the wide scope that the SDGs have to offer.

The Sustainable Development Goals is an agenda that has 17 goals incorporated in it. Launched in the year 2015 and with 193 nations determined to achieve the sustainable development, these set of goals are to be achieved by the year 2030[2]. Like 192 other countries of the world, Pakistan too, a year after the introduction of the goals, adopted them through a National Assembly Resolution and an agreement has been signed under the "National Initiative for SDGs" in order to ensure the implementation both at the national as well as the provincial level[3]. The parties involved in the achievement of the SDGs are mainly the government, the private sector, the civil society and the academia. While some of these goals are a continuation of the Millennium Development Goals in a more refined manner, the other goals are a new addition in order to promote sustainable development. This paper focuses on the analysis of SDG goal number 4.

Quality Education and Human Development
Although the goals are interlinked and need to be achieved in a simultaneous manner, goal number 4 is of immense importance. As Malala Yousafzai, Nobel Peace

Prize winner and advocate of education for all, claims, *"All the SDGs come down to education..."* [4] indicating the multifaceted and interconnected nature of quality education in determining the development trajectory of a country.

One such relationship is the link between a lack of education and unemployment, which eventually leads to poverty. Whether it is protecting life on land (Goal 15) or below water (Goal 14), it can only be improved by investing in the education of people. An aware, socially conscious and knowledgeable population can work towards creating a clean and clear environment. Even if we look at Goal 16 (Peace, justice and strong institutions) or Goal 11 (sustainable cities and communities), education has an integral role to play.

Universal education and in particular, quality education, is the key to progress and development and an inextricable component of human development. To make the relationship clearer, it is important to explore the very concept of human development, which is comprehensively defined as *"the process of enlarging people's freedoms and opportunities and improving their well-being."* [5] Sabina Alkire, who has researched on the dimensions of human development, further elaborates on the concept and claims that the idea of human development encompasses the flourishing of individuals in its fullest sense and while it may be assumed that the development is limited to the economic sphere, it should be noted that human development includes public and private, social, political as well as spiritual dimensions of development; Alkire's definition of human development

thus does not confine it to material deprivations [6].

According to a report by UNESCO, an improvement in the quality of education will be able to provide a better understanding to the people of the world they live in and comprehend not only the complexity but also the interconnectedness of the issues that they may face such as poverty, environmental degradation, health and population issues. Improved education will not just prove to be beneficial in terms of understanding and expanding awareness but also in equipping individuals to use the knowledge in establishing their agency as well as attitudes supporting behaviour that paves the path towards sustainable human development [7].

Here, it is pertinent to talk about Amartya Sen who, in his capability approach, emphasizes that poverty is not just the deprivation of income but the absence of 'capability' or the ability to do what one chooses to do. Education is thus central to this approach as it is not only a right in itself but it also expands people's capabilities [8].

There is therefore a strong link between education and human development. However education cannot be understood in a limited sense to rote learning or to what occurs within a classroom. According to a report by UNESCO, an improvement in the quality of education will be able to provide a better understanding to the people of the world they live in and comprehend not only its complexities, but also the interconnectedness of issues such as poverty, consumption, environmental degradation, health and population. Improved education will not just prove to be beneficial in terms of understanding and awareness, but also in equipping individuals to use the knowledge in establishing agency as well as attitudes supporting behaviour that paves the path towards sustainable human development [9].

Related closely to the problem of access to quality education is the issue of quality healthcare services. While, it may appear that health and education operate independently, there is abundant evidence from various case stud-

[1] "Why Literacy Matters." Education for All Global Monitoring Report. 2006. Accessed May 22, 2018. http://www.unesco.org/education/GMR2006/full/chapt5_eng.pdf.
[2] "Sustainable Development Goals", Government of Pakistan, Planning and Development Department.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Sampath Kumar, Mythili. "5 Key Quotes from the Sustainable Development Goals Summit." *UN DISPATCH, UN,* 25 Sept. 2015, www.undispatch.com/5-key-quotes-from-the-sustainable-development-summit/.
[5] "About Human Development." Measure of America, Social Science Research Council, 2018, www.measureofamerica.org/human-development.

ies that indicate that educated populations are less likely to experience public health catastrophes, are more suited to invest in the health of themselves and their families and hence allow for the development of a nation's healthy human capital. Mothers in particular who have exposure to basic education schemes are more likely to benefit from health related knowledge and behaviour by not only seeking medical assistance in sickness but by also adopting preventive measures that eventually improved their health.[10]

> ❝ Education in itself is however a very vast and complex aspect of human development. It is a means for development but also an end in itself. ❞

Delving deeper and discussing the relationship between education and health, it should be noted that according to the UN Chronicle, education is the key to reducing child mortality. Education, as already mentioned, not only creates awareness among women regarding their own health but provides people an opportunity to learn how to deal with health concerns as well.[11] The availability of professional health workers will make access to health much easier and will help economies manage public health concerns in a more effective manner. For instance, mothers and their new born children will have a better chance of survival in countries like Pakistan where maternal mortality and infant mortality are relatively high.

Education in itself is however a very vast and complex aspect of human development. It is a means for development but also an end in itself. Many men and women lose out on development opportunities because their access to education remains limited. Furthermore access to quality education is a fundamental indicator of whether or not a country's population will be able to narrow inequality within a nation and also in competition with other countries. As the world's economy gets more and more integrated, the digital revolution speeds up the

process of production and consumption, and innovation becomes the cornerstone for development, countries will increasingly find themselves in a position where becoming a knowledge economy is the next objective. In this scenario investing in quality education will be essential. In Pakistan, 57% per cent of the population is literate[12], while only around 37.3% receive some secondary education.[13] Moreover gender inequalities are characteristic of the education landscape in the country. Male literacy is 72.5% while female literacy is 51.8%. In terms of urban-rural differences, only 40 % of rural Pakistani women are literate compared to 66.3% of rural men.[14]

Furthermore, a report of women's economic participation and empowerment in Pakistan reveals that 40% of girls who fall between the ages of 6–10 years are not enrolled in schools and the situation gets worse with increasing age; 70% of girls are out of middle school while 80% of the females are out of high school.[15] Cultural taboos, poverty, domestic responsibilities and access to transportation remain key determinants to whether or not girls will be able to attend school and gain higher education. Studies from South Asia, including from Bangladesh indicate that educated women are able to control the financial management of their house that was previously entirely under the control of the men[16].

In addition, technology in this era plays a major role in the provision of the opportunities that in turn enlarges freedoms and choices and also has a role to play in the well-being of people. Through technological innovations for instance, inventions related to health have directly contributed to human development. Cameron and Cameron (2003) for example explore the relationship between education and technological inventions; and claim that a more educated population is likely to be involved in the invention of increased and improved methods of production, which eventually contributes towards human development[17].

[6] Sabina Alkire, "Dimensions of Human Development," World Development 30, no. 2 (2002): pp. 181-205, https://www.unicef.org/socialpolicy/files/Dimensions_of_Human_Development.pdf

[7] "International Implementation Scheme." United Nations Decade of Education for Sustainable Development, UNESCO, 2014, unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0014/001486/148654E.pdf.

[8] Ibid.

[9] International Implementation Scheme." United Nations Decade of Education for Sustainable Development, UNESCO, 2014.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Ann M Veneman, "Education Is Key to Reducing Child Mortality: The Link Between Maternal Health and Education," UN Chronicle (United Nations, December 2007), https://unchronicle.un.org/article/education-key-reducing-child-mortality-link-between-maternal-health-and-education).

This entire argument brings forth the idea that the impact of education is not confined to a four-walled classroom. The basic idea is that education, and quality education in particular, cannot only help in alleviating the economic situation of communities and help them escape cycles of poverty but can also help them exercise their social and political rights, expand their freedoms and their choices to lead their lives in an empowered manner. Education can narrow income and opportunity gaps, including those between genders, social strata, countries and regions. The East Asian Miracle, including the experiences of countries like Singapore, China and Malaysia, exemplify how by investing in the education and human capital development of their people, these countries were able to elevate their levels of human development.

> ❝ ... quality education in particular, cannot only help in alleviating the economic situation of communities and help them escape cycles of poverty but can also help them exercise their social and political rights, expand their freedoms and their choices to lead their lives in an empowered manner. ❞

Sustainable Development Goal 4 and Pakistan's progress

The purpose of these SDGs is to promote development and meet the global targets by 2030 however there is a need to keep a track of development so that there is a clear picture of what is being achieved and to what degree countries are able to follow internationally-set standards. In order to measure the success of the different SDGs, they are divided into targets that are further divided into indicators that simplify how every target should be achieved. Hence, ultimately, it is through the achievement of those targets and indicators that each SDG is measured

Pakistan has endorsed the SDGs by adopting the agenda within its development programs. Pakistan's experience with the MDGs fell short of its expected targets and the country was unable to meet several of the goals. Yet the MDGs provided a learning experience, including the need to look at goals beyond measurable targets and to localize and adopt a development strategy that has sustainability at its core. With the SDGs the government has been clear that a priority is to bring the agenda down to the local level of governance. In Punjab for instance a provincial SDG unit has been set up with the aim of mapping and prioritizing targets throughout the province down to the district level. There is the realization that while the goals have been adopted at the national level, they cannot be achieved unless there is ownership at all tiers of government.

> ❝ With the SDGs the government has been clear that a priority is to bring the agenda down to the local level of governance. ❞

Similarly with respect to education, it was realized that the number of children in schools doesn't entirely solve the issue; there is a need to ensure quality education so that education proves to be an asset for these individuals in the long term. Hence, there was a shift in the goal from universal primary education to quality education.

For the purpose of the provision of quality education, it is important to look at the financial allocation of public funds to the social sectors in Pakistan. On average 2.4% of the GDP is spent on education[18]. Additionally there are issues with transparency and accountability. According to the 2017-2018 accountability report by the office of the Auditor General to the Public Accounts Committee of the National Assembly, around US$ 7.5 million of Basic Education Community Schools program funding has been transferred to a private account rather than the prescribed account[19]. This poses the question on the transparency of

[12] "Education," Pakistan Economic Survey 2018-19, Government of Pakistan Ministry of Finance. http://www.finance.gov.pk/survey/chapters_19/10-Education.pdf (accessed 5th November 2019).
Adult literacy rate is percentage of 15 years and older (2006-16)
[13] Ibid. Around 37.3% of Pakistan's Population has some secondary education (% ages 25 years & older (2006-17).
[14] Ibid.
[15] Zaidi Y. Farooq, S, "Women's Economic Participation and Empowerment in Pakistan - Status Report", Center of Gender and Policy Studies (2016), , accessed March 1, 2019, 23, http://www2.unwomen.org/-/media/field office eseasia/docs/publications/2016/05/pk-wee-status-report-lowres.pdf?la=en&vs=5731
[16] Ibid.
[17] Cameron, Dr John, and Stuart Cameron. "The Economic Benefits of Increased Literacy." 2006. Accessed May 22, 2018. http://unesdoc.unesco.org/

the system and reveals that while the SDGs can provide an umbrella framework, their effective implementation is up to the government itself. There is a huge possibility that because of no checks and balances, along with the absence of accountability, the funds are not efficiently used.

Likewise, it has been noted by the National Database and Registration Authority that 2000 teacher employee identity cards are fake, not only that but 349 schools were found to be non-existent physically while they existed on paper[20]. A primary reason behind these issues is the lack of effective accountability mechanisms that curb and penalize malpractices at various levels. The fact that the number of schools that physically existed did not match the ones on paper and that the employees who were working had fake identity cards explains a lot about the complexity and challenging nature of implementing Goal 4 in reality.

