



“Development Challenges confronting Pakistan”

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Conference Steering Committee:

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Dr. Rifaat Hussain, Quaid-e-Azam University
Dr. Saba Gul Khattak, Pakistan Planning Commission
Dr. S. Akbar Zaidi, Karachi & Columbia University

Abstracts and Participant Biodatas

(in alphabetical order)

Aitzaz Ahsan “What Must be Changed in Pakistan’s Legal System, but How to Succeed?”

This paper identifies the salient aspects of Pakistan’s legal system that must be changed so as to enable Pakistan to move forward and eliminate poverty, promote social justice and implement policies to promote equity. However, identification is but a first step; the even greater challenges are to conceive of what would work better and develop a strategy to incorporate these changes into Pakistan’s legal structure.

Biodata: Aitzaz Ahsan studied law at Cambridge University, UK and was called to the bar at Grays’ Inn. He is a Barrister-at-Law at *Aitzaz Ahsan & Associates Law Firm*, Lahore and a senior advocate at the Supreme Court of Pakistan. He is also a writer, human rights activist, politician, former Federal Minister for Law and Justice, Interior, Narcotics Control, and Education. Elected to the Senate of Pakistan in 1994, he eventually succeeded as the leader of the House and the leader of the Opposition between the years 1996 and 1999. He is a past president of the Supreme Court Bar Association. He was integrally involved in the Pakistan Lawyers’ Movement, 2007-10.

He is an actively engaged human rights activist and a founding vice-president of the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan. He has been incarcerated under arbitrary detention laws many times by military and authoritarian regimes. During one such prolonged detention, he wrote *The Indus Saga and the Making of Pakistan* (Oxford University Press, 1996). He is co-author (with Meghnad Desai) of *Divided by Democracy* (Roli Books, 2006). He also wrote the poem, “Kal Aaj Aur Kal” which became the theme song of the Lawyers’ Movement. He has contributed articles for local and international newspapers.

Aasim Sajjad Akhtar “Dependency is Dead: Long Live Dependency”

Since the heyday of dependency theory – and neo-Marxist writing more generally – in the late 1970s, it has become increasingly unfashionable for scholars of third world countries such as Pakistan to situate the country’s dire economic situation within the context of its colonial past and neo-colonial present. In particular, foreign aid and debt have been virtually depoliticized and dehistoricised while the imperatives of ‘market-oriented reform’ and the limitation of the state’s role to creating an ‘enabling environment’ for private capital have come to be acknowledged virtually as indisputable truths. Employing a framework outlined by Giovanni Arrighi and David Harvey, this paper argues that, in fact, Pakistan’s polity and economy have been militarised and made dependent respectively by a politics of aid that has evolved through successive eras starting from the early 1950s. The political economy of aid has become even more stifling in recent years, and total external debt will reach US\$74 billion by 2013-4. In short, aid has been extremely effective in consolidating Pakistan’s political and economic dependence on western governments, international financial institutions (IFIs), whilst also bolstering the state security apparatus within the polity.

Biodata: Aasim Sajjad Akhtar earned his Ph.D. in Political Sociology at SOAS, University of London. He is now Assistant Professor of Political Economy, National Institute of Pakistan Studies, Quaid-e-Azam University, Islamabad. He previously taught at the School of Humanities and Social Sciences, LUMS. He co-authored (with Foqia Sadiq and Shahrukh Rafi Khan) *Initiating Devolution for Service Delivery in Pakistan: Ignoring the Power Structure* (2007) and has written numerous articles for journals and newspapers. Dr. Akhtar is actively involved with trade and student unions, farmers groups, urban squatters, and progressive political organizations.

Nazish Brohi “Breaking through Boundaries of Center-Periphery Relations”

The investiture of power at the center has been a consistent grievance of the provinces, as have been its effort to impose a national language, a centrist view of history and craft a hegemonic national interest. I suggest these centrifugal and centripetal forces do not exist as binaries, and that impunity towards violence against women in the private sphere has created a ‘community of interest’ and nation-wide narratives of national honor and autonomy that promoted a masculinist solidarity across sub-nationalist cleavages. Women on the peripheries have responded by sometimes attempting to break through boundaries of the private sphere by locating themselves in the public realm and claiming state protection, or more commonly, by circumventing the state altogether. I tentatively suggest that in the current debate in Pakistan over devolution, cast in the center periphery paradigm, the tectonic plates of the country’s power structures are shifting and may offer new possibilities to address violence against women.

