

Routledge Advances in South Asian Studies

**PERSPECTIVES ON
CONTEMPORARY PAKISTAN**
GOVERNANCE, DEVELOPMENT AND ENVIRONMENT

Edited by
Ghulam Ali and Ejaz Hussain



Perspectives on Contemporary Pakistan

This book analyses problems of governance, development and environment affecting contemporary Pakistan, issues that lie at the centre of federal and provincial policy deliberations, formulation and implementation.

Perspectives on Contemporary Pakistan offers a comprehensive assessment of these policies, or their lack thereof. Authors from a variety of disciplines empirically and conceptually evaluate the latest developments, events and data regarding law and order, economic under-performance, social intolerance and climate crisis. The book offers varied perspectives on state sovereignty, civil–military relations, spousal violence, rural development, the China–Pakistan Economic Corridor, nuclear governance and transboundary climate risk. Arguing that the conclusions should be adopted by the social, political and economic stakeholders of Pakistan, as well as the region at the higher level of governability, the book demonstrates that it would both boost national morale and inspire individuals to further investigate innovative solutions.

Examining some of the most pressing and persistent problems Pakistan and South Asia are facing, the book will be of interest to academics working in the fields of Political Science, in particular, South Asian Politics, Development Studies and Environmental Studies.

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Perspectives on Contemporary Pakistan

Governance, Development
and Environment

**Edited by Ghulam Ali and
Ejaz Hussain**

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Abbreviations

AAD	advanced air defence
AC	Apex Committee
AIIB	Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank
AJK	Azad Jammu & Kashmir
AKF	Aga Khan Foundation
AKRSP	Aga Khan Rural Support Programme
AL	Awami League
ANP	Awami National Party
APS	Army Public School
AQK	Abdul Qadeer Khan
ATA	Anti-Terrorism Act
BAP	Balochistan Awami Party
BCIM	Bangladesh, China, India, Myanmar
BHU	basic health unit
BISP	Benazir Income Support Programme
BMD	ballistic missile defence
BoS	Bureau of Statistics
BRAC	Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee
BRSP	Balochistan Rural Support Programme
CCNS	Cabinet Committee on National Security
CDD	community-driven development
CDLD	community-driven local development
CEC	Chief Election Commissioner
CENTO	Central Treaty Organisation
CI	confidence interval
CIF	Community Investment Fund
C-in-C	Commander-in-Chief
CISMHE	Centre for Inter-Disciplinary Studies of Mountain and Hill Environment
CJ	Chief Justice
CMLA	Chief Martial Law Administrator
CMR	civil–military relations
CO	community organisation

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CoA	Court of Arbitration
COAS	Chief of Army Staff
COP	Conference of Parties
COPHC	China Overseas Ports Holding Company
CPEC	China–Pakistan Economic Corridor
CPI	Community Physical Infrastructure
CSD	Cold Start Doctrine
DFID	Department for International Development
DG Khan	Dera Ghazi Khan
DHS	Demographic and Health Survey
DND	draft nuclear doctrine
EBDO	Elective Bodies Disqualification Order
ECP	Election Commission of Pakistan
EEZ	Exclusive Economic Zone
EIA	environmental impact assessment
EU	European Union
FATA	Federally Administered Tribal Areas
FC	Frontier Corps
FCR	Frontier Crimes Regulation
FR	frontier region
FTA	free trade agreement
G-B	Gilgit-Baltistan
GBTI	Ghazi Barotha Taraqiati Idara
GDA	Grand Democratic Alliance
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
G-G	Governor-General
GHQ	General Headquarters
GHI	Global Hunger Index
GLOF	glacial lake outburst floods
HDI	Human Development Index
HN	Haqqani Network
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
IBG	integrated battle group
ICJ	International Court of Justice
ICT	Islamabad Capital Territory
IDP	internally displaced person
IGG	income-generating grant
IGO	international governmental organisation
IJI	Islami Jamhoori Ittehad
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INGO	international non-governmental organisation
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
IPFCA	Interim Punjab Finance Commission Award
IPs	implementing partners
IPV	intimate partner violence

IRB	Indus River Basin
IS	Islamic State
ISI	inter-services intelligence
IWT	Indus Waters Treaty
J&K	Jammu and Kashmir
JCC	Joint Coordination Committee
JDC	Joint Development Committee
JETRO	Japan External Trade Organisation
JI	Jamaat-i-Islami
JIT	Joint Investigation Team
JuD	Jamaat-ud-Dawa
JUI	Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam
JUI-F	Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam-Fazal-ur-Rehman
JUI-P	Jamiat Ulema-e-Pakistan
KHEP	Kishanganga Hydro-Electric Plant
KKH	Karakorum Highway
KPK	Khyber–Pakhtunkhwa
KSEW	Karachi Shipyard and Engineering Works
LEA	law enforcement agencies
LeT	Lashkar-e-Taiba
LoC	Line of Control
LSO	local support organisation
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MFP	microfinance provider
MHI	micro health insurance
MICS	multiple indicator cluster survey
MIRV	multiple independent re-entry vehicle
MMA	Muttahida Majlis-e Amal
MML	Milli Muslim League
MNA	Member of the National Assembly
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
MPDR	Ministry of Planning, Development and Reform
MPA	Member of the Provincial Assembly
MQM	Muttahida (previously Mohajir) Qaumi Movement
MSDSP	Mountain Societies Development Support Programme
NAB	National Accountability Bureau
NAP	National Awami Party
NAP	National Action Plan
NASA	National Aeronautical and Space Administration
NCA	National Command Authority
NDRC	National Development and Reform Commission
NEQS	National Environmental Quality Standards
NFC	National Finance Commission
NFU	no first use
NJHEP	Neelum-Jhelum Hydro-Electric Project