However, there is also another side of the story that indicates that some progress has been made in terms of the education sector. The use of technology for instance has helped in raising the quality of education provided. For example there have been efforts to digitize the attendance monitoring system, which is now recorded through biometric technology and is being used by 210,000 employees in 26,200 schools. As of February 2017, 40,000 absent teachers and 6,000 absconders (employed but long absent) have been issued warning notices which shows that though results are gradual, steps are being taken to ensure quality education[21].

For the provision of quality education, curriculum has a key role to play because it is a school's curriculum that determines the content children are exposed to throughout the year. School curricula thus need to be well-planned, relevant and must provide students with an opportunity to expand their intellectual, emotional and creative abilities. This demands a frequent review of the syllabus to ensure information is up to date. At first, the

textbooks were designed according to the National Curriculum Policy 2006 that highlighted various learning goals but provided no guidance in terms of teaching methodology or learning materials. Course materials also tend to be outdated and are rarely updated to include broader and more current modules. One example was the decision to include Human Rights as a part of the curriculum however no such step has been taken till date[22]. This eventually led to a failure of this policy. The National Curriculum Policy 2009 that followed the 2006 one also couldn't achieve much as it repeated several flaws of its preceding policy. Additionally in Pakistan, schooling is highly heterogeneous with education varying drastically in terms of location, income level, type of school and the funding they receive. For example, Pakistani males that are poor and belong to rural areas have a literacy rate of 64 percent while females belonging to the same rural setting and similar financial backgrounds are struggling with literacy rates as low as 14 percent.[23] This data provides insight to how unequal access to education can be which naturally means that those who have little access are already placed at a disadvantaged situation particularly with respect to their employment and career opportunities.

> ❝ School curricula thus need to be well-planned, relevant and must provide students with an opportunity to expand their intellectual, emotional and creative abilities. ❞

To enhance quality and timely learning, the state is responsible to provide books in time and so the provincial textbook boards work to ensure such provision. However, in that case too, there have been issues. For example, students in Islamabad faced difficulties in gaining access to those textbooks as only 20 percent were available in the markets and those that were available had substandard binding and missing content.[24] Even after the introduction of the Sustainable Development Goals the situation of

images/0014/001459/145957e.pdf.

[18] Tahir Amin, "Budget 2019-2020: Allocation for Education, Services Reduced by 20.5 Percent," Business Recorder, June 12, 2019, https://fp.brecorder.com/2019/06/20190612485340/

[19] Zahid, Junaid. "Towards Achieving Education Goals in Pakistan." Daily Times, April 26, 2018. Accessed May 22, 2018. https://dailytimes.com.pk/232444/towards-achieving-education-goals-in-pakistan/

[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid.

education in Pakistan is similar to what it was under the Millennium Development Goals.[25] Perhaps it is too soon to reach any conclusions from such data, however it is clear that policies surrounding the SDGs will need to be more aggressive in terms of implementation, will need to adopt a cross-sectoral approach in ensuring compliance and will need to continually push for ownership at the local level.

> 66 ...policies surrounding the SDGs will need to be more aggressive in terms of implementation, will need to adopt a cross-sectoral approach in ensuring compliance and will need to continually push for ownership at the local level. 99

Vocational and technical education is also a part of quality education but the number of such institutes in Pakistan is insufficient and those that exist lack the required infrastructure and teaching staff, which provides a fair idea of the condition of the education system. The United Nations Global Education Monitoring Report 2016 reinforces this argument, which explains that Pakistan is more than 50 years behind its primary school targets, and 60 years behind its secondary school targets that were set under the SDG's.[26] According to the same report in the year 2016, 5.6 million children were out of primary schools (which although is an improvement because the number was 6.1 million in 2012), and 5.5 million were out of secondary schools indicating that the state continues to struggle in addressing the issue of education more comprehensively and meeting international targets[27].

Technical and Vocational Training in Pakistan also carries the burden of being labeled non-competitive and undesirable. Compared to other countries, where those with vocational or technical skills can compete successfully with others with more formal education, in Pakistan this form of education is looked down upon. Organizations

such as the Technical and Vocational Training Authorities will need to focus on reforming this image of theirs, as although they train a significant portion of our labor market, their graduates are unable to acquire the employment gains they are expected to. Engaging with industries, creating linkages with key economic players in the private sector and also looking to train workers for jobs internationally, these Authorities can play a significant role in not only changing the way we approach education, but also in improving our employment situation and expanding Pakistan's economic growth opportunities.

> 66 Technical and Vocational Training in Pakistan also carries the burden of being labeled non-competitive and undesirable. 99

However, it cannot still be assumed that zero progress has been made after 2015 because the data suggests that the number of enrollments was 43.948 million in 2014-2015 and it went up to 46.223 million in 2015-2016 which is an increase of about 5.2 percent, revealing that a certain degree of progress has taken place. Moreover, an increase of 2.6 percent in the number of teachers in the year 2016, reflects some degree of progress.[28] The above analysis clearly denotes that over the course of time the progress in terms of education has not been up to the mark, though it cannot be assumed that there is entirely no success because in some aspects the achievements are clear. However, that very progress will only be significant if it is sustained and the impediments in terms of the infrastructure, funding, transparency and management are looked after.

Conclusion and Recommendations
In the light of the argument above, it is evident and clear that education an important pillar for Sustainable Development. As far as the case of Pakistan is concerned, it has been argued that some degree of progress has been made but the country has been far behind the rest of the world

[22] Ibid.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid.
[25] ISSC. "Review of Targets for the Sustainable Development Goals: The Science Perspective." 2017. Accessed May 22, 2018. https://www.icsu.org/cms/2017/05/SDG-Report.pdf.
[26] "UN Report: Pakistan'S Education 50 Years Behind World - The Express Tribune". The Express Tribune, 2018. https://tribune.com.pk/story/1177702/un-report-pakistans-education-50-years-behind-world/.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid.

because of issues related to governance, program design, financial allocation and administration. These issues are primarily related to the system itself and on the basis of these findings, some recommendations are proposed that might help in an efficient achievement of Goal 4 of the Sustainable Development Goals.

1. No matter how powerful and influential a government is, the degree to which it can achieve its goals is limited and hence, there is always a need for support from other actors that are well integrated within society. In the case of Pakistan for education, Non-Governmental organizations have a very promising role to play because there is a whole network of these organizations throughout the country and if taken in the loop by the government, they help in efforts such as fund-raising, introducing innovative forms of learning, helping in data collection, developing feedback mechanisms to help inform education policy and by working on outreach programmes for underdeveloped segments of society. Moreover, given that several of these NGOs work in rural areas, they can help ensure the implementation of a uniform curriculum so that the children from marginalized areas are on the same page in terms of education with the ones that belong to urban areas.[29]

2. The root of the problem with regards to the education system in Pakistan is that the process of policy making is very much confined to policy makers and there is very little contribution from actual stakeholders. Hence, an evaluation mechanism must be created in order to develop interaction between parents, students, teachers, education managers, academics, and policy makers. In the case of rural areas, where it is harder to make use of technology, the establishment of Education Councils will serve the purpose where professionals are employed to protect the education standards by a regulated monitoring and evaluation system. This will not only help in the management but also in terms of the promotion of transparency.[30]

3. In terms of developing lifelong learning opportunities, that are part of SDG 4, technical education should be made a part of secondary education and some form of formal acknowledgement through the HEC can be made. Skills training should be provided based on industrial demand so that the market offers greater employment opportunities.

4. At all levels of the education system, sustained efforts must be made to make education accessible and valuable for girls and women. Improving infrastructure that is gender-specific is one such priority. For instance, the availability of toilet facilities for girls have been proven empirically to improve the learning outcomes and educational experiences of women.

> " ...education in Pakistan must be designed in a way that promotes collective development, harmony within society and a strong sense of civic responsibility. "

5. Finally, education in Pakistan must be designed in a way that promotes collective development, harmony within society and a strong sense of civic responsibility. Educational institutions must incorporate universal values such as honesty, integrity, tolerance, mindfulness and respect for the environment in their teaching methodologies. Where students are trained to be sensitive and open to new ideas, are tolerant of change and have creative freedom, they are more likely to develop critical thinking and be innovative. Moreover, where access to quality education is facilitated for all regardless of location, financial background and gender, we can expect to make substantial strides in our human development outcomes.[31]

[29] Hussain, Aftab. "Education System of Pakistan: Issues, Problems and Solutions." Islamabad Policy Research Institute. March 02, 2015. Accessed May 22, 2018. http://www.ipripak.org/education-system-of-pakistan-issues-problems-and-solutions/.
[30] Ashraf, Muhammad Azeem, and Hafiza Iqra Ismat. "Education and Development of Pakistan: A Study of Current Situation of Education and Literacy in Pakistan." US-China Education Review B06, no. 11 (November 03, 2016). Accessed May 22, 2018.
[31] UNSTATS. "Global Indicator Framework for the Sustainable Development Goals and Targets of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development." UN. Accessed May 22, 2018. https://unstats.un.org/sdgs/indicators/Global Indicator Framework_A.RES.71.313 Annex.pdf

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>Walking Around the World: Through Pakistan

On 14th February 2018, the CPPG invited Mr. Paul Salopek, a Pulitzer prize winning journalist for a talk on "Walking Around the World: Through Pakistan". Salopek has worked as a war correspondent and is currently affiliated with National Geographic. He is writing a series called *The Out of Eden Walk.* Salopek has undertaken the task to re-create the original human migration on foot, which took place around 1.75 million years ago from Africa through Eurasia. He will complete his "on-foot" journey in South America. Through his travelogue he shares the unique human stories he encounters on his social media and on articles in the *National Geographic* Magazine.

Introducing his project, Salopek shared his frustration with the current state of the media where people are bombarded with an ocean of information that is designed to last for a very short time. He said that through his Out of Eden Walk project he is trying to find connections and stories between individual lives in a globalized world that are missed because people are moving too fast and receiving too much information that they fail to retain.

Sharing his experience of journalism, he said that during his career as a foreign correspondent he realized that there was vast quantity of data that was being shared through 'supercomputers', which people carried in their pockets. As a counter-movement, Salopek thought he could generate more data, but to achieve this, he needed to do something that is radically different and innovative, precious and that could make data generation more meaningful.

Explaining the key features of his project, he said it reflects the intersection of journalism and the sciences as he had framed 'Eden' in the scientific, anthropological, archeological sense. The primary aim of the project is the study of human origin. He asked himself "where did we come from?", "where did the earliest homo sapiens arise?" The scientific evidence points to Africa where most of the oldest remains of human species were found supporting the argument that everyone can trace their roots back to being an African. Paleoanthropology, or the branch of archaeology that focuses on the anatomical development of early humans also supports the idea that humans originated in Africa and genetics technology is revolutionizing this science.

> " Paleoanthropology, or the branch of archaeology that focuses on the anatomical development of early humans also supports the idea that humans originated in Africa... "

Through his project, Salopek is also combining the spiritual and the scientific with a walk out of the mother continent. He related that the spiritual symbolism of Eden could be understood as leaving ones comfort zone and becoming truly human and finding God by taking a journey.

According to scientists, humans didn't disperse out of Africa in a single move, instead early humans moved radially, in all directions. These groups sought various resources such as food and water, being pushed by famine and drought. Salopek approached the project as a storyteller and used the primordial journey that occurred between 170,000 years to recreate the original foot journey out of Africa. It was that journey that made modern humans a global species that were adaptive, problem solving and clever.

Salopek, raised the issue of human migration and explained, that our current understanding of human migration and history is limited, there is very little knowledge about what the original people who populated and colonized the continents were like. The San, in southern Africa who were called the Bushmen, hold the oldest genotype in the world. Some of their genes are 100,000

years old. Some anthropologists, therefore, speculate that maybe the original people who walked across the Earth may have looked something like them. Salopek said that he had used a combination of techniques to decide where he wanted to travel and one of the determinants was the human gene. Human DNA carries unique mutations that can be traced back through time using a technology called the biological clock that gives something akin to a map of where the individual's ancestors had been and this can be dated back to 100,000 years. Another guide for Salopek was talking to archaeologists, fossil hunters and historians. He also visits national museums and talks to expert bone hunters to guide him further on the direction he should take.