Biodata: Nazish Brohi is currently an independent researcher and development consultant with twelve years of experience in the non-profit sector in Pakistan. Her research interests are gender and violence; agency; citizenship; conflict and political Islam. She has authored *The MMA Offensive* and published papers in various journals. As a consultant, she has worked with the Government of Pakistan, NGOs, international development agencies, and the United Nations. In the past, she has established a crisis center for women survivors of violence; headed the women's rights program at ActionAid International; developed research programs at the Sustainable Development Policy Institute and taught at post-graduate level at the gender studies department at Quaid-e-Azam University. She writes socio-political analysis for national newspapers and is also an activist with women’s movements in Pakistan.

C. Christine Fair, Graeme Blair, Neil Malhotra, and Jacob N. Shapiro APoverty and Support for Militant Politics: Evidence from Pakistan@

Combating militant violenceCparticularly within South Asia and the Middle EastCstands at the top of the international security agenda. Much of the policy literature focuses on poverty as a root cause of support for violent political groups and on economic development as a key to addressing the challenges of militancy and terrorism. Unfortunately, there is little evidence to support this contention, particularly in the case of Islamist militant organizations. To address this gap we conducted a 6000-person, nationally-representative survey of Pakistanis that measures affect towards four important militant organizations. We apply a novel measurement strategy to mitigate item non-response, which plagued previous surveys due to the sensitive nature of militancy. Our study reveals three key patterns. First, Pakistanis exhibit negative affect toward all four militant organizations, with those from areas where groups have conducted the most attacks disliking them the most. Second, contrary to conventional expectations poor Pakistanis dislike militant groups more than middle-class citizens. Third, this dislike is strongest among poor urban residents, suggesting that the negative relationship stems from exposure to the externalities of terrorist attacks. Longstanding arguments tying support for violent political organizations to individuals= economic prospectsCand the subsequent policy recommendationsCmay require substantial revision.

Biodata: C. Christine Fair has a PhD from the Department of South Asian Languages and Civilization in 2004 and an MA in the Harris School of Public Policy. Prior to joining the Center for Peace and Security Studies (CPASS), within Georgetown University's Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, she served as a senior political scientist with the RAND Corporation, a political officer to the United Nations Assistance Mission to Afghanistan in Kabul, and as a senior research associate in USIP=s Center for Conflict Analysis

and Prevention. Her research focuses upon political and military affairs in South Asia. She has authored, co-authored and co-edited several books including *Treading Softly on Sacred Ground: Counterinsurgency Operations on Sacred Space* (OUP, 2008); *The Madrassah Challenge: Militancy and Religious Education in Pakistan* (USIP, 2008), *Fortifying Pakistan: The Role of U.S. Internal Security Assistance* (USIP, 2006); among others and has written numerous peer-reviewed articles covering a range of security issues in Afghanistan, Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. She is a member of the International Institute of Strategic Studies, the Council on Foreign Relations, serves on the editorial board of *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, *Journal of Strategic Studies* and *India Review*. She is also a senior fellow with the Counter Terrorism Center at West Point and a Research Fellow with the National Asia Research Program, jointly run by the National Bureau of Research and the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

S. Rifaat Hussain “Pakistan’s Security Discourse after 9/11: An Appraisal”

Following the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on the United States, Pakistan became a frontline state in the U.S.-led global war on terror. Having made common cause with Washington against Al-Qaeda, Islamabad was forced to articulate a new security paradigm in which the logic of its enduring rivalry with India sat uneasily with the imperatives of the global war on terror. This paper examines the impact of 9/11 on Pakistan’s strategic outlook, the conflicting demands generated by it and its polarizing effects on the state-society relations within Pakistan. The paper argues that despite being the worst victim of terrorist activity, Pakistan has yet to evolve a counter-terrorism security discourse which enjoys popular acceptance and legitimacy.

Biodata: Syed Rifaat Hussain received his PhD in International Studies from the University of Denver, Colorado and is now Professor and Chair of the Department of Defence and Strategic Studies at Quaid-i-Azam University in Islamabad. Prior to this, he served as Chairman of the Department of Peace and Conflict Studies at the National University in Islamabad, and Executive Director of the Regional Centre for Strategic Studies in Colombo, Sri Lanka. He has also taught at the Centre for International Security and Cooperation (CISAC) at Stanford University and served as course director of the Foreign Service Academy in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Islamabad.