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NRLM	National Rural Livelihoods Mission
NRO	National Reconciliation Order
NRPU	National Research Programme for Universities
NRSP	National Rural Support Programme
NSC	National Security Council
NSP	National Solidarity Programme
NWFP	North-West Frontier Province
NWS	nuclear weapons state
ORBAT	Order of Battle
PAD	Prithvi Air Defence
P&DD	Punjab, Planning and Development Department
PAT	Pakistan Awami Tehreek
PBS	Pakistan Bureau of Statistics
PCIJ	Permanent Court of International Justice
PDHS	Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey
PERI	Punjab Economic Research Institute
PFC	Provincial Financial Commission
PIC	Permanent Indus Commission
PkMAP	Pakhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party
PLGA	The Punjab Local Government Act
PLGO	The Punjab Local Government Ordinance
PM	Prime Minister
PMDC	Pakistan Medical and Dental Council
PML-N	Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz
PML-Q	Pakistan Muslim League-Quaid-i-Azam
PNA	Pakistan National Alliance
PPHS	Pakistan Panel Household Survey
PPP	Pakistan People's Party
PPP-P	Pakistan People's Party-Parliamentarian
PPRP	People's Poverty Reduction Programme
PRODA	Public and Representative Office Disqualification Act
PRS	poverty reduction strategy
PRSP	Punjab Rural Support Programme
PTI	Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf
PTM	Pashtun Tahafuz Movement
QWP	Qaumi Watan Party
RSP	Rural Support Programme
RSPN	Rural Support Programmes Network
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SAPAP	South Asian Poverty Alleviation Programme
SC	Supreme Court
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
SEATO	Southeast Asia Treaty Organisation
SERP	Society for the Elimination of Rural Poverty
SEWA	Self-Employed Women Association of India

SEZ	Special Economic Zone
SLCM	submarine-launched cruise missile
SPD	Strategic Plans Division
SPD	Sustainable Development Plan
SRBM	short-range ballistic missile
SRSO	Sindh Rural Support Organisation
SRSP	Sarhad Rural Support Programme
SSD	Special Security Division
SUCCESS	Sindh Union Council and Community Strengthening Support
SVAW	spousal violence against women
TA	technical assistance
TAPI	Turkmenistan–Afghanistan–Pakistan–India
TLYR	Tehreek-e-Labbaik Ya Rasool Allah
TNSM	Tehrik-e Nifaz-e Shariat-e Muhammadi
TNW	tactical nuclear weapons
TRDP	Thardeep Rural Development Programme
TRGP	Thematic Research Grant Programme
TTP	Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan
TVST	technical and vocational skills training
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UC	Union Council
UCBPRP	Union Council Based Poverty Reduction Programme
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF	United Nations Children’s Fund
US	United States
VO	village organisation
WASH	water, sanitation and hygiene
WCD	World Commission on Dams
WHO	World Health Organization
WoT	War on Terror



Map 0.1 Pakistan with provinces and regions

Source: Map adapted with the permission of CartoGIS Services, ANU College of Asia and the Pacific, The Australian National University.

Note

The Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) has been merged with Khyber–Pakhtunkhwa (KPK).

Introduction

Ghulam Ali and Ejaz Hussain

Contemporary Pakistan stands at a crossroads. On the one hand, development opportunities – offered, for instance, by the China–Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) – have recently stirred economic activity across the country that now hosts more than 200 million people, 64 per cent of which are below the age of 30.¹ The youth, if equipped with necessary skills, can act as a catalyst to realise social cohesion and achieve economic growth. However, on the other hand, Pakistan faces certain existential challenges, ranging from political instability to terrorism, that, if not tackled in a timely way and effectively, risk intensifying the chaotic conditions that are already in place and affecting the social fabric, economic profile, governance and political system and, importantly, the physical environment, such as rivers that, in preceding decades, provided life-sustaining support to the country’s agriculture, industry and the population at large.

Setting the context

Pakistan’s contemporary paradox is contextually, if not structurally, unique as far as character, quantity and magnitude of the problems posed are concerned. Comparatively, during the 1950s, for example, the size of the population was quite small, along with untapped natural resources, such as minerals and petroleum products, discovered later, in Balochistan and an abundance of water resources, originating in the legally disputed state of Jammu and Kashmir. Moreover, the incidence of ‘bureaucratic corruption’ was comparatively low compared with the contemporary crusade against corruption and extortion.²

In addition, though political instability was compounded during the middle of the said decade, the problem of law and order, assumed here as governance, did not worsen statistically.³ Nevertheless, under the Ayub-led military regime, Pakistan overall achieved a high growth rate – mainly due to foreign economic and military aid coupled with remittances – in the pre-1965 war with India.⁴ In the post-war period, structural inequality⁵ between East and West Pakistan entered the political limelight as the major opposition party, the Awami League (AL), questioned not only the arbitrary nature of the

economic relations between the two wings but also demanded maximum autonomy.⁶

The country's political and military leadership failed to fathom the depth of Bengali nationalism and, as a result of (civil) war between India and Pakistan in December 1971, the latter lost more than half of its population and a quarter of its territory. At this critical juncture, the remaining Pakistan seemed a house of cards that would fall without any external push, in the following years. Surprisingly, however, the state not only held its ground institutionally but also started to play a leading role in, for instance, diplomacy regionally and internationally. Despite natural catastrophes in the 1970s, its economy stabilised, and the governance improved.⁷ Importantly, this was also the decade when the civilian leadership, led by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, asserted control over the military and the civil bureaucracy, both constitutionally and politically.⁸ Owing to anomalies in the civil government's approach to establishing civilian control, the military, while invoking its agency in a favourable context, toppled the government in a coup d'état in July 1977.