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Sharing the experiences of his walk across the continents, Salopek said that he started his journey in Africa in 2013 and that it had taken him five years to walk to Lahore. He started in Herto Bouri located in Ethiopia, which is considered to be the oldest possible Homo Sapiens site, some 156,000 years old. He walked to the Rift Valley of Ethiopia and took a ship from Djibouti to Jeddah, Saudi Arabia and walked to Hejaz and then to Jordan. From there, he walked across the Middle East, through Palestine and Israel. Salopek said that he does not use motorized vehicles for his journey only traveling by ship when he reaches a body of water. He also uses animals such as donkeys or horses only if the local population is doing the same.

Salopek explained that he had to skip Syria because it was too dangerous to cross on foot during the war. He took a ship across Syria to Turkey, walked across Turkey into the Caucasus through Georgia and Azerbaijan. He then took a ship across the Caspian to Kazakhstan. Walked across Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Turkestan, Tajikistan and crossed into the Badakhshan province of Afghanistan. From here he walked up the Wakhan Corridor and then entered Pakistan in Gilgit Baltistan over a 5,000-meter pass called

the Irshad Pass.

During his talk, Salopex said that he planned to cross the Wagha border to Northern India once he departed from Pakistan. He would then follow on to Bangladesh, Myanmar and then China. Eventually he would cross the Amur River, dividing China from Russia, walk up two-thirds of Siberia to a coastal city called Magadan and then take a ship to Alaska. From there he would walk down the Western Hemisphere to the tip of South America, his final destination. The trip ends there because scientists say that that South America is the last corner of the continents reached by our nomadic ancestors and they reached it about 7,000 years ago after wandering across the Earth for about 50,000 years.

> " The trip ends there because scientists say that that South America is the last corner of the continents reached by our nomadic ancestors ... "

Originally, when he left Africa he planned to complete the project in 7 years. Now, Salopek said that he is at least 2-3 years behind schedule and the walk could last a total of 12 years. He now plans to reach the tip of South America by 2023-2024.

Going back to the motivation behind his Out of Eden Project, Salopek said that his plan was and remains "to walk through the major headlines of the day." Salopek said that he used to cover such headlines as an industrial foreign correspondent, flying from capital to capital. He decided that he was probably missing more important stories between story A and story B by flying over them. He wondered about the amazing human stories that he was flying over at a thousand kilometers an hour that were untold because very few people get out to spend time with local communities to let them tell their stories.

So through the project, he wanted to slow down and do something he called "slow journalism", which is analogous to the slow food movement that is about eating more nutritious food, food that is full of flavors and that is

prepared by human beings and not by machines.

Salopek argued that in the universe of micro headlines that last 10 seconds, there had to be a couple of islands of peacefulness where one could slow down, stop and look around and absorb the storytelling environment at a human pace. For him, walking is a natural way to immerse oneself into the stories of the people who live in the headlines of the day and never really have their voices heard.

> ❝ ...walking is a natural way to immerse oneself into the stories of the people who live in the headlines of the day and never really have their voices heard. ❞

For instance, in order to write about climate change, one doesn't have to jump on a plane and burn tons of hydrocarbons to go to a climate change conference to listen to experts. For this, one has to walk across Pakistan or walk across Northern Africa and sleep in the huts of nomads who are at war with each other because their climate is getting more erratic and the water holes are shrinking and the grass is burning up. To save their families from starving they are picking up Kalashnikovs. Stories of climate change wars, climate change refugees, climate-driven migrations cannot be done from a conference room in the capital of a country. One has to be there and walking solves that problem mechanically.

For Salopek, his journey was a learning process and along the way he writes about everything he sees and always walks with a local person. The local acts as a translator and interpreter not just of the language but also the culture. He has so far walked with 40 people to get to Pakistan.

In terms of recording his journey, Salopek said that 90 percent of the project is in digital form. He has done walk maps and uses GIS mapping technology, which digitizes the information. He also uses a GPS that records his movements very accurately. The pictures he takes are geo-tagged so that they can be used in coordination with the

maps. With these tools, he has created some interesting stories such as a GIS police stop man in which police stops can be geo-located. He recalls getting stopped by police a total of 84 times between Africa and Pakistan and the country with the most police stops is Uzbekistan.

He has also walked in areas of conflict and one such example are the Kurd-majority regions who identify themselves as a separate nation but their lands are divided into several countries. To examine such a conflict, he walked with a Turk and Kurd at the same time and had them exchange ideas about the landscape that is contested. The irony for him is that in today's era the biggest mass migration in the history of the world is taking place and 270-300 million people are now living outside the countries of their birth and this number is growing.

> ❝ The irony for him is that in today's era the biggest mass migration in the history of the world is taking place and 270-300 million people are now living outside the countries of their birth and this number is growing. ❞

Salopek accepts that there is no way he could tell a gender-neutral story because he is not a woman. He stops every 100 miles and registers what he calls a milestone – a systematic recording of the environment. For it he interviews the nearest human being he meets with the same three questions. He, however, noticed early on that woman were very hard to approach. In rural conservative societies, not just Muslim societies, women tend to shy away. What he finally had to do was to own up to his readers and tell them that from now on if the first human being is a woman and she turns away or doesn't talk, he wouldn't record that part of the milestone. He simply tells the readers that he met a woman and she didn't talk and that absence of data is itself data about gender relations.

Similarly it has been hard for him to ask a woman to be his walking partner—although one cannot generalize but it depends on the region. The majority of Salopek's walking partners have been men and this does impact the experience of the journey. However he has made extra effort

to have women be his walking partners as in Tajikistan. In Pakistan as well women have joined him for small segments of his walk. This helps him understand an additional 50% of the population, women help open the world to more information, particularly in conservative societies. On the experience of walking through conflict-ridden areas, Salopek explained that the process is of course stressful. He has to keep himself safe, his walking partner safe and the people he talks to safe. This experience has impacted his research on trauma or "traumatology" where he looks at violence, crime and war. The breakdown of societies is easy to gauge by watching people starve, lose meals etc.

> "So it is important to realize that places can change over time and this can affect your experience of that place but it is important to remember that rough patches occur everywhere, but these are mobile and not permanent."

Likewise, societies can become distrustful of outsiders. In Uzbekistan for instance, Salopek was frequently detained not only by officials but by the public who would then call upon security officials. Constant surveillance also drains one emotionally. However in the past Uzbekistan has been a glorious country with rich history and culture. So it is important to realize that places can change over time and this can affect your experience of that place but it is important to remember that rough patches occur everywhere, but these are mobile and not permanent.

>Management and Professional Development Department (MPDD)

On 28th February 2018, Nadeem Irshad Kayani Secretary Management & Professional Development Department (MPDD), Government of Punjab was invited to CPPG to speak about the Management and Professional Development Department (MPDD), its Purpose, Function and Structure.

Kayani commenced by saying that the vision of the MPDD is to develop a motivated, dedicated and proactive public service in Punjab with the mission of imparting the best possible training to the maximum number of officials. He went on to describe the evolution of the MPDD. In 1997 the institution was known as Punjab Institute of HR development, then eventually the Department and Institution came into being. This bifurcation includes the Department, in charge of all trainings in Punjab and the Institution, which is the Punjab Institute of Management and Professional Development. These are different from the Federal level training institution, which deals with training related to promotion or induction.

He said that the lack of understanding among the people in the country with regards to the bureaucratic system is a major problem as this leads to mistrust between the government and the public. As a training institute, the MPDD aims to narrow that gap of understanding. However the overarching objective of the department is the development of the public sector of Punjab through the training of young bureaucrats.

Kayani explained that the country has very few training

institutes, however their number is growing. The major accomplishment on part of MPDD is that it has been successful in providing needs-based training. Short-term training is provided ranging from one week to two months. The training courses can range up to a maximum period of six months. Short-term courses according to him are the most effective form of imparting training. Kayani mentioned that the MPDD is also able to design customized courses. For instance GIS training is one option that can be provided to officials in relevant government departments. In addition to providing training, the MPDD is also responsible for extensively monitoring the training processes.

> ...the vision of the MPDD is to develop a motivated, dedicated and proactive public service in Punjab with the mission of imparting the best possible training to the maximum number of officials.

Kayani mentioned that there were different methodologies of training that were being imparted at the MPDD but these were designed keeping in mind that the audience involved government practitioners. Group work, field study and case study methodologies were amongst the different tools employed. These trainings included post induction training for new bureaucrats and the promotion courses for 17-19 grades various government officials in the Punjab province. Again, the Department was also hosting short-courses and subject specific courses.

The speaker mentioned that it was an unfortunate event that there were no training facilities available for the training of principals of colleges in the public sector. He mentioned that MPDD has however now started thinking along those lines. To make the training valuable, the MPDD was focusing on training the trainers and was exploring aspects such as IT, management and communication skills as these are necessary for any effective government body.

He also mentioned that education and health were amongst the most important areas in an economy. As a result, the MPDD is also working towards the capacity building of officers in the health sector.

While highlighting the importance of communication and negotiation skills, he mentioned that the training of patwaris is underway. This is important given that *patwaris* are notorious for being ineffective and difficult to work with. The *patwaris* are being trained to improve their IT skills so that they can work effectively. He reinforced the point that to improve the land record system "we are training the trainers so that they can impart the skills on the district level".

Kayani also mentioned that in Punjab there are around 0.5 million workers, but unfortunately only 2 to 3 percent of these are being trained. In order to impart training to more people, two regional training centers are being planned. These centers are being set up in Multan and Rawalpindi. The importance of these centers can be understood from the fact that they can provide training to the officials near their workplaces, making it convenient for them to attend and benefit from. He talked about the importance of training of the government officials dealing with incoming Chinese professionals due to the projects under the CPEC. In the same spirit the MPDD has developed a course for such officials, which not only trains them in Chinese language proficiency but also helps officials develop better insight into the Chinese culture and tradition.

Since the importance of IT skills was being highlighted in terms of training, Kayani also mentioned that the MPDD was utilizing the same skills to improve its workings as well including time management and assessment techniques for objective decision-making. For instance the MPDD was using a dashboard system to access the most recent information and make decisions accordingly. These dashboards get updated on a daily basis. Furthermore, the officials under training submit their assignments online through these dashboards in order to be evaluated. Similarly, the procedure of applications is being digitized so that the process is made more efficient and paperwork is reduced.

Kayani further highlighted the importance of research for training purposes. He spoke about the importance of academic knowledge sharing especially in areas such as

human resource management. Other areas include service delivery and the impact of training.

> " MPDD has developed a course for such officials, which not only trains them in Chinese language proficiency but also helps officials develop better insight into the Chinese culture and tradition. "

In terms of exercises to build trust among the people with regard to the government, he suggested the possibility of the exchange of interns between MPDD and universities such as FC College. The speaker ended on the note that the students could participate in exchange visits to MPDD to get a better understanding of the working of the government.

In the question answer session, Kiyani spoke about the development of an HR planning unit in Punjab to examine the capacity of the government, situational analysis of each institution and the monitoring and improvement of their trainers.

On the issue of succession of government departments and their officers, he said that it was important to develop mechanisms through which the values and thinking culture of public professionals could be changed. As an example, field visits abroad should not be seen as an opportunity for fun and games, rather as an opportunity for institutional attachment, learning and personal development.

On a question on how to improve the ethical and moral education of bureaucrats, Kayani said it was important for the government to have positive role models. Training through example was a very effective method of motivating young entrants. Moreover, knowledge, skills and attitude (K-S-A) were important components of this process.