Professor Hussain serves as a member of the editorial boards of many diverse publications including the *South Asia Journal* and the *National Defense University Journal and Regional Studies Quarterly*. He is the author of numerous books and publications including *Afghanistan and 9/11: The Anatomy of a Conflict* (2002); *From Dependence to Intervention: Soviet-Afghanistan Relations During the Brezhnev Era (1964-1982)* (1994); “Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE): An Elusive Quest for a “homeland” in the *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies* (Spring 2009); and “Pakistan’s Changing Outlook on Kashmir,” in *South Asian Survey* (2007).

Shahrukh Rafi Khan “Explaining the Puzzle of Pakistan’s Lagging Economic Growth”

Advocates of growth diagnostics have shown it to be a preferable alternative to other methods of formulating a growth strategy such as cross-country regressions, growth accounting or international benchmarking using cross country surveys. We show that growth diagnostics also suffers from problems and demand a high level of economic sophistication from its practitioners. We propose “weakness diagnostics” as a much broader, simpler and forward looking alternative. We apply this method to address the puzzle of Pakistan’s lagging per capita GDP relative to India. We argue that the lack of technological upgrading and economic diversification in Pakistan may partly explain this puzzle.

Biodata: Shahrukh Rafi Khan is currently a Copeland Fellow at Amherst College. He has formerly served as executive director of the Sustainable Development Policy Institute, Islamabad and taught at the University of Utah, Vassar College and Mount Holyoke College. He has published extensively in refereed journals and authored 11 books (3 co-authored), and edited 4 (3 co-edited). His recent authored and co-authored books include *Basic Education in Rural Pakistan: A Comparative Institutional Analysis of Government, Private, and NGO Schools* (Oxford: 2005), *Harnessing and Guiding Social Capital for Rural Development* (Palgrave/Macmillan: 2007), *Initiating Devolution for Service Delivery in Pakistan: Forgetting the Power Structure* (Oxford: 2007), and

Export Success and Industrial Linkages: The Case of Garment Production in South Asia (Palgrave/Macmillan: 2009). His recent edited and co-edited books include *International Trade and the Environment: Difficult Policy Choices at the Interface* (Zed Books: 2002) and *Market as Means or Master: Towards New Developmentalism* (Routledge, 2010). He has twice won The Akhtar Hameed Khan book prize and engaged in academic consulting for several international organizations including the UNDP, UNESCO, UNEP, UNICEF and the World Bank.

Saba Gul Khattak “The Challenges to Social Protection: Extending Exclusion or Ending Exclusion?”

This paper addresses the concept and contested meanings of social protection vis a vis social safety nets. It traces some of the policy measures instituted by the Government of Pakistan to mitigate people’s vulnerabilities. Given the intensified challenges from increased population, poverty, under- and unemployment and insecurity, the paper delves into questions about the usefulness of targeting social protection and subsidies along with the associated tools of poverty head count ratios and caloric intake. It highlights Pakistan’s allocations for social sector social protection programs, and compares these with allocations for the ‘hard’ sectors including infrastructure and security. I argue for increasing investment in the social sector rather than building on welfarist band-aid approaches.

Biodata: Saba Gul Khattak holds a PhD in Political Science and is currently a Member of the Planning Commission. She previously served as the Executive Director of the Sustainable Development Policy Institute (SDPI), Islamabad. She teaches occasionally as visiting faculty at Quaid I Azam University. Her research is guided by feminist and political economy approaches to understanding the intersections of development, security, gender, and governance. Her publications include “Women in Local Government: the Pakistan experience” in *IDS Bulletin* (2010), “Women’s concerns in International Relations: The crossroads of politics and peace in South Asia” in *Pakistan Journal of International Affairs* (2008), and “Living on the Edges: Afghan women and refugee camp management in Pakistan” in *Signs, Journal of Women in Culture and Society* (2007). Her current focus is on social protection concerns and women’s land rights. She actively contributes to dialogues on these themes at different forums in Pakistan and internationally. She serves on a number of national and international committees and boards in a voluntary capacity.