The General Zia-led military regime, initially, received external criticism especially from the US Carter Administration.⁹ However, with the Soviets spotted in Afghanistan by the Americans, the global geopolitics affected not only the Zia regime but also Pakistan, in an unprecedented way. From economic and military assistance to a substantial increase in foreign remittances, the country witnessed Afghan refugees, harmful drugs and automated weapons. The militarisation of the social landscape in terms of provision of trained manpower for the Afghan jihad – that Pakistan participated in, along with Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates (UAE) and the US-led Western world – caused severe governance issues with the crime rate, for instance, cases of murder, which witnessed an upward trend statistically.¹⁰ In addition, political wrangling continued that ultimately resulted in the formalisation of martial law in terms of the 8th Amendment to the 1973 Constitution.

During 1988–99, the so-called 'decade of democracy', Pakistan's economy underperformed.¹¹ Not so dissimilar were the cases of governance, the political system and social and environmental sustainability. Indeed, the population growth rate jumped up, along with a visible increase in the incidence of poverty.¹² Consequently, the problems of law and order only deteriorated to the effect that, in 1997, the Sharif government legislated and enacted the Anti-terrorism Act (ATA) to deal with the exceedingly high incidence of crimes mostly in the urban centres, such as Karachi, which is considered the commercial hub of the country. This will be discussed at length in Chapter 5. Also, political instability lingered during the mentioned timeframe with the effect that General Pervez Musharraf dislodged the Sharif government in a military coup in October 1999 on the stated charges of economic mismanagement, the unstable law and order situation and the personalised style of governance.

The Musharraf regime, much like its predecessors, bore the brunt of criticism from regional and international stakeholders due to the derailment of democracy. Nonetheless, the terrible attacks on the Twin Towers on 11 September 2001 proved a blessing in disguise for the regime. The latter hurriedly chose to

support the US-led War on Terror (WoT) in neighbouring Afghanistan for rational reasons. Politically, the military regime obtained the much-needed external legitimacy to survive in a hostile environment. Economically, the country was in receipt of a comparatively high volume of economic assistance and military aid, provided particularly under the Coalition Support Fund. In addition, remittances sent home by the expatriate community increased in volume. Cumulatively, these variables had a positive impact on the national exchequer though structural economic reforms could not be materialised. Consequently, regional, ethnic and gender-based socio-economic and political disparities widened.¹³

Above all, the most negative effect that Pakistan suffered, during this period, was related to worsening governance, especially in the border belt with war-ravaged Afghanistan. Not only did the first suicide attack occur as part of urban terrorism, but also Pakistani society, the economy and, overall, the state witnessed the incidence of large-scale terrorism that, between 2001 and 2019, took the lives of more than 30,000 civilians and security personnel along with \$50 billion loss incurred to the economy.¹⁴ In the post-Musharraf period, the civil government, led by the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) and the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) were initially reluctant, due primarily to political reasons, to chalk out a comprehensive counter-terrorism policy. Gradually, however, the military side of the government prevailed in terms of decision-making and policy execution in strategic understanding with its civilian counterpart. The military operations launched against terrorists in, for example, the Federally Administer Tribal Areas (FATA) – that are thoroughly analysed in this book – are a case in point.¹⁵

The foregoing has set out the political, socio-economic and strategic context that, on the one hand, marks the temporality of the political actors and social forces and, on the other, reflects the overwhelming significance of the structural constraints on the agentive aspects of the actors involved in the game of politics, economic (mis)management and (lack of) governance. As surveyed above, from its inception in 1947 till the present, at the centre of Pakistan's politics and public policy lie the two inter-related themes: governance and development. Both these categories have oscillated, at best, between complete collapse and ad hoc management. Moreover, the existing literature has not discussed governance at length; it is mostly described as a non-focal term often bracketed with the so-called failure of a democratically elected government. In other words, there is complete dearth of a conceptually rigorous and empirically sound category of governance that, if applied operationally, can provide a quantified explanation of, for instance, the incidence of terrorism. Similarly, the idea of development has been used in the existing studies to highlight basically the economic performance or otherwise of a government. It has, in other words, overlooked the social side of the equation, which is equally important to understand the state's desire to achieve national integration, given the multiple cleavages that are shaped along sectoral, ethnic, sectarian, regional and provincial, if not parochial, lines.