Regarding if providing certifications different forms of training was a successful way to motivate professionals that the Punjab government could adopt; he said that certifications with partner institutions were being explored however there were logistical issues that hinder the process.

>Examining Hidden Hazardous Child Labor in the Brick Kiln Sector of Pakistan: A Complex Human Rights Issue.

On 19th March 2018, Dr. Mohammad Vaqas Ali Assistant Professor & Chairperson, Department of Sociology, Forman Christian College (A Chartered University), was invited to give a talk on "Examining Hidden Hazardous Child Labor in the Brick Kiln Sector of Pakistan: A Complex Human Rights Issue." Dr. Vaqas has a PhD in Criminal Justice from Michigan State University. He has worked as a Consultant in two projects a 'Four Country Study (Pakistan, Nepal, Afghanistan, Sri Lanka) of Children working in Brick Kilns' and 'Children Working in 12 Hazardous Sectors in Punjab', in collaboration with the International Labor Organization (ILO) and the Centre for the Improvement of Working Conditions & Environment (CIWC&E), Punjab. Dr. Vaqas' other research interests include Terrorism and its coverage in the mass media, social construction of national conflicts in the mass media and the radicalization research.

Vaqas commenced his talk by describing what inspired his paper on child labor in the brick kiln sector. He and his team were interested in exploring questions such as why do we have child labor in the brick kiln sector? What conditions do they work under? What is their health status? And what is the legal framework that affects their ability to work in such extreme conditions?

Introducing his study, Vaqas spoke about the primary issue

of data on child laborers. His team found that no study as yet was able to determine the true number of children who were working in the brick kiln sector in Pakistan and this in itself was indicative of how sensitive and delicate this development issue was. Without reliable data, situation analysis and proper policy design can be very hard to achieve.

Nonetheless from the field visits he was able to conduct, Vaqas found that around fifty percent of such children had never gone to school. The children complained about exhaustion, minor injuries and stress. Other measures to assess their conditions included the fact the most of these children were anemic, had a low sense of agency and felt that they had no control of their environment.

Such findings on the health conditions of the child laborers led to more questions than answers, according to Vaqas. These included "What kind of medical attention do these children get?" "Why are they not going to school?" "Why do they feel isolated from the society?" He further described that the study focused on various variables including individual, meso and macro level variables. These variables helped in understanding the role of the state and market in creating child labor. The study also took into account the social and cultural factors that have been highlighted in existing studies from different states.

On the legal aspects of child labour at brick kilns, Vaqas pointed out that the laws existed only on paper and not in practice, as these did not apply to the workers. There are laws prohibiting debt bondages, laws prohibiting the hiring of minors, and laws that secure minimum wages. But unfortunately, these laws along with ILO regulations are not being enforced. Nevertheless, implementing these laws was not impossible as exemplified by the football industry. Debt bondage has virtually ended in this sector due to the pressure emanating from various agents of the international supply chain. Thus, the success was partially due to external forces working to develop the market.

The brick kiln sector is however a more difficult sector to bring change to given that it largely remains a local industry and does not have any connections with the international supply chain. The brick kiln market is hidden

from the social support and legal systems. He mentioned that the perspective of "entitlement" is important in understanding the connection between labor and human rights. The idea elaborates on the fact that people are worth what they can exchange.

While discussing the findings of the study, Vaqas explained that the grounded theory approach was adopted. The study focused on the perspectives of all the stakeholders keeping in mind that there exists a hierarchy in the brick kiln sector. Speaking of these hierarchies, he made it clear that the view from above is going to be that of the owner. The view from below is coming from the workers. Another perspective is provided by the view from the outside; including stakeholders like the labor department, NGOs, worker unions, brick kiln owners' association. All these perspectives provide an insight to the workings of the brick kiln sector.

> " The study found that the children working at the brick kiln were under constant physical stress. "

The study found that the children working at the brick kiln were under constant physical stress. The interviews with the workers especially showed that they dehumanized themselves by comparing themselves to animals that carry burden. The fathers of these children disassociate themselves from the responsibility by saying that they "have no choice but to put them to work". This shows that the dynamics of the brick kiln sector have deprived them of their rights and agency.

The owners of the brick kiln present at the top of the hierarchy understand that brick making is hard work however take no responsibility of taking care of the workers or of refusing to hire children as labor. Another factor that affects the social standing of these workers is that they have no social security net. They are on the lowest rank in the social hierarchy, live in isolation to other communities and do not have any connections to the local village. The workers are basically low-caste Christians who have no relatives and no property. Even the children working at the brick kiln are well aware of this hierarchy and their place in it.

Vaqas also highlighted the fact that these workers have been socialized into a system of exploitation. The brick kiln workers have been stigmatized in the kinship networks; so apart from being economically weak, they also lack support in terms of social networking. In fact, their sense of dehumanization has been going on for so long that they compare their lives with that of "pharaoh's slaves."

The study also highlights the fact that brick kiln workers live in such a depreciated state that they consider basic rights as their privileges. This shows that even the outside stakeholders are contributing to the political and social isolation of these brick kiln workers. The claims of proactive governments have turned out to be merely limited to policies on paper. The study also draws attention towards the reality that the workers at the brick kiln had never seen a government official. According to the interviews with the NGO representatives, the solution to the problem could be found through education. They seemed to be satisfied with the present labor laws yet they blamed the flaws on the brick kiln owners. Vaqas commented that the government officials and the NGO representatives seemed to collaborate with each other. Similarly, the Labor Union simply gave up their responsibility by saying that since the workers, especially child laborers, were not registered in the union, they could not help them. Thus, these workers are stuck in a self-supporting cycle of slavery and therefore have lost their sense of empowerment and agency over generations.

> **...these workers are stuck in a self-supporting cycle of slavery and therefore have lost their sense of empowerment and agency over generations.**

Vaqas went on to explain how the brick kiln sector remains a hidden market and the people are pushed into a debt bondage system. These workers have rights under the constitution but they have no personal integrity in real life. Hence these workers live in conditions that put them under constant stress. Vaqas also commented that the market tends to contribute to the downtrodden condition of these workers, because the market does not

like change. Since these workers are not educated, they cannot find other jobs and replacing them would further deteriorate their condition.

> **Changing the situation would require a multi-faceted, cross-sectoral response to the problem of debt-bondage and child labour. Cultural, educational, economic and social policies would need to target the problem for a complete upheaval in the way brick kilns work.**

Changing the situation would require a multi-faceted, cross-sectoral response to the problem of debt-bondage and child labour. Cultural, educational, economic and social policies would need to target the problem for a complete upheaval in the way brick kilns work. While the possibility of enforcing internationally accepted labor laws is not impossible, it is extremely challenging and can be done through dedication and effort. For this civic society organizations, the private sector, the government and media agents can all work towards highlighting the hazardous working conditions of brick kilns. We need to raise immediate attention towards the need to safeguard and protect the rights of children and laborers working at the brick kilns in Pakistan.

>Dynamics of Internal Security of Pakistan

On 18th April 2018, the Centre for Public Policy and Governance organized a seminar on "Dynamics of Internal Security of Pakistan" Dr. Syed Ejaz Hussain, Additional Inspector General Police Punjab was the keynote speaker. Mr. Khwaja Khalid Farooq, Former Inspector General Police was the Discussant at the event.

Dr. Syed Ejaz Hussain earned his PhD in Criminology from the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, USA.

Hussain began his talk with the noteworthy statistic that Pakistan has ranked among the top 8 countries in terms of terrorism. This has resulted in the loss of 70,000 lives along with more than 120 billion dollar economic loss. The issue of terrorism can be traced to the 1970s, which up until 2001 remained largely localized. But post 2001, the magnitude of terrorism increased, gaining new intensity as the West became increasingly entrenched in the dynamics of terrorism in Pakistan.

Hussain drew attention towards the cyclical nature of terrorism that results due to the hide-and-seek pattern of terrorists and law enforcement agencies. According to him, no permanent solution has ever been designed or implemented to break this cycle and bring about sustained peace. In 2013 we experienced another peak when more than 2600 incidents of terrorism occurred. A year later, in 2014 one of the most tragic acts of violence occurred when more than 130 children were shot dead by terrorists at Peshawar's Army Public School. This was a turning point in terms of the government's response to tackling terrorism and in 2015 the National Action Plan (NAP)

was launched which reduced terrorist activities to some extent.

To support his research, Hussain used data from the Global Terrorism Database and analyzed the spatial and temporal patterns of terrorist attacks between the years 1974 and 2016. His own theory of how the conflict turns into explosion (terrorism) has implications from theories of criminology and sociology. He found that locations of value and of importance such as provincial capitals have higher incidence of terrorism. Additionally places like Southern Punjab and parts of Balochistan have frequent incidences of terrorist attacks indicating that regions that already have existing conflicts also become an easy target. Therefore places with symbolic value and places that have existing conflict are two indicators of where terrorism likely occurs in Pakistan. Looking at data before and after the events of 9/11, Hussain found that patterns of terrorism shifted west of the country towards areas that had existing conflict; this opposes the popular belief that factors such as poverty or low literacy are sources of terrorism. Additionally if you look at countries like the US or certain parts of India, where poverty or literacy is not an issue, one can still find incidents of violent conflict which according to him support the theory that these social factors are not necessarily root causes of terrorism rather the presence or absence of conflict.

> " He found that locations of value and of importance such as provincial capitals have higher incidence of terrorism. "

He explained that the term 'terrorism', can have many definitions but a popular description used is a threat and use of force for political purpose, mostly by "non-state actors." Hussain felt that this definition was lacking as the distinction between state and non state actors is not reflective of the entire situation as there are always motivating actors behind a terrorist act. How can we ignore the fact that in some cases there are actual governments responsible for carrying out proxy wars? These agents cannot be absolved from their role by being termed "non-state" actors. In order to build this argument, he shed light upon important historical events at interna-

tional, regional and internal levels, which have had major impact on causing or aggravating terrorism in Pakistan. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the eventual creation of the Mujahideen, the Iranian Revolution, the dubious role of global superpowers and the rise of proxy wars in the Middle East and South Asia are all crucial factors that have impacted terrorism in Pakistan.

Such external factors have had prominent and lasting consequences for Pakistan's internal security conditions. For example, in around 1988-89 more than 60 terrorist attacks took place around Peshawar and Islamabad, which were believed to be sponsored by Afghanistan. The wave of terrorism spread to Sindh and Punjab in 1992 and by 1995 reached Karachi. In 1997 Punjab experienced another cycle of sectarian violence. Law enforcement agencies managed the crises to a great extent but could not eradicate the sources completely. The events of 9/11 in 2001 and the US response to that were major developments that led to high incidents of terrorism.

> ❝ All the major operations carried out to eliminate terrorism are coercive in nature, which means they cannot have long-term impact. ❞

The root causes of terrorist incidents however remain largely untreated. The real issues like sectarianism and ethnic violence are unsettled. Use of force in programs such as the Zarb-e-Azab and the NAP seem to be our strategy but these do not cover the multi-dimensional nature of tackling terrorism. In this regard the role of diplomacy to deal with the state actors beyond borders is crucial, the area in which Pakistan significantly lacks. All the major operations carried out to eliminate terrorism are coercive in nature, which means they cannot have long-term impact. Our law-enforcing agencies are becoming increasingly militaristic and this is not a healthy trend.

Hussain went on to describe geographical patterns of terrorist attacks and explained that these were concentrated in or around provincial capitals, which demonstrates that terrorist organizations directly targeted the government and challenged the state. Other target areas include southern Punjab and central Baluchistan, which are al-

ready conflict-ridden areas. The case of Karachi, which till 2010 had more than 40% of terrorist incidences, indicates that terrorist look for both a region being of symbolic value and being a hotbed for conflict. According to Hussain it is important to realize that terrorism is dynamic and moves along with conflict. Look at the case of Syria, before the civil war, there were not many incidents of terrorism but now the situation is different. Similar patterns were observed in some other countries. Thus the popular believe is negated that poverty, unemployment or lower literacy rates are the main causes of terrorism. As a result the presence or absence of a conflict is more determining of the probability of terrorism.