Sohail Jehangir Malik “Transforming Pakistan’s Agriculture”

This paper identifies the key challenges in transforming Pakistan’s agriculture and recommends a strategy for unleashing its growth potential while increasing employment and reducing poverty. The numerous challenges facing Pakistan’s agriculture are as persistent as the lack of its diversification out of the predominant low value traditional crop rotations. The list of these challenges is long. It includes the issues connected with the flat (and low) yields, the large yield gap between yields on the farmer’s fields and research stations and the huge variability of yields; the thin, segmented and under-performing rural factor, input and output markets and the rapidly declining overall investment – especially public investment (and especially in research, technology development and extension services). The more endemic issues resulting from the skewed distribution of land and its resultant lack of a level playing field for the majority of the small and landless farmers which limits access to markets and to justice, coupled with the absence of land titles and the associated loss of productivity for the majority of the rural population which ends up in endless and fruitless litigation; the declining availability and low productivity of water along with the non-reliability of water services are only a few of the other elements in this list. Increasing globalization and the need to maintain quality and standards, while being competitive, adds an additional dimension.

However, it is the lack of clarity of the role of agriculture in the overall economic development strategies that have been pursued in the past coupled with poor implementation and the constant back sliding on reform which has most adversely affected the transformation of agriculture. Poor policy making based on inadequate research and the absence of any effective monitoring and evaluation have distorted structures, inhibited institutional development and facilitated rent seeking for a few. The poor overall economic management of the country has left agriculture with very low levels of productivity – it currently accounts for about 21 percent of the GDP but is saddled with over 45 percent of the labor force. With poor farm to non-farm

linkages the bulk of the rural population is caught in a vicious circle of increasing poverty.

Biodata: Sohail Jehangir Malik obtained his Ph. D in Econometrics from the University of New England, Australia and Masters degrees in Agriculture Development Economics from the Australian National University and Economics from the Quaid-e-Azam University, Islamabad. He has more than 30 years of international experience in policy-oriented research into development problems. His international experience includes agriculture policy analysis (including WTO and trade related issues), technology choice, biodiversity conservation, poverty analysis, domestic commerce, rural finance, food security and nutrition and social safety nets. A significant part of his career has focused on the setting up and evaluation of poverty reduction and agricultural development strategies in developing countries in Africa and Asia (including Pakistan). He has published over a hundred articles and research reports, most in leading professional journals. He has authored three books, edited/co-edited four others and authored chapters in eight different books. His seminal work on estimating poverty in Pakistan at the agro-climatic zone level which was published as a chapter in the internationally acclaimed 1993 book entitled *Including the Poor* edited by Michael Lipton and Jacques van der Gaag established the basis for the consideration of disaggregated regional analysis for effective agricultural growth and poverty reduction policy making.

He started his career from the Pakistan Institute of Development Economics (PIDE), Islamabad in the mid-1970s and has worked in various senior positions in reputed national and international research and academic organizations. His positions have included Research Fellow and Chief of Party (USAID funded projects in Pakistan and Egypt) at the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI), Washington DC (1987 to 1995), Vice President at John Mellor Associates, Washington, D.C. (1995-97), Chief Executive Officer at Innovative Environmental Technologies, Inc., Virginia, USA (1997-98). From 1998- 2002 he was Coordinator of the Poverty Cluster at the Operations Evaluation Department of the World Bank in Washington, D. C. He has held the Higher Education Commission of Pakistan Chairs in Economics at the University of Agriculture at Faisalabad and the University of Sargodha (2003-08) and has been Advisor to the Pakistan Poverty Alleviation Fund 2005-09. He has also consulted extensively for international organizations including the FAO, the UNDP, the Asian Development Bank, the World Food Program, and the International Trade Center of the WTO. He has managed multi-million dollar multi-year donor projects focused on food security and poverty alleviation in Asia and North Africa. Currently he is Chairman of *Innovative Development Strategies (Pvt.) Ltd.*, a private consulting firm based in Islamabad and Visiting Research Fellow International Food Policy Research Institute, Washington DC. He is also a member of several high level international advisory committees and groups including the select academic task force for the South Asia University being set up in New Delhi under the SAARC and the Regional Advisory Group on Agriculture Policy for the FAO Asia and Pacific Office in Bangkok.

John Mock “No American, No Gun, No BS”: Tourism, Terrorism and the Limits of Acceptable Change” The title of this paper may strike some as a bit offensive, but this statement is being used currently in Pakistan by tourists. Where, why, and how it relates to tourism is the subject of the paper. Along the way, the paper discusses the state of tourism in Pakistan and tourism trends in Pakistan, and compares them with regional and worldwide trends. Finally, the paper discusses strategies for mitigating impacts and conflict so as to better contribute to the future of Pakistan.