The third crucial theme of the environment, both in terms of governance and development, has remained essentially neglected in the policy and academic

circles in the past, to the effect that contemporary Pakistan now is among the world's top ten water-scarce countries.¹⁶ Importantly, the country's major cities lack clean drinking water for their burgeoning populations. Indeed, the water table has rapidly dropped down from what it used to be a few decades ago.¹⁷ Provincially, water politics has become the norm during policy deliberations. The (in)determination of the National Finance Commission (NFC) Award is a case in point. Regionally, both India and Pakistan are constantly concerned over the use of the Indus waters whereby both countries are busy constructing new dams to meet their growing energy requirements. Also, pollution, of all types, is rapidly deteriorating the (non-)human health.

In order to survive as a normal nation-state with a clear conception of state sovereignty, territorial integrity and, overall, pursuance of national interests, the state of Pakistan – contemporaneously beset with multiple challenges, i.e. national integration, ethnic harmony, socio-economic development and environmental protection – will have to take extraordinary and effective measures to convert challenges into opportunities in a timely fashion. The following sections, based on the studies conducted by the contributors of this book, take a look at the broader areas of governance, development and the environment in terms of empirically assessing and analytically explaining the contours of Pakistan's policy and its execution vis-à-vis the notions of state sovereignty and national integration, social cohesion, economic progress and climate crisis management.

Governance

The law and order situation is usually considered the primary responsibility of the state. The term is frequently equated with good governance. Nevertheless, governance is a flexible, encompassing and contested category. While disagreeing, both theoretically and empirically, with the available scholarship on governance, Mitra defined it as follows:

As a conceptual variable, governance has the paradoxical attribute of being visible by its absence rather than its presence... It is therefore important, particularly for the purposes of prediction, to develop conceptual and operational measures of governance from the point of view of social forces whose perceptions necessarily differ from that of the state. Seen through the eyes of the modern state, political order and challenges to legitimacy can be measured in terms of murders, riots and other forms of challenge to the authority of the state.¹⁸

As the above states, governance is no longer merely a subjective concept but rather a quantifiable category. Its measurability then is the basis of public policy centred on the concept of the welfare state which, constitutionally, if not historically, Pakistan claims to be. While taking empirical clues from Mitra's theory of governance, the present study approaches the latter in holistic terms that

include the state's focus on guarding its territorial sovereignty and realising national integration through institutional, legal and military measures. The latter, arguably, create space, though incrementally, for development projects particularly of an environmental nature.

As already mentioned, Pakistan has faced large-scale terrorism in various parts of the country due to terrorist organisations such as Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP). However, the most affected area was located in the (former) FATA that faced unique circumstances, such as insurgency that started in 2004. In Chapter 1, Shahzad Akhtar provides the background to the formation of the anti-state TTP insurgency in FATA in 2007. Having established its stronghold in the so-called 'no-go' areas governed under the colonial-era law called the Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR), the TTP, in strategic alliance with other local and regional militant organisations, such as Uzbek, launched massive terrorist attacks on unarmed civilians and the security forces in Pakistan. In order to uproot the TTP, the Pakistani civil and military leadership designed its counter-insurgency strategy to establish the right of the state.

Chapter 1 posits that the execution of an effective counter-insurgency strategy, since 2009, has led to a decrease in insurgency as governance apparatuses gradually were institutionally grounded. The chapter also discusses how the changed American approach towards the Afghanistan-Pakistan region under the Obama Administration implicitly pushed Pakistan to adopt a hard approach towards the militants operating from the (former) FATA. Moreover, the author links the success of the counterinsurgency strategy to the presence of a strong political will expressed by the PPP and later the PML-N governments. Subsequently, the government adopted a 'clear, hold and build' model that focused on the elimination of the insurgents' political and military infrastructure, along with holding on to territory to prevent the resurgence of insurgency.

The eradication of armed terrorist organisations from the FATA provided Pakistan with an enabling environment to introduce a formal governance system, in tandem with the principles of federalism as well as clauses of the Constitution, for, as already highlighted, this region has been ruled in a unitary manner by the Centre since 1947. Sohail Ahmad, in Chapter 2, explains the newly legislated 31st Constitutional Amendment, in May 2018, that approved the merger of FATA with Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) – which is one of the four provinces of Pakistan. The author opines that had there been no counter-insurgency plan put in place, the (former) FATA would have attracted more militants from across the region. Since the former bore the brunt of the War on Terror, its people, who had sacrificed kith and kin, and the political leadership demanded the application of formal rules and regulations instead of the FCR. The country's military leadership also subscribed to this view. Finally, the FATA merger materialised due to the concerted efforts of the local, provincial and federal stakeholders. Nevertheless, the federal government has set a two-year interim period for the formalisation of a governing structure in the region in order to comprehensively integrate it not only into the KPK but also the federation. An effective governance mechanism, therefore, would be the key to

introduce a welfare regime in the north-west of Pakistan. It may also serve as an overture to peace-building for neighbouring Afghanistan.

The focus of these chapters is on governance characterised in operational and constitutional terms in the north-west region of Pakistan. With respect to policy formulation and implementation, it accorded the prerogative to the centre over the units. In other words, such an approach reflects a top-down arrangement that, though it emphatically strives to achieve federal consolidation, yet it may not qualify as an encompassing formula for comprehensive decentralisation and sustained governance in terms of effective decentralisation.