Conflict emerges as a result of stratification in society created on the basis of factors like economic, ethnic, racial or religious factors. The inability of authorities to resolve these conflicts using political tools like negotiations and settlements, leads to increased chances of terrorism, which means the use of force through strategic and tactical planning. Although literacy levels are not directly indicative of levels of terrorism, one cannot also ignore the role of education in creating an aware, independent-thinking and critical society. This also includes the regulation of madrassas and any other centres which can act as motivators for terrorists.

The conversion of conflict into terrorism is a progressive process. Any form of division in society causes grievances for the people at lower level of strata, which then turn into militant ideologies in the absence of a suitable government/political response. Democratic countries have designed political mechanisms to deal with such grievances through administrative means. Underdeveloped or developing countries however lack such efficient political systems, which causes grouping amongst the people on 'primordial' basis (any common identity or belief). A militant ideology develops in such groups when combined with human and monetary resources under an influential leadership, which can then have a high probability of turning violent. These resources are called enablers.

According to Dr. Hussain there are three factors that make an incident of violence an act of terrorism, he calls this the "terrorism triangle". These include motivation through an ideology, a specific/ suitable target and the absence of

any protection to that target. The third element equates with the incapability or incompetency of law enforcement agencies. The main difference between terrorism and regular crime is the presence of an ideology, which emerges due to unmet grievances.

> " The main difference between terrorism and regular crime is the presence of an ideology, which emerges due to unmet grievances. "

So what is a suitable response? There are five essential aspects according to Hussain:

- Counter the terrorist ideology (this will allow us to, in the least, change a terrorist act into a common crime)
- Reduce actual and/or perceived grievances
- Increase the capacity of the "guardians" i.e. law enforcing agencies
- Achieve target hardening, which means putting up the right infrastructure to protect a specific target from being accessible
- Finally, we need to put in a system of persuasion and punishment. We need to pursue de-radicalization whilst also practicing the right kind of punishment approaches.

The first two responses have been the most difficult for Pakistani law enforcement agencies and require more work.

Counter terrorism is mainly done to reduce the number of incidents and causalities and in the least desirable outcome, to push the terrorists towards low-value targets. So at least securing the targets having high value must be a priority because providing security to each and every place and individual is not physically possible.

In terms of the law enforcing agencies, he described that the police had the primary responsibility especially in terms of prevention. Peace can be restored in society through various negotiating mechanisms or restorative policing. We tend to shun softer approaches and community policing is no longer seen as an option.

Though the situation has relatively improved but still there is a vital room for some serious government action. The limitations to the actions of government and agencies also need to be considered. Lack of coordination among various agencies is one of them.

> " Peace can be restored in society through various negotiating mechanisms or restorative policing. We tend to shun softer approaches and community policing is no longer seen as an option. "

In his remarks Khwaja Khalid Farooq, described the jihadi occupation of Afghanistan as a turning point in Pakistan's socio-political history. Automatic weapons such as Klashinkovs became very popular and accessible making it very easy for people to become militant. The concept of *jihad* was also contaminated by radical ideas, losing its original meaning. Intolerance has infected all the sects of Islam and all these various groupings have become very political in nature.

He believes that multi-pronged solutions are important in the long-term, but unlike Hussain, does believe in the effectiveness of Kinetic (coercive) measures in the short-term. He supported the argument that terrorist attacks have decreased in recent years due to operations like Zarb-e-Azab. Unemployment, poverty or lower level of literacy may not be the main causes of terrorism, but they surely are major contributors. According to him, how can we for instance ignore the fact that those that carry out suicide attacks belong to poor classes and that the financial rewards offered to them are a great motivator. The absence of quick and efficient provision of justice is another important factor. Farooq further added that the reason why big cities were mostly targeted is that media coverage given to them is relatively greater.

Concluding his comments he underscored that the main issue with countering terrorism in Pakistan was the lack of political harmony and national cohesiveness on how to manage terrorism in the country. If all political parties were to unite against any pressure from outside forces, we will be better equipped to eradicate terrorism.

In the question answer session, Hussain was asked about the role of the police in eliminating grievances of people instead of using law-enforcement approaches to manage terrorism to which he responded that the primary role of the police is law enforcement including the prevention of crime. However restorative policing formats were also being tried in the police. Reintegrated shaming is an option to consider as well, where the criminal and the victim are brought together and issues are resolved without trials. However one must recognize that it is unfortunate that the law enforcement agencies in Pakistan too have become extremist—this can be understood as an 'incidence of simultaneity of variables' where two related indicators (here terrorism and the response to it) move in the same direction. It is also worth noting that the Pakistani police works under very different and difficult circumstances to other countries. The mandate of the provincial governments to manage the police is also being confused by the Federal government's role in policing. So while Federal laws manage criminal procedures the police should be managed by the provincial government of a particular province.

On a question about the de-weaponization of law enforcement agencies given how heavily armed the police are, Hussain commented that every government has campaigned for this however no practical steps have been taken. The argument used here is that if the common citizen and the terrorist have easy access to arms then why not the law enforcement agencies.

Hussain was also asked that if states were behind supporting terrorist events in other countries, what role does the United Nations have in regulating such behavior. He responded that this was a concern he shared and wondered why the UN doesn't for instance expand its definition of terrorism beyond just 'non-state actors' to include states as well? The response he received was that wars between states are regulated by international law and if states have grievances against each other including cases in which states were supporting terrorism against another state, they must approach the UN to seek resolution and this would not count as terrorism—something Dr. Hussain does not agree with.

>Female Friendships and Frictions: Sexual Politics in 1960s Pakistani Cinema.

On 3rd May 2018, Dr. Kamran Asdar Ali, Dean of the School of Social Sciences and Humanities at Lahore University of Management Sciences (LUMS) was invited to deliver a talk on his research "Female Friendships and Frictions: Sexual Politics in 1960s Pakistani Cinema.

Dr. Ali has conducted research in Pakistan on issues pertaining to health and gender, ethnicity, class politics, sexuality and popular culture. In this particular talk he presented his latest paper in which he has attempted to understand female friendships and fictions using Pakistani cinema and how female voices are depicted in the form of fiction or art. To do this he chose the Lollywood film *Saheli* released in 1960 as a case study.

Ali began by saying how women in Pakistan have not been allowed full access to the streets and have not been able to speak in public spaces yet have come into these spaces through industrial and commercial interests. Keeping the history of women suppression in Pakistan in mind, the existing literature mainly concerns itself with the Pakistani elite's struggle with anti-women's rights laws. While these have been important contributions they are unable to reflect the everyday experiences of women, particularly pertaining to their domestic lives.

Non-formal sources such as diaries or autobiographies may give better insight into these everyday experiences. One such text can be found from the writings of Azra

Abbas and her short story *Mera Bachpan* ('my childhood'). This depicts the city of Karachi in the late 1950s and early 1960s and is the story of a young girl trying to understand the world around her with all its ironies and contradictions. As she gets older things around her change, her movement and access to the outside world becomes increasingly restricted. The book explains the modern evolution of Karachi in parallel to the girl's evolution into womanhood and her societal experiences.

> " The format of cinema allows one to tap into another source of people's emotional expressions through audio-visual mediums. "

Similarly, by choosing to focus on the film *Saheli* ('friend'-female) Ali hopes to shed light on the domestic life and sexuality of women in the 1960s through the use of a rarely used archive—cinema. The format of cinema allows one to tap into another source of people's emotional expressions through audio-visual mediums. While the film concerns itself with the subject of polygamy, Ali's analysis brings forward an appreciation of the two female protagonists' friendship and his main argument is that "the onscreen affection between two friends accounts for the story to allow them to marry the same man so that they themselves may be together."

Ali went on to explain that within the context of colonization, urbanization, ethnic polarization etc., the Pakistani state has periodically tackled the demands for female emancipation connected to discourses on cultural authenticity. The political concerns have been how civil and gender rights that are common in western societies can be reconciled with Islamic Family Law within Muslim polity. This has been the discussion since the late 40s. The 1961 Muslim Family Law Ordinance in the Ayub Era for instance aimed to legally curb polygamy and expand women's right to divorce. It impacted their inheritance rights as well. In practice the extent to which it affected the majority of women in Pakistan is still a question to consider. It merits attention that despite limitations, it was a liberal intervention in comparison to the later curtailment of women's sexuality through General Zia ul Haq's regime's Hudood Ordinances and other such legal interventions. The move

by the Ayub Government may not have reflected in the cultural politics. The same year the Family Law Ordinance was passed restricting polygamy and expanding women's rights, the film *Saheli* received five President of Pakistan medals for different categories. The film's central theme was the friendship between two women played by actors Shameem Ara and Nayyar Sultana and depicts one of them letting her friend marry her own husband as a second wife—essentially polygamy. So the contradiction and irony between state law and cultural implications were glaring according to Ali.

While the film was highly popular, receiving Nigar Awards as well, it has severely been criticized in liberal circles for normalizing the practices of polygamy. Ali feels that while these understandings are valid, a different interpretation can be made. To do this, a brief plot of the film was explained.

The film was directed by M.S. Yousaf who had migrated from Bombay (India). The leading two characters are Jameela and Raziya who grow up together, and are separated when Jameela (Shameem Ara) has to move away. They miss each other deeply and write each other letters to keep in touch but these are intercepted by Jameela's brother (Aslam Pervez), who has a soft spot for Raziya (Nayyar Sultana) but he also has a mistress who he keeps promising to marry. The friends are hence unable to communicate. Pining for her friend, Jameela fakes her illness and urges her doctor to convince her mother that she should be sent to meet her friend Raziya or she should be invited back. Jameela falls in love with the Doctor (played by the actor Darpan) when he visits, and eventually their marriage is arranged. However on the day of the marriage the Doctor dies and Jameela, who is extremely shocked, is sent to Karachi to see a psychiatrist. The doctor treating her there looks exactly like her late husband. The psychiatrist is married to her best friend Raziya. Jameela does not know this and is eager to marry him. Raziya finds out about Jameela's condition and convinces her husband to marry her, as this is the only solution for her ailing friend. The two marry and Raziya moves out to live in a separate house. Unaware of this, Jameela introduces her new husband to Raziya who in turn is also married to him. In the meantime Jameela's brother takes the intercepted letters to her husband and convinces him that his

first wife, Raziya, is actually in love with him and was his childhood sweetheart—the letters are proof. While these letters were addressed to Jameela, they were done so only through a term of endearment. After reading these, the psychiatrist is convinced and is willing to give Raziya up. During this time, the psychiatrist's faithful employee tells Jameela the entire story and explains the sacrifice Raziya has made. When Jameela calls her friend to apologize, she hears that Raziya is in trouble and her brother is there in an attempt to rape Raziya. Arriving for her friend's help, Jameela shoots her brother killing him. A courtroom scene ensues and it becomes apparent that it was not Jameela who shot the bullet, but Bahar, her brother's mistress who claims she could not see him ruin another woman's life. This ends the film and the last scene indicates the two friends embracing and riding back home together, the husband nowhere to be seen.

Relating his reading of the film to the work of scholar Sharon Marcus who worked on female friendships in Victorian England, Ali explained that women's femininity and relationships can be seen in various forms such as in Mother-daughter dynamics and female friendships. These homo-social relationships were deeply impacted by ideas of altruism, generosity and mutual indebtedness. Themes of compassion and equality between two female friends were frequently found in the fiction writings of that time. This contrasts to the capitalistic and individualistic relations that later emerged. Marcus' writings offer a new paradigm for theorizing gender and sexuality—not just in the Victorian period, but also with the analysis of *Saheli*. Although the film can be understood as a melodrama where the two protagonists Jameela and Raziya are part of a patriarchal society that perpetuates heterosexual marriages and even polygamy, another less accepted analysis can also be made. According to Ali, the two share

a bond that is far stronger than what they could have shared if they were with respective male companions.