Biodata: John Mock holds M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in South and Southeast Asian Studies from the University of California, Berkeley. Dr. Mock has worked as a consultant on community-based conservation, tourism development and promotion, ecotourism, and wildlife conservation in Afghanistan and Pakistan for the Wildlife Conservation Society, Aga Khan Foundation (Afghanistan), Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ), IUCN-The World Conservation Union, the Worldwide Fund for Nature-WWF and the Snow Leopard Conservancy. He is coauthor of Lonely Planet Publications' *Trekking in the Karakoram & Hindukush* and contributor to Lonely Planet's *Pakistan & the Karakoram Highway* and *Afghanistan* country guidebooks. Until 2010 he was Lecturer in Hindi & Urdu at the University of California, Santa Cruz. His most recent research, as a Fulbright Senior Scholar in Pakistan and a Fulbright Regional Scholar in Tajikistan, is on the oral traditions of the Wakhi people of Pakistan and Afghanistan.

Tariq Rehman “The Potential for Violence or Peace in Pakistan: Linguistic and Educational Policies”

This paper examines the reasons for the rise of ethnic and class violence in Pakistan with reference to two specific policies i.e. policies about language and education. It is argued that language is a symbol of identity used by ethnic leaders to counter demands for an equitable share in power as well as goods and services in the country. Thus, what passes for language conflicts are actually political conflicts among competing peripheral elites and the ruling elite of the centre. Likewise, educational policies reflect social class conflicts in the society. The quest for creating support for an aggressive foreign policy has empowered discourses which make peace difficult to achieve. It has also created non-state actors and informal texts, especially Islamic ones, which support militancy in the name of Islam. The idiom of Islam, supported by the educational system, makes it difficult for democratic and secular politics to take root in the country. These trends allow us to make certain projections about the future of Pakistan. The most optimistic scenario is that the militant trends will be overcome, the ethnic injustices will be amicably resolved and a South Asia on the lines of the European Union will emerge. The most pessimistic one is that the Taliban will take over parts of the country and South Asia will be destroyed by war. And the other in-between scenarios are that Pakistan will rock from crisis to crisis but manage to survive and remain at peace externally though small conflicts are not ruled out.

Biodata: Tariq Rahman obtained his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in the U.K. He is HEC Distinguished National Professor and Professor Emeritus at the National Institute of Pakistan Studies, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad and is also Director of NIPS since 2007. He is a highly published scholar with over 94 articles in scholarly journals; 12 books; 6 encyclopedia articles; 27 contributions to books and several book reviews. His most famous book *Language and Politics in Pakistan*, published by Oxford (Pakistan) in 1996, remains in print and has been published by Orient Blackswan in India. His history of language-learning among the Muslims of South Asia, *Language, Ideology and Power* (OUP 2002), remains a landmark in the field and has also been published by the same Indian publisher in 2008. His latest book, *Denizens of Alien Worlds* (OUP 2004), connects the medium of instruction with world view, poverty and politics in Pakistan. His latest book which is under publication is a social and political history of Urdu.

Dr. Rahman has been a guest professor in Denmark and Spain and a Fulbright research scholar (1995-96) at the University of Texas, Austin. He was the first incumbent of the Pakistan Chair at U.C Berkeley (2004-05). He has been a research fellow at the Oxford Centre of Islamic Studies and the South Asia Institute at the University of Heidelberg. He has lectured or contributed conference papers in the U. K. as well as the U.S., Germany, France, China, Korea, India, and Nepal. He also contributes columns and book reviews to the English language press in Pakistan.

Cabeiri deBergh Robinson “Earthquakes, Floods, and other Human Disasters: Human Security, Disaster Capitalism, and the Internal Borders of Pakistan’s Security State”

This paper examines the emergence of the concept of ‘human security’ as an alternative to a notion of national security as a project of defending the territorial borders and enforcing the ideological borders of the state. I examine the concept as it emerged from the merging of international development and security projects in the 1980s and 1990s in order to argue that it doesn’t merely replicate the concept of social welfare. Then I discuss how complex humanitarian emergencies, including natural disasters (such as earthquakes or floods) in politically sensitive or unstable regions, have illuminated the importance of a human security policy as part of the state’s theory of its security terrain. As its grounded case study, the paper examines the ways the 2005 earthquake transformed not only the territorial landscape of Azad Jammu and Kashmir but also the regional political economic and the social landscape. For the international community, an area that had long been a site of global humanitarian refusal became an acceptable terrain of humanitarian work because the disaster was ‘natural’. For Pakistani voluntary organizations, it became a territory of compassion, in which Pakistani society’s capacity for self-organization and care could be mobilized against the images of Pakistan as a place of perpetual crisis and institutionalized disorder, on the one hand, and as the object of militarized ‘humanitarian interventions’ on the other. For former Islamist militants, it became a domain of governance, in which welfare could be articulated as a form of state security provision which will continue to compete for

funds and recognition with the nation's border security concerns.