To gauge it, Chapter 3 by Muhammad Azam carries the governance debate to the Punjab – the largest province of Pakistan in terms of the size of the population as well as the scale of the industrial and educational infrastructure. The author argues that the institution of Provincial Financial Commissions (PFCs) can play a significant role in taking the federalism project forward, not just in the Punjab but also in Pakistan as a whole by facilitating and ensuring a transparent mechanism of sharing provincial finance at the local level. Furthermore, the chapter argues that the introduction and implementation of a local government system in the country are a step in the direction of democratisation through decentralisation, which, in the medium to the long run, could embrace and sustain governance from below. Thus, in order to understand contemporary democratic processes in Pakistan, it is pertinent to contextualise (electoral) democracy at a broader level of political participation, whose (in)effectiveness, in turn, has a bearing not only on the mode of governance but also on the type of development.

In this respect, Muhammad Azhar and Abdul Basit Khan, in Chapter 4, explore and analyse emerging trends in electoral politics, and their impact on governance, at the national level. The chapter argues that electoral politics presently is plagued with certain undemocratic and despotic tendencies that have affected the political development in an adverse manner. Frequent party defection, regionalist and ethnic politics, moneyed elections, the patron-client structure and communal politics have intensified the chaotic fault lines of politics in contemporary Pakistan. Moreover, delayed and controlled elections, under-performance of elected governments, partisan politics, feeble and fragile institutions coupled with unconstitutional power transitions have encouraged electoral malpractices. However, the gradual rectification of the afore-mentioned malaise requires pro-people and issue-oriented politics on the part of the political forces. A proactive judiciary and a free and vibrant media along with a visible and active civil society can also play a pivotal role. Taking an optimistic view of the 11th general election in Pakistan, held in July 2018, the authors emphasise the continuation of the political processes in terms of free, fair and regularly held elections. For without elections, electoral democracy cannot be consolidated and progress towards liberal democracy, sustained development and climate care would remain stalled, thus negatively impacting the structure of governance.

A similar argument is made by Ejaz Hussain, in Chapter 5, who problematises governance and democratic development in the context of civil–military

relations in contemporary Pakistan. While academically challenging the existing notion of 'dyarchy',¹⁹ which advocated parallel constitutional and institutional measures adopted initially by the colonial-minded civil bureaucracy and, ultimately, embraced and enhanced by the military, Hussain, conceptually and empirically, proposes a 'duality' model that attempts to explain contemporary civil–military relations and governance from an altogether different epistemological position. It is defined in terms of constitutional-legal measures and institutional arrangements made by the parliamentary forces in a non-martial law setting to appease the military in order to prevent a coup or a return to martial law. The underlying objective of the political forces, especially the party in office, is to ensure political and parliamentary survival in terms of completion of the five-year tenure. The military also wanted such a dualist dispensation to be part of governance and economic management rather than staging a coup to remove a government that did not toe the line.

Whereas a dyarchical perspective takes a 'troika'-oriented view of, for example, politics in the 1990s, where the presidency was projected as an autonomously powerful institution vis-à-vis the military, the duality model negates such superficiality empirically, arguing that the military, as a principal actor, has dominated politics not just during the 1960s and 1980s but also the in the 1990s and 2000s.

Last but not the least, Pakistan has experienced the dualisation of civil–military relations in the post-Musharraf period, whereby the political forces have accorded more space to the military by creating dual structures for governance, economic management and dispensing justice. Consequently, duality has been added to the political system, if not culture, of contemporary Pakistan on account of the policy of appeasement adopted by the political and parliamentary forces in order to ensure their survival in office. Thus, rather than improving governance, the economy and democracy, the civil–military relations dynamism has functionally resulted in 'deterioration', defined by this study as institutional, political and policy decadence in terms of unbalanced civil–military relations, political instability, economic mismanagement, bad governance and, above all, the lack of structural reforms in the means of production.²⁰

Development

Development, like governance, is a contested category. Once it was understood in narrow economic terms. Thus, in classical economics, indicators were identified, for example, to measure phenomena, such as economic growth, unemployment and per capita income.²¹ However, development, from the 1960s onwards, was incrementally problematised to encompass social, cultural and political 'development'.²² In addition, certain studies focused on social aspects of human activity. Since the economic growth in the least developing countries is not equally shared on account of income inequality and unequal opportunities, since the 1980s, other indicators of human well-being, such as education, health, water and sanitation have assumed empirical significance. Examples of such

illustrative and broad-focused measurements are the Human Development and Gender Inequality Indices (HDI).²³

However, the overall disciplinary thrust has moved to the measurability of broader human progress in economic, social and environmental terms. The present study, thus, is an attempt to view development holistically, where human-centric development empowering communities in economic and socio-familial terms, reducing domestic violence, is considered in the assessment of 'household' as well as national well-being.

Therefore, in Chapter 6, Abdur Rehman Cheema, Aqeel Anwar and Fazal Ali Khan—three development practitioners – provide a comprehensive analysis of realising rural development, as it is largely in the countryside where underdevelopment in terms of poverty has been structurally perpetuated for decades. According to the statistics, four out of 10 Pakistanis live in poverty while 9.3 per cent of the poor live in urban areas, compared to 54.6 per cent living in rural areas.²⁴ The situation in Sindh is even graver where nearly 43 per cent of the population lives in poverty, with 75.5 per cent of the poor living in rural areas, compared to 10.6 per cent living in urban areas.