The terms of endearment they share, their deep friendship, their separation and eventual union, irrespective of conventional tropes, are all possible through the removal of one male love interest. Jameela's fiancé had to be killed for the friends to be together. Therefore Ali argued, that while we may condemn the practice of polygamy, *Saheli's* script allows us to see polygamous marriages as a cultural metaphor that allowed the two women who truly desired each other to come together within the patriarchal tradition of taking on a second wife. A similar reading can be made of the Bollywood film *Chadhvin ka Chaand* where the two protagonists are male friends played by the actors Guru Dutt and Rehman. The issue of male bonding and their gaze over a passive female form and their relation thus becomes the emphasis in the story. Anthropologists such as Lévi-Strauss have made similar comments on understanding literature on marriage and the role of women as objects within that dynamic. Women are not active partners but "mere conduits" that are exchanged between two male groups.

Ali went on to explain that director S.M. Yousaf does borrow the storyline of *Chaudvin ka Chaand* yet in his film *Saheli*, rather than focusing on the issue of male homosociality amongst rivals, he concentrates on female friendships and sacrifices. There is a triangle of desire between the two female protagonists and their mutual husband but the male character remains a prop. According to the speaker, the filmmakers have chosen to subtlety present a narrative of how women work, lift, care for, provide support to and also desire other women. Ali said that here the word "desire" should be taken in a broader sense to convey female relations and their homosocial bonding and not in the narrow sense of the term. One cannot always understand these relations of affection between women in a sexual way. These relations could be very innocent yet have been censored.

Ali ended his presentation by saying that his reading of the film *Saheli* must not be taken as being supportive of polygamy. Instead the film can be seen as supporting heterosexual alliances and notions of the domesticated femininity. However one can also argue that this cannot be the entirety of the story. There is more to these

relationships that cannot be encompassed by the normative models of our society. Delving into these stories that indicate how women seek or create meaning in their lives help us understand the multiple ways of how women associate to express their stories of pleasure and pain. To be sensitive to women's inaudibility we need different archives of writings, fictions, memoirs etc. One such source is the autobiography of writer Azra Abbas where notions of femininity, how to dress up, how to act, what to say are all challenged. Her writings are not about looking good and playing dumb but are full of examples of non-conformity. Her book also burns with anger indicating that the madness of the woman is part of her struggle against confinement and oppression, an attribute to celebrate. This anger is not one that negates life but is conversely about living life.

> " Delving into these stories that indicate how women seek or create meaning in their lives help us understand the multiple ways of how women associate to express their stories of pleasure and pain. "

We need to make effort to revisit stories of friendship, caring, affection, reciprocity and desire to bring women into the center of history-making so that they are not relegated to the sidelines and linked to docility and subordination. Ali's analysis of *Saheli* was such an attempt to contribute to the creation of such an archive.

During the discussion session an audience member commented that it was important to note that the analysis Ali came up with could be influenced by the fact that the writers of the film *Saheli* were male and the plot could reflect the male fantasy of seeing two dominant and strong female characters on screen. Ali responded that this could be true, however when the film came out the elite class saw it as a comment on polygamy but the masses were able to relate to what the story was: an affection between two female friends that surpassed all the hurdles that came their way.

Another audience member wondered whether the change in the way women were being portrayed meant an end to the *naik parveen* narrative where the pious, domesticated

woman was respected and appreciated. Ali felt that such a trope still existed and was still viable in literature and in cinema. In both Indian and Pakistani culture, transgressions are not forgiven and the resolution in such stories is always of the kind that reaffirms a certain middle class respectability.

> " In both Indian and Pakistani culture, transgressions are not forgiven and the resolution in such stories is always of the kind that reaffirms a certain middle class respectability. "

One student asked if contemporary Pakistani cinema would contribute to advance our understandings of gender to which he responded that filmmakers have to take risks but this is difficult in our part of the world because of censorship issues. World cinema is known for raising the bar when it comes to difficult questions that relate to cultural taboos. For this creative freedom is important. However we must continue to raise questions we are uncomfortable with.

>6th Population & Housing Census 2017

On September 27th 2018, the Director/CEO of The Urban Unit, Dr. Nasir Javed was invited to speak at CPPG on the "6th Population & Housing Census 2017".

The population census that took place in 2017 was a major development for Pakistan as this census took place after 19 years. Flawed as it may be, it allowed Dr. Javed and his team to conduct a housing census for the province of Punjab. As part of this study, The Urban Unit has also mapped out the districts that have experienced the most population growth. This allows analysis vis-à-vis development indicators such as poverty.

This was an important exercise to determine the impact on various development factors such as urban-rural growth, migration, city planning, access to basic public services including water and sanitation, the environment and so on. As the population of Pakistan is growing so is the scale of urbanization, which seemingly poses a threat to the productivity of urban centers. As a result, there is a need for proper housing planning to maximize the potential of the urban cities and to accommodate the ever-growing number of families.

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According to Javed, the fundamental concern with such a housing census is that it is based on partially published data. This makes planning very difficult. Additionally the survey was paper-based and the Bureau of Statistics is now finding it extremely challenging to digitize it. According to the Bureau of Statistics, the population of Pakistan is 207.8 million out of which 36% is urban and 64% is rural. The annual population growth rate is 2.4%. However, these percentages remain questionable. It is so because it really depends upon how we define "urban areas." In Pakistan, urban areas are defined by a local government and are those administered areas that have cantonment boards and are controlled by municipal committees or municipal cooperations. Now, this is a cause of great dis-

crepancy because this definition disregards the individual characteristics of the locality. However, there is a technical definition of urban areas that has traditionally be used in countries like India and Pakistan and may be understood as any human settlement which has a minimum number of 5000 residents, the majority houses should be regimented and properly structured, the distances within houses should not be more than 200 meters, 2/3 adult male population should have non-agriculture characteristics, and should have municipal services. Since all the local governments have different definitions for calculating urban population thus these figures may be doubtful.

According to the housing census, the number of households is 32.2 million whereas the average number of household members is 6.2 per household. Javed interestingly highlighted that households falling in the upper socioeconomic strata have as smaller number of household members (4.5 to 5.6) whereas, households with poor socioeconomic conditions have greater number of household members ranging from 8-8.2. He elaborated that the average population density is 261 per square kilometer wherein; the population according to the census goes up 105%, which is alarming. 48% of the population is female and 51% is male. Now the additional 5% is essentially referred to as "the missing female child". The problem of missing female child arises because the people don't get their female household member registered because of multiple reasons. He however, found the use of 'averages' for planning purposes deceptive but overall they can be used to get a general sense of the situation.

> **...while we can predict population growth rates given past trends, we are not using these numbers effectively to carry out efficient urban planning.**

The 6th population census is unique because this was the first time when transgender people were also included. Since 1998 up until 2017, there has been an increase of 57% in our population. In terms of development planning, Javed explained that while we can predict population growth rates given past trends, we are not using these numbers effectively to carry out efficient urban planning. We have no excuse to be unprepared for delivering

the public resources needed for the rising demands and needs that come with a growing population. He sees the increase in growth rate as a result of various factors like illiteracy and poverty.

He highlighted that the population growth in Punjab has taken a negative turn as in the last census; the population of Punjab was 61%, which has dropped down to 53% in the current census, which could mean better urban planning and management. With respect to the implications of Punjab's share in economic resources and the NFC award and the share in the National Assembly seats, Javed said that these had decreased for Punjab, which is not an effective outcome. According to him, the ratio should either be fixed or should be reward-based. Punjab has performed relatively well in terms of population growth management and should have been awarded accordingly. Similarly compared to 2013, Punjab lost 7 seats in the National Assembly due the proportionate decrease in its population.

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Explaining the provincial differences, Javed highlighted that Punjab is 37% urbanized. If Punjab were to be an individual country, it would be 12th largest country in the world in terms of population. This is an important statistic because in terms of policy-making one needs to understand that we cannot manage the entire Punjab from Lahore alone. The Province requires more localized development planning and this is fundamental to its developmental future. Sindh is 48% urbanized, especially south and central Sindh as it is landlocked and the migration trend towards these areas has been positive. Balochistan is around 28% urbanized, leaving KPK being the least urbanized province in Pakistan with a percentage of 19. KPK has had a negative migration trend as historically people have moved outwards from the region rather than into it. The Afghan War and the War on Terror have

also impacted the decline in population growth there. Conversely, Karachi has experienced a lot of in-migration impacting population rates, as it is historically a region that has attracted people for work and livelihood.

According to him, districts need separate planning processes that are targeted and using national or provincial averages was the wrong approach. He suggested that mapping methods could also prove helpful to predict population growth rates. Without geographical mapping, the process of urban planning can be distorted. For instance looking only at location and disregarding other factors, we have not ben able to construct enough schools in the right places. Javed explained that within districts, tehsils also don't grow uniformly. Thus, districts and tehsils should be planned within those individual area units.

As part of their research The Urban Unit also analyzed data on the CPR index (Contraceptive Prevalence Rate), which can be used to calculate population growth as well. His team found evidence to support the idea that the lower the CPR, the higher the population growth and vice versa. Socioeconomic indicators like poverty and illiteracy influence the CPR as well. However, the data on certain socioeconomic indicators is also dubious making it hard to make accurate conclusions.

Going back to the definition of what qualifies as 'urban' and what doesn't, Javed reiterated that in order to avoid the confusion created by the difference in local government definition and the technical definition, the Bureau of Statistics should define what the term 'urban area' means.

> ...the percentage of land occupied by cities in Punjab is so negligible (1.37% of total Punjab land) despite all the urbanization that food security is not a serious problem.

A lot of people talk about the fact that due to rampant population growth and urbanization, the agriculture sector of Pakistan is threatened and there is a potential problem of food security. Javed argued that this is a myth because according to his research the percentage of land occupied by cities in Punjab is so negligible (1.37% of total Punjab land) despite all the urbanization that food

security is not a serious problem. In the past twenty years, the expansion or growth in cities has been only 4,40,000 acres of agriculture land which is less than 0.1% of the total agricultural land in Punjab. As a result he argued it was safe to assume that urbanization poses no threat to our agriculture sector whatsoever. However city planning should be done carefully.

> " ...new technologies provided more accurate estimates or where population was spread and how a functional city boundary could be created using these. "

He introduced the concept of 'land scans' that determines the boundaries of areas using satellite imagery. He raised some doubts on the delimitation of Lahore city done by traditional methods and explained that new technologies provided more accurate estimates or where population was spread and how a functional city boundary could be created using these. The population of Lahore according to the new census is overestimated, as major rural outskirts have been added to Lahore city. Comparatively, Multan's population is underestimated due to the fact that the urban settings have been added to rural areas. However, according to him the estimation of population of Karachi in the census is more or less accurate. But there have been claims by others regarding the population of Karachi for it to be 25 million. Javed out rightly rejected these claims. He argued that the best way to counter check these estimates is to check the records of electricity connection of residents with K-Electric and NEPRA and one can see that these claims are overestimated. The government in Karachi claims that 98% of households in the city have a connection so this data can be effectively used to determine the population by multiplying it with average household size. Similarly KWSP's water supply connections should help in determining the number of households and thus the average number of household members, even by including the illegal connections. Moreover, the property tax, if the government is collecting it effectively, can also used to calculate the population. If there are 25 million people living in Karachi, there should be 3 million households, which is definitely not the case. Similarly with such population numbers the tax gap should be recovered through the property tax but that is also not happening.