Biodata: Cabeiri deBergh Robinson is Assistant Professor of International Studies and South Asia Studies at the Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington (Seattle). She received her PhD in Anthropology from Cornell University in 2005. Prior to this, she worked with the International Committee of the Red Cross on a humanitarian assignment in Indian Jammu and Kashmir, and she spent over 5 years in Pakistan conducting field and archival research between 1998 and 2008. She was the recent recipient of a post-doctoral fellowship at Stanford Humanities Center of Stanford University where she completed a book manuscript entitled *Body of the Witness, Body of the Warrior: Refugee Families and the Kashmir Jihad* (currently under review). Her current on-going research in Pakistan examines the interconnected roles of international humanitarian organizations, the Pakistan military, and civil voluntary organizations in providing relief and formulating a rehabilitation and reconstruction policy in Azad Kashmir and the Northwest Frontier Provinces after the South Asian earthquake of October 2005.

Zeba Sathar “Has Population Policy failed in Pakistan, and Why it Matters”

In 1965, Pakistan was one of the earliest countries in the developing world to have a well enunciated population policy but one of the last countries in Asia to experience the onset of a fertility decline. This has been compounded by the stalling use of contraception leading to a deceleration of fertility decline in the period 2001-08. This paper examines various explanations using existing national data sets such as Living standards surveys, the two Demographic and Health surveys and published reports to relate trends in contraceptive use and fertility from 1965 until now. The sets of factors are firstly macroeconomic conditions, particularly per capita income and poverty and; secondly, human development particularly educational enrollment, literacy and the status of women (particularly employment); and lastly the provision or lack thereof of family planning services. The paper challenges whether Pakistan's elite and decision makers ever considered population policies seriously and whether this neglect followed by the recent abolition of a Ministry of Population welfare and transfer of responsibilities to the provinces has now thrown the country's demographic destiny into further peril.

Biodata: Dr. Zeba Sathar received her Master's and Ph.D. in the U.S and the U.K. She has spent more than 15 years at the Pakistan Institute of Development Economics where she held the position of Chief of Research in Demography. She also has considerable international experience having worked with the World Bank, World Fertility Survey, the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, and the Population Council in New York and in Pakistan. She has published widely in books and peer reviewed journals and has diverse academic interests in population ranging from the more pure demographic topics of fertility and mortality to issues of gender and their association with demographic processes. She has also worked extensively on education and poverty and their associations with demographic outcomes.

Dr. Sathar has advised and assisted the Government of Pakistan in formulating the 2002 Population Policy and is currently working on the 2010 Population Policy and Preparation of the 10th Five Year People's Plan (2010-15) in conjunction with the Government of Pakistan Ministry of Population Welfare and the Planning Commission. She was instrumental in forming the Population Association of Pakistan and was elected its President from 2002-04. She is the first elected member from Pakistan on the governing council of the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population (IUSSP). She has worked with the Population Council from 1994 and is currently its Country Director in Pakistan. Dr. Sathar, in recognition of her meritorious services to the development sector in Pakistan, received the award of *Tamgha-I-Imtiaz* by the President of Pakistan on March 23, 2006.

Saeed Shafqat “Reforming Pakistan's Bureaucracy: Will the 18th Amendment Help?”