In 2015, the Sindh Government, with technical support from the European Union (EU), launched a poverty reduction programme known as the Sindh Union Council and Community Strengthening Support (SUCCESS). The authors examine some of the ongoing gains and challenges emerging from the case of SUCCESS empirically. The latter was a Rural Support Programme (RSP) based on the community-driven development (CDD) model. The CDD models are bottom-up, operated and managed by local people and, therefore, are regarded as one of the strategies to address rural challenges. Interestingly, Pakistan was one of the first countries where the CDD approach was introduced during the 1960s in the Comilla Thana of the then East Pakistan (now Bangladesh).²⁵ One of the most successful experiments of the CDD approach was the Aga Khan Rural Support Programme (AKRSP), which was started in Gilgit, Nagar, Hunza, Baltistan and Chitral Districts.²⁶ Over the years, it has become a catalyst for development in the Northern Areas of Pakistan and, owing to its success, has been replicated in other parts of contemporary Pakistan. Following the AKRSP's success model, SUCCESS has been rolled out in Sindh. The programme emphasises the mobilisation of rural households by providing economic and social services and preparing a policy framework.

The authors found that low literacy among rural women and lack of interest by the local bureaucracy were the key issues in the implementation of the project. With a view to enhancing the performance of the CDDs, the authors suggest an increase in partnership with the local communities, amendments to government rules of bias – giving more roles to local communities in order to enhance their agency – adequate allocation of pro-poor resources and closer links with government departments. As this programme is household-focused and limited in its scope, it is not expected to drastically dent the socio-economic situation or implement poverty alleviation of the underdeveloped regions. Within its limitations, however, SUCCESS has made notable progress. If it

accomplishes its goals by the completion of its six years tenure in 2021, its scope might be expanded not only in Sindh but also to other parts of Pakistan.

As the afore-mentioned highlighted, developmental action, on the part of the (provincial) government in collaboration with global actors, such as the EU, remained preoccupied with the socio-economic dimension of development, thus, it does not cover its subjective side in terms of physical and mental health, especially of the women which are conventionally subjected to patriarchy and socio-economic discrimination in the South Asian region and elsewhere.

In Chapter 7, Rafi Amir-ud-Din and Faisal Abbas analyse wide-ranging structural and contextual factors associated with spousal violence against women (SVAW) in contemporary Pakistan. SVAW is a serious, pervasive and under-recognised issue not only in Pakistan but also in other parts of the world.²⁷ It is a public health hazard with lasting social and economic consequences. The authors find that Pakistan is a male-dominated society in which women have a weaker bargaining position vis-à-vis men in almost all social and economic spheres. This put them at a permanent disadvantage. Some of the obvious symptoms of what the authors termed the ‘social anomaly’ are operational in the form of honour killing, *vani* (marriage to settle a dispute) and *watta satta* (bridal exchange).

While exploring the reasons behind SVAW in Pakistan, the authors identified the educational status of women and their spouses, the household wealth index, the number of children, and the attitudinal acceptance of spousal abuse as the primary drivers of anti-women behaviour. Moreover, until women are both physically and mentally healthy, the realisation of, for example, economic development and a sustainable climate – in which the women’s action and share are globally increasing – will remain a distant dream for the policy-makers in Pakistan. In addition, violent households generate law and order problems, thus involving the state in personal and familial affairs. Ironically, SVAW remained outside the ambit of the legal domain due to cultural, religious and social norms that are deep-rooted in Pakistani society. It is only recently that legislation against SVAW has been initiated in four provinces. This, in the view of the authors, is a step in the right direction, though it will take time to change the culturally embedded mindset of Pakistani men.

While female participation in political and socio-economic activity is a prerequisite for the overall health of Pakistani society and the economy in the contemporary context, to achieve long-term socio-economic and climatic stability, investment in the physical, mental and social well-being of children is absolutely necessary as Pakistan is facing an acute problem of child under-nutrition, as about 38 per cent of Pakistani children were stunted, about 7 per cent were wasted and 23 per cent were underweight in 2018. The Punjab, the largest province of the country by population and the GDP share, had a stunting, wasting and underweight prevalence of 30 per cent, 4 per cent and 14 per cent respectively during 2017–18. Given the significance of this population for the (under) development of the county, Faisal Abbas, Maqsood Sadiq and Tahir Mahmood statistically examine, in Chapter 8, the nature and character of food insecurity

and its impact on childcare. The study is the first of its kind to analyse the determinants of under-nutrition in the Punjab, using three waves of the Multiple Indicator Cluster survey (MICS 2008, 2011 and 2014), which include more than 146,000 children under five years of age.

Predicted probabilities show that the rural Punjab is relatively better off in terms of the prevalence of stunting, wasting and underweight children compared to the urban Punjab and, surprisingly, girls are better off than boys. Moreover, stunting for wealthy quintile children showed a rapid reduction from 2008 to 2014 more than lowest wealth quintile – and this is true for the education categories as well. Administrative divisions such as Dera Ghazi Khan, Bahawalpur and Multan are observing higher child under-nutrition compared to Lahore and Rawalpindi divisions. On an ethnic basis, the prevalence of under-nutrition in children of Seraiki-speaking households – which are mostly concentrated in South Punjab – is higher compared to the Punjabi- or Urdu-speaking samples. This points to social exclusion based on ethnicity. It is, therefore, argued that the provincial government should focus on the provision of education and better health care and childcare services to the people in the disadvantaged areas and, thus, promote an egalitarian development model as well as mindset.