So it is unlikely that claims of the population being 25 million are accurate.

Using the case of Karachi, Javed emphasized that the data should be analyzed properly and that can be done by "triangulation of data" which essentially means that multiple data sets should also be analyzed and taken into consideration. Satellite imagery can additionally be used to indicate how physically spread a city really is. He recommended that block level files should be used to determine the population; the bureau should uniformly define urban definition and that the population growth management should either have a fixed effect or should be rewarded. Moreover, third party sampling can help improve the census process.

Javed went on to discuss the problem of housing. He stressed the fact that the problem of shortage of houses in this case should be identified clearly and then the planning should be targeted. He spoke about the inequality in access to housing between the lower-income strata and the higher income ones. Households in the lower income level have high demand for housing but very little access to housing supply. For instance in Lahore alone 2,50,000 plots of land are empty non-productive pieces of land. Furthermore, in Bahriatown in Lahore 4500 plots are vacant, they have a supply of water, gas and electricity but are not being inhabited nor being used for agricultural purposes, rather are an investment that will eventually be sold for greater profit. 60% of the developed plots in Punjab of housing societies are lying vacant that is neither being used for residential, commercial or agriculture purposes. A policy implication that Javed suggested is to bring more land into supply for the lower income households. Housing should also be subsidized by lowering the interest rate on housing loans. So, for this there is a need for microanalysis and targeted planning as a one-seize-fits-all policy would not help.

Discussing the possibility of the government providing housing to the poor, Javed was of the opinion that it is not the public sector's responsibility to provide housing and the government should limit its role to effectively regulating the use of land. In other words, plots of land should not be lying empty but should be used for economic purposes including for commercial purposes. Rental laws in Pakistan favour the tenant and not the landlord

and taxation mechanisms also make it preferable for land-owners to keep their plots empty. So this needs to change. High-rise flats should also be allowed and the limit on the number of floors permitted in a residential house should also be lifted, as these will make housing costs effective and efficient.

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Additionally, Javed argued that there is a lot to learn from how urban centres in other parts of the world function. According to the census three districts in Punjab namely Lahore, Faisalabad and Multan have the most acute housing problem. Two of these have metro lines available. Internationally, the most valuable property is the area covering a 400-metre radius around a metro station. In Lahore we can aim to do the same. For instance the 54 transport points/stations that have been determined for the metro and orange lines should in theory be the most sought after areas in the city. The government should declare a 400m radius around these as a special zone and allow 'mixed-use' for the land. This will cause the market to rapidly develop these areas, construct plazas, which can then be divided vertically beginning from shopping/commercial use, office spaces and then residential purposes at the top-most floors. This will also make the metro lines efficient. Moreover we should realize that city-centres should be reserved for public offices that have public dealing such as the Secretariat, the GPO and so on. In the periphery of the city we should encourage those industries to establish shop that do not have high public dealing responsibilities. Textile offices and software houses are specific examples. Such scenarios will also workers to travel outwards to these areas using the current metro/orange line. Therefore, according to Javed all the government needs to do is re-orient its policies and regulate the land market rather than go into the construction of 2 marla (545 sq ft.) houses that will not serve the purpose in the first place. For those families that are at the extreme end of the income scale who earn less than 15,000 PKR a month, the government can facilitate them by subsidizing housing something akin to council housing in Europe.

However this cannot be done for 40-50 per cent of the population. In Johannesburg for instance an exercise to build housing for the poor was carried out after the Apartheid but failed as this distorted the market and resulted in ineffective land use.

To conclude the session, Dr. Shafqat drew attention towards a few additional important points. According to him it is worthwhile evaluating the extent to which change in population numbers affect representation in the National Assembly, specifically with respect to the 18th Amendment and the attempt to devolve governance. How have other provinces been impacted by the census? Have they also experienced a change in representation? How do these changes effect federal-provincial relations? Finally, with respect to changing demography, he commented that studying migration trends and their impact is an equally important dimension and that deserves careful analysis.

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>Faith and Feminism in Pakistan

The Centre for Public Policy and Governance hosted a book launch for Dr. Afia Zia's latest publication *Faith and Feminism in Pakistan* (2018) on the 4th of October 2018. Dr. Zia is a feminist scholar and activist who has authored two books, edited several, and published over a dozen peer-reviewed essays in international journals. She has taught at the University of Toronto and Habib University. She is an active member of Women's Action Forum (WAF), Karachi. Ms. Neelam Hussain and Ms. Sarah Suhail were also invited as panelists for the discussion that followed Dr. Zia's talk. Ms. Hussain is a founding member of Simorgh Women's Resource and Publication Centre where she works as an editor, writer and project coordinator. She is also a member of WAF, Asian Women's Human Rights Council, and South Asia Hub Pathways to Women's Empowerment Research Consortium. Ms. Suhail is a feminist activist and lawyer, qualified to the High Court and member of the Punjab Bar Council. She is pursuing her PhD at the University of Arizona in Women and Gender Studies, researching about the lives and aspirations of women in unfair labor conditions such as brick kiln workers. Currently she is a researcher at the Information Technology University.

Dr. Saeed Shafqat initiated the event with some insights about the concept of feminism, which he believes is hard to ignore at the local as well as global level. Issues of power and hierarchy have been engraved historically into our society and dictate the attitude towards women in Pakistan. The main question is whether the rise of feminism is a result of greater awareness, a reaction to certain causes or is it an unanticipated factor? Moreover the role of religion in policy-making is acquiring a centrality to the process that cannot be sidelined. So Zia's work is highly relevant and necessary in current times.

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Zia began her talk with her thoughts on Muneeza Naqvi's thought-provoking article in *Herald* on how Pakistani English language fiction writers have become the West's window into the Muslim world and have assumed the role of a credible representative voice. As Naqvi argues, these writers seem to require international approval and recognition and despite being fiction writers, have even been called on to report news and facts. According to Zia, since 9/11 an opportunity has opened up for novelists and artists who have taken advantage of being able to act as a source for the West's view of Muslim South Asia, either through writing or producing other works of art. Included in this is the entity of the 'Muslim woman' many of whom have sought asylum or immigrated to the United States. These women are now embroiled in a tug of war between "Islam's oppressive practices vs. Islam's progressive potential." The reality however is that a majority of Muslim women are not at either end of the spectrum but squeezed between these two narratives. Zia explained that the trend explained by Naqvi in her article has many contemporary examples where there are several "ambassadorial Muslim women" who assume an authoritative global voice who either defend Islam or speak out against its 'atrocities'. Zia's book attempts to make sense of the post 9/11 curiousness to understand Muslims and Islam. She also looks at the concept originating in the west (particularly under the Bush administration) where the Muslim woman must be 'saved.' To do this she has examined the works being produced on Muslim women, where the market was in fact quite bullish, and she felt that the scholarship represented a turn towards the next phase of post-secularism. Another observation she made on this literature was the anti-critical "politest" attribute that most writers assumed. According to her this was not necessarily their attempt at being "polite," but being caught up in this new window of opportunity that had opened up since the events of 9/11. Another related trend was the numerous courses and departments on Islamic Studies/Politics/Security Studies that rapidly proliferated. Likewise a plethora of aid agencies began supporting various funded projects that meant to respect the boundar-

ies of the Muslim woman. Promotion of halal vaccines, fatwas for development purposes, negotiating spaces for women in mosques and madrassas—are all examples of this trend. Zia noted that this collusion between western academia, Muslim scholars, post-structuralist academics, Anglo-American governments and the publishing industry was very transparent and mutually beneficial. Quoting Amir Mufti from the University of Berkley, she explained that post secularism in the Humanities, especially in the US, has gained near orthodox status. According to her, the Pakistani diaspora largely produces much of the post 9/11 and post-secular scholarship.

In order to make sense of these trends and challenge the 9/11 analyses of women and Islam, Zia felt the need to analyze the pre-existing debates on religion and the women's movement in the 1990s, which she presents in her book. Her book then goes on to categorize the various forms of post-secular literature. Here she divides them in two schools, the first are the 'Retro-Islamic' scholars (different from the Revivalist scholars of the 1970s), who argue for a post-feminist and post-secular Pakistan and attempt to resuscitate relevance for Islamists in Pakistan and defend and sanitize their politics by focusing on their subjectivities. In this period Anthropology as a discipline enabled them to make these arguments without carrying out effective empirical analysis. They talk of Islam as an 'empowerment' thesis.

The other group was the scholars who started moving towards leftist politics. They argue that Pakistan's feminists are complicit with Islamophobic trends and liberal secular politics in the country. The work of this specific group portrayed a kind of anxiety towards the US and believes feminists are secret informants and call for greater attention towards the imperialist tendencies of the Western world. Zia's response to their work is that the same anxiety is reflected in the stance of 'masculine nationalists' and is not something new. She also finds their ideas ironic.

Zia went on to talk about her evaluation of Saba Mahmood's work as an example and her theory of the Muslim woman's piety or docile agency. Zia has five issues with her theory, first it does not justifiably address the ground realities and discredits secular feminist resistance. Second, it ignores the successes liberal women have achieved for women's rights. Third it pretends that a Muslim woman's agency is always neutral and that it is simply about

virtuosity and conservative 'non-change'. Fourth, questions why Mahmood's theory is even about gendered interests because Muslim men also practice da'wa, are involved in peaceful tabligh or have pietous agency. It just so happens that recent examples like that of Khadim Rizvi clearly show how fragile such agency is. Finally, her fifth critique is to why even use the term 'agency' when it has such historically emancipatory baggage with it, why not just call, it 'pietous behavior' or 'docility.' Mahmood could still make a case that this is a pietous movement without necessarily giving the term agency so much emphasis. According to Zia, how can a human be free from political opinions or how can we be defensive in saying that some of the situations women are in is because that is what they want so there is "no need to rescue them." Yes women might not be needed to be rescued, but you cannot ignore the conditions that come in the absence of freedoms, because what fills that vacuum is patriarchy and conservatism and those who are not affected by it can afford to be indifferent or hide behind the shield of saying "this is just academic thinking." Feminism therefore, Zia argued, requires a lot more responsibility from scholarship.

> " Yes women might not be needed to be rescued, but you cannot ignore the conditions that come in the absence of freedoms,... "

Agency is used for a certain purpose and the agency of the Muslim woman who is empowered to become the spokesperson for the Islamic agenda also tends to promote a certain ideology. Carrying on with a critique of Saba Mahmood's work, and her argument that Muslim women flourish in their own world of piety and don't carry the burden of emancipatory politics, Zia felt that Muslim men also flourish and their practices also grow, as they don't feel the responsibility of paying attention to liberal freedoms or dealing with emancipatory politics. Zia emphasizes that contrary to the implications of the work of academics like Mahmood, we cannot assume that there is a suspended place, which she calls "Mahmood's political nunnery" where everything exists as it is and we ignore the consequences.

For her, writings such as that of Mahmood, have been picked up by western governments leading them to pro-

mote what Zia calls "donor-driven Islam" which is another cycle of western influenced developed using concepts such as 'Sharia-compliant', 'faith-based projects' and so on.

Another solution to the problematic literature comes from scholars like Tabinda Khan where you have a hybrid situation or hybrid feminism where Islam and secular possibilities are homogenized. Turkey has experimented with this in the form of the AKP and concepts of conservative democracy. However Zia finds this as being profoundly defeatist and the result is, more often than not, a strengthening of the Islamic part and dissolution of the feminist part.

Describing the second part of her book, Zia explained that it documents evidence of secular working class women's movements in Pakistan including the Lady Health Workers and their dual struggle against religious conservatism but also their emancipatory goals of minimum wage and regularized jobs—which they eventually got through the Supreme Court. They fought on the basis of liberal values to get their rights of minimum wage and work regularity. Unlike numerous other movements, these women managed to achieve their objectives without using any references to religion.