This paper is divided into four parts. The first part provides a brief overview of the origins and evolution of civil service in Pakistan. Second, it briefly reviews and evaluates the reports of four commissions set up by the Government of Pakistan between 1972—2009. Two reports were produced under democratic regimes and

two under military regimes. Each report and its findings and recommendations must be understood, interpreted and evaluated in the context of three essential factors: the prevailing socio-political environment; regime type (democratic or military); and the ruler's imperative. The third section, cognizant of the needs to recognize that the focus of reform efforts have been only on the higher bureaucracy and not the provincial governments, the paper will explore why that is the case. Finally, it will assess how the 18th Amendment is re-shaping the federation – province relations and the role and structure of Civil Services in the country. I argue that both democratic and military rulers' reform efforts have been driven by considerations of subordinating bureaucracy rather than changing the behavior, improving service delivery and citizen welfare, enhancing professional skills, managerial capacity, and public accountability. As a result, politicization, institutional decline, pre-occupation with survival, and preserving the status quo have become pervasive in the civil services of Pakistan have and deepened the crisis of governance. The 18th Amendment does offer provincial governments an opportunity to revamp the capacity of provincial bureaucracies and improve governance. It invites the federal government to redesign the role and structure of higher civil services of Pakistan.

Biodata: Saeed Shafqat is the founding Director of the Centre for Public Policy and Governance at Forman Christian (college) University, Lahore. He obtained his PhD from University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. Until recently (June 2005- June 2007), Dr. Shafqat was Executive Director of the National Institute of Population Studies (NIPS), Islamabad. Prior to that, he was Quaid-i-Azam Distinguished Professor and Chair (March 2001- May 2005), Pakistan Center at the School of International Affairs and Public Policy (SIPA), Columbia University and continued to be Adjunct Professor at SIPA (2005-2010), teaching two online courses IAU 8615 *Globalization and Transformation of Religion and Politics in South Asia* and IAU 8582 *Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan: Changing Dynamics of Religion, Politics, Security and Great Power Interactions*. His research on culture, politics, security and various aspects of public policy, governance and civil service reform on Pakistan have been published in journals of international repute. His books include: *Political System of Pakistan and Public Policy* (1989) *Civil- Military Relations in Pakistan* (1997), *Contemporary Issues in Pakistan Studies* (2000, 3rd edition), *New Perspectives on Pakistan: Visions for the Future* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2007). He is currently working on a monograph *Assessing the Dynamics of Pakistan-US Relations in the First Decade of the 21st Century and implications for the Future*.

Abid Qaiyum Suleri "Insecurity Breeds Insecurity"

Food insecurity is one of the causes of unrest, conflict, and/or political instability. On the other hand, political instability, conflict and social unrest are some of the causes of food insecurity, poverty and marginalization. Both food insecurity and conflict erode people's resilience to any external or internal change and vice versa. This paper explores the relationship among the above mentioned challenges in Pakistan's context. It argues that insecurity breeds insecurity and unless individual security is given precedence over national, regional, and global securities, it will be difficult to break the vicious cycle of insecurities facing the people of Pakistan.

Biodata: Abid Qaiyum Suleri, Executive Director of SDPI since 2007, earned his Ph.D. in Food Security from the Natural Resources Institute, University of Greenwich, U.K. Prior to joining SDPI, he served as Head of OXFAM GB Pakistan Programs. His research interests include food security, rural livelihoods, regional integration, institutional reforms, disaster management, the poverty-environment nexus, and sustainable natural resources governance. He serves on the National Planning Commission's Task Forces on climate change and social sector development and heads the Regional Steering Committee of *Imagine a New South Asia*, a broad-based network of civil society organizations and individuals working for a New South Asia free from social injustice, conflict, poverty, hunger, diseases, and hegemonic regimes. He is also the vice chair of executive board of South Asia Watch on Trade, Economics, and the Environment. He is also leading the SDPI team that is formulating the National Sustainable Development Strategy (NSDS) in collaboration with the Ministry of Environment and the UN Environmental Program (UNEP). He is the lead author of *Food Insecurity in Pakistan* 2009 (jointly produced by SDPI and the World Food Program) and author of *Social Dimension of Globalization* (2005). Dr. Suleri is a contributor to Saman Kelegama's *South Asia in the WTO* (2008) and is a prolific writer who regularly contributes to various national and international publications.

Ashley J. Tellis “Pakistan’s Political Development: Looking Backward, Looking Forward”

This paper explores the factors that have impeded the development of democratic institutions in Pakistan and examines what might be done to strengthen the prospects of success, internally and externally, in the future.

Biodata: Ashley J. Tellis earned his PhD in Political Science from the University of Chicago. He also holds an MA in Political Science from the University of Chicago and both BA and MA degrees in Economics from the University of Bombay. He is currently Senior Associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, specializing in international security, defense, and Asian strategic issues. While on assignment to the US Department of State as Senior Adviser to the Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs, he was intimately involved in negotiating the civil nuclear agreement with India. Previously he was commissioned into the U.S. Foreign Service and served as Senior Adviser to the Ambassador at the US Embassy in New Delhi. He also served on the National Security Council staff as Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Strategic Planning and Southwest Asia. Prior to his government service, he was Senior Policy Analyst at the RAND Corporation and Professor of Policy Analysis at the RAND Graduate School.