Quite contrary to the conclusions offered by Cheema *et al.* in Chapter 6 – where the financial role of international organisations such as the European Union in contributing towards Pakistan's development is empirically recognised, Ahmed Waqas Waheed, in Chapter 9, take a critical view of the US-led financial and institutional arrangements, such as the military and economic aid during the military regimes. While applying cosmopolitanism, which emphasises democracy, human rights and sovereignty, Ahmed focuses on the period before and after 9/11. As Pakistan's role became crucial in the War on Terror (WoT), the US-led allies ignored the nature and character of the military regime in Pakistan. Similarly, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank also acted generously when addressing Pakistan's requests for bailout packages, while ignoring the authoritarian nature of the Pakistani governments.

Clearly, the geopolitical interests of these actors overpowered their regard for democracy. Moreover, the US drone attacks in Pakistan, though with the implicit connivance of the latter, violated both Pakistan's state sovereignty and human rights. This was in stark contradiction to the much-touted cosmopolitan spirit of territorial integrity and promotion of democracy as well as human rights in the Third World.²⁸ In addition, while dealing with multilateral institutions, Pakistan often found itself caught in a hierarchical relationship where multilateral institutions were found to be readily complacent, and in some cases, employed to further the political interests of the powerful states. The discourse on human rights, democracy and similar normative values only served as a tool in the hands of the large states. The author argues that cosmopolitanism did not capture the political reality of the Third World. This was clearly reflected in the case of Pakistan.

Unlike Pakistan's experience with the US and the western (financial) institutions, Pakistan's interaction with China in the past, however, has remained

cordial, in our view. The latest addition to Sino-Pakistan bilateral relations is the launch of the multibillion China–Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), which was proposed in May 2013 and launched in April 2015.

Ghulam Ali, in his detailed review of the CPEC, in Chapter 10, argues that apart from criticism and uncertainties, the CPEC has been transformed from a concept into a reality. Most of the projects under early harvest have already been completed while the mid-term projects are in an advanced state. Pakistan has not only made progress in four key areas of cooperation, namely, energy, infrastructure, the Gwadar Port and industrial cooperation, but also in agriculture, maritime issues, human resources and defence. The CPEC has also attracted investment from other countries such as Saudi Arabia, the UAE, Qatar and Malaysia and, thus, enhanced Pakistan's regional standing. Ali argues that the mutuality of interests of the two countries guarantees an unflinching commitment to the completion of the project. As Pakistan has received huge investment and technological assistance, China, too, would benefit from the CPEC.

In addition, Ali argues that China would get access to the Indian Ocean via a shorter distance; it could link Xinjiang's economy with the outer world and could get a suitable alternative to the Malacca Strait through which the bulk of its trade and energy pass. Strategically, the Gwadar Port, which is the culminating point of the CPEC, may help in securing China's maritime interests. To optimise the use of CPEC, both sides need to take several measures. Islamabad, in Ali's view, ought to develop a national consensus by taking all stakeholders on board and addressing governance problems, such as terrorism. China, for its part, needs to be mindful of the local culture, and the political, economic and religious realities.²⁹

In the context of the CPEC, the Pakistani state seems preoccupied with national security vis-à-vis Afghanistan, India and, to some degree, Iran. Most recently, the 'Balakot' episode has not only intensified bilateral rivalry but also put (extra)regional stability at stake.³⁰ Historically, as well as contemporaneously, Pakistan, being a small state compared to large India, has pursued military parity with India, which seemed a herculean task, insofar as conventional capability is concerned. Thus, after the post-1971 debacle, Pakistan, covertly, started its nuclear programme to neutralise the Indian threat (non) conventionally. In order to gauge contemporary Pakistan's governance capability in terms of 'deterrence' development, Syed Ali Zia Jaffery, in Chapter 11, revisits Pakistan's nuclear programme by highlighting the contemporary 'deterrence' dynamics in terms of doctrinal transformation from 'credible minimum' to 'full spectrum' deterrence.

As mentioned above, Islamabad had started its nuclear programme during the 1970s, it became an overt nuclear state in 1998 by detonating nuclear weapons in a tit-for-tat response to India's tests. In the following years, Pakistan's nuclear programme stepped into the international limelight³¹ due to Pakistan's introduction of tactical nuclear weapons (TNWs), seaward nuclearisation – also referred as the second-strike capability³² – and defiant refusal to change its First Use policy. The international community exerted pressure on Islamabad by pointing

to its nuclear proliferation regime that could destabilise South Asia strategically as India also possessed nuclear capability.

While addressing these concerns, the author makes a persuasive case in support of Pakistan's nuclear programme as being vital to its national security and regional stability. Nevertheless, Jaffery maintains that Pakistan's nuclear strategy has, with time, changed from a purely war-prevention doctrine to one that aims to prevent war by adopting war-fighting capabilities. However, these shifts are consistent with its deterrence goals and, therefore, are a source of strategic stability in South Asia.

The environment

Whereas governance and development traditionally have received considerable academic and policy attention in Pakistan, it was the environment, both physical and human, that was neglected at the political, policy and operational level. Even academically, pre-9/11, climate research remained a non-priority in local universities, think tanks and government departments. However, the environment has assumed immense academic, policy and political significance in recent years, nationally and regionally.