Finally concluding her talk, Zia argued that more than needing an organizational definition such as 'the separation of church and state' or the 'autonomy of governance and religious institutions', secularism for the section of the Pakistani women's movement that is committed to it, has come to mean "an expectation of public institutions to maintain minimal neutrality or reference to religion particularly in matters relating to women's and minority's equal rights." At the very least secularism for them revolves around the concept of "advocating pluralism of beliefs and for resisting a hegemonic majoritarian Islamism that drives laws, social relations, or state policies." To her it also means "resisting religious justifications that reinforce class, gender and sectarian discrimination as well as those that target minorities." For these reasons Zia remains a secular, and not a post-secular, feminist.

Commenting on Zia's presentation, Ms. Sara Suhail argued that the locational factor was a crucial part of the issue. However much we would like to fight for the rights of the working class women, they are never fairly repre-

sented nor get a chance to participate in the debates that concern them. Bonded laborers, domestic workers etc. are never present at events that claim to be providing a limelight to their problems. Whether the only way to include these women is through academic writing or not is another major question that we need to address through our work. She did not agree with Zia's manner of classifying certain writers such as Saba Mahmood, Sadaf Aziz or Talal Asad as post-secular feminists. However for her it was more important to focus on feminist bridge-building and to see how in today's Pakistan we could spend more time on highlighting inequalities in class and gender.

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Given the Islamophobic tendencies that are growing in the west, it is natural for certain writers to become defensive and attempt to promote a version of Islam that rejects violence and promotes women's rights. According to Suhail, there are competing tensions that people are trying to mediate whether they are located in the States or in Pakistan but the irony lies in the fact that it is middle class or upper middle class scholars attempting to dissect the situation for the working class. For her feminist academics need to work with compassion towards each other and focus on building an intersectional vibrant movement where the most marginalized people can be given a voice.

Ms. Neelam Hussain followed with her comments and explained that favoring feminism was important not only because it is eventually becoming a dominant discourse but because it is highly needed to improve the condition of women in our society. She agreed on the significance of the politics of location as the opinions one forms are a result of the place you are located in and an element of defensiveness does follow. This leads to the important dilemma of acknowledging problems in your community but the choice of either being silent about them or vocal about them. Objectivity is important and so is the engagement process.

On the work of Saba Mahmood and the concept of 'virtuous piety as its own reward', Hussain felt that this was not

a novel concept. Women have been told from a very long time that being good and pious will lead them to heaven. However, 'virtue as its own reward' is not enough according to Hussain as there are physical and material needs and social aspirations that need to be met. When we look at the indigenous women's movements in Pakistan such as the Okara peasant's movement which was made of both Christian and Muslims women, or the Lady Health Workers, or even when we look at domestic workers, their demands are based on socioeconomic and political needs, there are hardly demands based on religious virtuosity. For instance if a domestic worker were to ask for a pay rise it would be for material needs not because she presents herself as a good religious woman.

According to her in Pakistan the women's 'piety movement' was not organic rather state-imposed. Such ideals came during the time of Zia-ul-Haq. As the result the Women's Action Forum grew because it was fighting an imposed Islamic identity, it was fighting retrogressive laws that were eroding women's rights. And this struggle came from women from all religions who chose not to focus on their religion rather promoted themselves as a rights-based organization.

In terms of the various classifications within the feminist literature, Hussain felt that while criticism was important it should not promote divisiveness, pitting certain writers against others. Instead an inclusive path needs to be found where scholars work for a larger common goal.

> " Instead an inclusive path needs to be found where scholars work for a larger common goal. "

Zia ended the discussion by saying that it was important to identify loopholes in academic work, try to plug them in with new work and present novel ideas based on such previous work. That is what scholars should do. Furthermore she feels that secular agents like herself should look beyond their own frameworks and try to bring about transformative change rather than work within them. A reason she believes why striving for piety can be criticized is because it works within the Islamic gendered order and does not challenge it.

A subsequent question then can be what is 'autonomy'?

According to Zia the concept of autonomy, can be understood through the relationship of an individual with the state without the presence of a middleman (this is regardless of your religious identity, access to a certain NGO). This for example can be established by a simple measure like introducing CNIC for women, which has the potential to bring about transformative change and open numerous areas of opportunity for women in Pakistan.

The seminar ended with a question answer session with the audience comprising of students as well as faculty members. One such question was on the effectiveness of recent campaigns such as the Aurat March where women have come out with very provocative slogans and whether this takes people's attention away from the larger and greater cause of empowering women? Zia felt that the point of the Aurat March was to get the idea across that women cannot be criticized for the way they look, their physical appearance or their minds. If a Muslim woman's right to wear the veil can be defended so can other aspects of her material and bodily rights including rights such as her ability to choose what she wants to wear, how many children she wants to have and so on. The fact that such campaigns make men anxious indicates that they are hitting a nerve and getting people to think.

On a discussion between the link between communicating feminist ideas and language, Hussain commented that of course the right material in the local language does help the process. However certain themes and messages resonate well with different local communities because these themes are universal. Similarly, Zia added that some values and feelings transcend linguistic, locational and even gender barriers. In particular, during periods of authoritarian regimes, feminist movements flourish and you will see men participate in them. In India for example, after the Delhi gang rape incident, more men came out on the streets than women. In Pakistan too, men and women worked together to resist religious authoritarianism. So one can see an alignment of goals and people are willing to work together to achieve these goals. Likewise, Suhail argued that any fight against oppression will come with a sense of urgency and those that are oppressed will use any mode of communication that will help serve the purpose. Furthermore, those in a weaker position whether in a class struggle or a gender struggle will depend on those in a stronger position to support their cause. Men therefore have a vital role to play in the feminist cause and in supporting women to achieve their rights.

Visitors and Activities

16th January, 2019
The CPPG organized a talk on the Role of Civil Servants in Public Policy Formulation in Pakistan with a delegation of Senior Civil Servants from Sri Lanka

25th January, 2019
The CPPG organized a seminar in collaboration with Pakistan Japan Cultural Association on Japanese Culture and Education with Mr. Yusuke Shindo, Minister, Deputy Chief of Mission, Embassy of Japan in Islamabad

12th February, 2019
The CPPG organized a seminar on Exploring Agriculture in the China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) with Dr. Mahmood Ahmad, an international consultant and water and agriculture specialist.

27th February, 2019
The CPPG organized a seminar on BRI in Africa: The Case of Chinese Engagement with Kenya and Ethiopia with Mr. Nishat Kazmi, Senior Consultant at the Media Foundation.

27th February, 2019
The Director CPPG was Keynote Speaker on a panel discussion on the Civil Services Reforms at Civil Services Academy of Pakistan, Walton, Lahore

6th March, 2019
The CPPG organized a seminar on Sharia and the State in Pakistan: Blasphemy Politics with Dr. Farhat Haq, Professor and Chair Political Science Department, Monmouth College Illinois, USA

25th March, 2019
The CPPG organized a seminar on CPEC, Sustainable Economic Growth and Industrial Policy in Contemporary Pakistan with Professor Mathew McCartney, Associate Professor in the Political Economy and Human Development of South Asia at the University of Oxford

28th March, 2019
Director CPPG was invited as a Guest Speaker to deliver a talk on the Changing dynamics of Demography and Security in Pakistan at the National Institute of Management (NIM), Karachi

4th April, 2019
The Team Lead of GIZ Mr. Rainer Rohdewohld met Director CPPG with reference to their collaboration on the Local Government Project

8th April, 2019
The Director CPPG delivered a lecture at National Management College (NMC) on the topic of Public Policy, Planning and Development in Pakistan.

10th April, 2019
The Director CPPG participated in a panel Discussion on Humanizing the State, at Lahore University of Management Sciences (LUMS)

11th April, 2019
Chief USAID came to meet Director CPPG

11th April, 2019
The CPPG organized a seminar on BJP or Congress: An Analysis of Indian Elections 2019, Past Trends and Future Projections with Dr. Raja M. Ali Saleem, Assistant Professor CPPG

2nd May, 2019
The CPPG organized a seminar on Afghan Peace Process and Pakistan's Role: What does Future Promise? with Mr. Ahmed Rashid, critically acclaimed author and commentator on Pakistan, Afghanistan and Central Asia

10th May, 2019
The CPPG organized a Policy Dialogue on The Punjab Local Government Act, 2019 with Cap. (Retd) Saif Anjum, Secretary, Local Government and Community Development Department, Punjab

27th June, 2019
The CPPG organized a Round Table Discussion in collaboration with Department of Economics, Forman Christian College on Pakistan Economic Situation and Budget 2019-20 with Dr. Raja M. Ali Saleem and Dr. Salahuddin Ayubi

1st July, 2019
The CPPG organized a two-day consultation with LG&CDD public officials working at provincial and local level on Implementing the Local Government Act (PLGA) 2019: The

lessons learnt from the implementation of the PLGA 2013

1st August, 2019
The Director CPPG went to Sagrodha University to attend the syndicate meeting

18th September, 2019
The CPPG organized a two-day consultation with Former Elected Representatives of Local Government in Punjab on Implementing the Local Government Act (PLGA) 2019: The lessons learnt from the implementation of the PLGA 2013

1st October, 2019
The CPPG organized a seminar on Status of Archival Research in Pakistan: Strategic Studies and Beyond with Dr. Rabia Akhtar, Director, Centre for Security, Strategy and Policy Research, University of Lahore

22nd October, 2019
The CPPG organized a consultation with Diverse Stakeholders of Local Government in Punjab on Implementing the Local Government Act (PLGA) 2019: The lessons learnt from the implementation of the PLGA 2013

24th October, 2019
The CPPG organized a seminar on US – China Trade War: Assessing the Trump Presidency with Dr. Charles Ramsey, Assistant Professor, Departments of History, Religion, and George W. Truett Theological Seminary, Baylor University – USA

8th November, 2019
The CPPG organized a seminar on Migration, Integration and the Importance of Religion in the Processes: Norwegians in the United States and Pakistanis in Norway with Dr. Kari Guttormsen Hempel, Associate Professor in Social Sciences, Faculty of Arts and Education, Department of Early Childhood Education, University of Stavanger, Norway

19th November, 2019
The CPPG organized a seminar on Social Capital and Religious worldview with Dr. Janel Curry, Professor of Geography and previous Provost (Vice Rector) at Gordon College in Massachusetts

26th November, 2019
The CPPG organized a seminar with the support of the Embassy of France and in collaboration with the Alliance Française on The Transformation of Political Islam with Dr. Stephane Lacroix, Associate Professor at the Paris School on International Affairs (PSIA) of Sciences Po'.

3rd December, 2019
The CPPG organized a seminar on Cold War Aviation to the Belt and Road: Corridors and Connectivity under Later Capitalism with Dr. Hasan Haider Karrar, Associate Professor at the Department of Humanities & Social Sciences at the Lahore University of Management Sciences (LUMS).

9th December 2019
CPPG organized a Christmas get together and Alumni Reunion in which Dr. James Tebbe Rector FCCU was Chief Guest.

11th December, 2019
The CPPG organized a conference in collaboration with Lahore University of Management Sciences (LUMS) and UNDP on Cities for People coordinated by Dr. Imdad Hussain

12th December, 2019
The CPPG organized a special seminar on State of the Economy and the Desperate Need for Pro-poor Growth with Dr. Sohail Jehangir Malik, an independent development policy analyst and scholar

20th December, 2019
The CPPG organized a discussion in collaboration with Lahore University of Management Sciences (LUMS) & The World Bank on The Future of Local Governments in Pakistan. The discussion was moderated by Dr. Saeed Shafqat and Dr. Ali Cheema, Dr. Sameen Mohsin and Mr. Ahmad Iqbal were panel discussants.

Faculty & Staff

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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: **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

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