Nevertheless, the discourse on, for instance, climate change in terms of global warming is extremely contested politically, to the extent that Donald Trump, the current US president, has publicly denied global warming and termed it a Chinese 'hoax'.³³ On the other hand, however, certain European governments under the framework of the United Nations, i.e. the Conference of Parties (COP21),³⁴ have candidly amassed a global consensus on the gravity of the climate crisis facing the (non-)human population of the planet. Indeed, the recent study conducted by the world's top-ranked climate scientists has come up with alarming findings.

The authors found that if greenhouse gas emissions continue at the current rate, the atmosphere will warm up by as much as 2.7 degrees Fahrenheit (1.5 degrees Celsius) above preindustrial levels by 2040, inundating coastlines and intensifying droughts and poverty.... Avoiding the most serious damage requires transforming the world economy within just a few years, said the authors, who estimate that the damage would come at a cost of \$54 trillion. But while they conclude that it is technically possible to achieve the rapid changes required to avoid 2.7 degrees of warming, they concede that it may be politically unlikely.³⁵

The foregoing findings include Pakistan and the South Asian region, in general. Regionally, South Asia has witnessed a rise in the number of climate-induced disasters, such as floods, heat waves and droughts. This has caused great loss of human lives, damage to infrastructure and a blow to the economy.³⁶ Pakistan holds a key position in South Asia, both strategically and economically. Amidst the discussion on mutual strengthening of the region in terms of social and

economic development and strained relationships with its neighbours, an important aspect has been overlooked in the mainstream geopolitical discussion, namely, environmental governance, particularly in the transboundary context and with shared resources.

Pakistan is facing pressing environmental challenges as its natural resources are becoming not only increasingly polluted but also scarce. In addition to a declining natural resource base, the country is facing serious environmental pollution challenges, particularly in air and water, land degradation, urban congestion, desertification, deforestation, loss of biodiversity and habitat, water scarcity and declining water quality coupled with extreme weather events. In the foregoing context, Muhammad Fahim Khokhar and Khadija Aamir explore, in Chapter 12, the major environmental concerns and climate change challenges faced by Pakistan. Since climatic conditions geographically are mostly overlapping and climate crisis is a cross-country and cross-continental phenomenon, the authors, while taking an anthropogenic view of the environment, have briefly focused on the transboundary air pollution and water issues between India and Pakistan. In this respect, climate governance is deemed as a prerequisite, on the one hand, for the realisation of the socio-economic development of Pakistan and, on the other, to prevent a water war between the two nuclear-armed neighbours who, in March 2019, were on the brink of their fifth war.³⁷

While highlighting the overwhelming significance of the transboundary shared natural resources between India and Pakistan, Tooba Khurshid, in Chapter 13, conducts a case study on the Indus Waters Treaty (IWT) with reference to transboundary water dispute resolution. The chapter argues that India and Pakistan share a complex relationship – apart from a common border, culture and history – of sharing the Indus Basin, which has been a major source of contention between the two sides since partition in 1947. Partition placed the extensive canal headworks in India, thus, turning India into the upper and Pakistan, into the lower, riparian state. Owing to the 1948 water conflict emerging out of the unsettled nature of the Indus Basin, the World Bank, on behalf of the western powers, especially the United States, intervened and helped negotiate the IWT in 1960. Since then, the treaty has been mostly implemented faithfully.

Nonetheless, in the contemporary context, water issues, such as the construction of dams by India on the Indus and Jhelum rivers, have panicked Pakistan which has taken a legalist approach under the IWT framework. The chapter posits that both states ought not only to abide by the treaty but also to seek avenues to incorporate environmental risks and related vulnerabilities into its framework in order to enhance the bilateral dispute resolution mechanism, which is urgently required, given the tense nature of bilateral relations and the scarcity of transboundary (water) resources.

This book, thus, reflects the collective concerns of educated Pakistani youth who – being professionally trained in the discipline of political science, development studies and environmental sciences – are academically engaged in conducting a conceptually compact and empirically sound analysis of

certain pressing issues related to governance, development and the environment that Pakistan, as a society and state, is grappling with. The primary aim of the collection of these fresh and, in some cases, innovative perspectives – which, at times, seem to be thematically overlapping – on contemporary Pakistan is to carry home the extraordinary significance of the analysed domains, which lie at the centre of policy deliberations, formulation and implementation. If some, if not all, conclusions drawn by this study were adopted by the social, political and economic stakeholders of the country as well as the region at the higher level of governability, it would certainly boost morale, individually and collectively, to further solve the most pressing and persistent problems and perplexing phase that Pakistan, in particular, and the South Asia region, in general, are passing through, and come up with innovative solutions.

Notes

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- 9 Ejaz Hussain, 'Failure to Understand Military Intervention in Pakistan: A Rejoinder', *Armed Forces & Society* 44, no. 2 (2018), 368–78.
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- 12 *Ibid.*
- 13 Shahid Javed Burki, *Changing Perceptions, Altered Reality: Pakistan's Economy under Musharraf, 1999–2006* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2007), 29–30.
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- 15 The FATA was merged with Khyber–Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) under the terms of the 31st Constitutional Amendment. For details, see Chapter 2 of this book.
- 16 *Daily Times*, 'Water Crisis: Why Is Pakistan Running Dry?', 10 December 2018. Available at: <https://dailytimes.com.pk/331822/water-crisis-why-is-pakistan-running-dry/> (accessed 18 December 2018).

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