He is the author of *India’s Emerging Nuclear Posture* (2001) and co-author of *Interpreting China’s Grand Strategy: Past, Present, and Future* (2000). He is the Research Director of the Strategic Asia program at NBR and co-editor of the seven most recent annual volumes, including this year’s *Strategic Asia 2010–11: Asia’s Rising Power and America’s Continued Purpose*. In addition to numerous Carnegie and RAND reports, his academic publications have appeared in many edited volumes and journals. Dr. Tellis is a member of several professional organizations related to defense and international studies including the Council on Foreign Relations, the International Institute of Strategic Studies, the United States Naval Institute, and the Navy League of the United States.

Anita M. Weiss (Conference organizer and volume editor), received her doctorate in sociology from UC Berkeley and is now Professor and Head of the Department of International Studies at the University of Oregon. She has published extensively on social development, gender issues and political Islam in Pakistan including five books including *Pathways to Power: the Domestic Politics of South Asia* (co-editor with Arjun Guneratne and contributor, in progress with Rowman & Littlefield); *Power and Civil Society in Pakistan* (co-editor with Zulfiqar Gilani and contributor, Oxford University Press, 2001) and *Walls Within Walls: Life Histories of Working Women in the Old City of Lahore* Westview Press, 1992 (republished by Oxford University Press, 2002 with a new Preface). Recent publications include “Straddling CEDAW and the MMA: Conflicting Visions of Women’s Rights in Contemporary Pakistan” in Kenneth M. Cuno and Manisha Desai (eds.) *Family, Gender & Law in a Globalizing Middle East & South Asia* (Syracuse University Press, 2009, pp. 163-183) and “A Provincial Islamist Victory in NWFP, Pakistan: The Social Reform Agenda of the Muttahida Majlis-i-Amal” in John L. Esposito and John Voll (eds.) *Asian Islam in the 21st Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008, pp. 145-173). Her current research project is analyzing how distinct constituencies in Pakistan, including the state, are grappling with articulating their views on women’s rights. Professor Weiss is a member of the editorial boards of *Citizenship Studies* and *Globalizations*, is on the editorial advisory board of Kumarian Press, coordinates the AIPS/HEC doctoral dissertation workshop project, and is the Treasurer of the American Institute of Pakistan Studies.

Moeed W. Yusuf and **Safiya Aftab** “The Intersection between Development, Politics, and Security: The Case of Pakistan”

This paper examines the intersection of development, politics, and security in Pakistan. The anomalous civil-military relations are taken as the starting premise. We trace the roots of this anomaly briefly and then analyze its impact on development outcomes. We argue that the impact of the civil-military disconnect goes much beyond the failure to consolidate democracy; it is responsible for having created a security centered narrative which has never allowed Pakistani leaders to approach development holistically. The very priorities of the state have been skewed. We examine this thesis by applying them to four specific security-driven constraints to development: (i) “Guns versus Butter”; (ii) foregone regional diplomacy and interdependence; (iii) weak

political leadership; and (iv) poor governance. This paper highlights how perverse outcomes have been reinforced by weaknesses both on the military and civilian side.

Biodata: Moeed W. Yusuf is the South Asia adviser at the United States Institute of Peace Center in the Center for Conflict Analysis and Prevention and is responsible for managing the Institute's Pakistan program. He is expanding USIP's work on Pakistan to cover aspects that remain critical for the U.S. and Pakistan to better understand the other's interests and priorities. His current research focuses on youth and democratic institutions in Pakistan, and policy options to mitigate militancy in the country. He has worked extensively on issues relating to South Asian politics, Pakistan's foreign policy, the U.S.-Pakistan relationship, nuclear deterrence and non-proliferation, and human security and development in South Asia. Before joining USIP, Yusuf was a fellow at the Frederick S. Pardee Center for the Study of the Longer-Range Future at Boston University, and concurrently a research fellow at the Mossavar-Rahmani Center at Harvard Kennedy School. He has also been affiliated with the Brookings Institution as a special guest. In 2007, he co-founded Strategic and Economic Policy Research, a private sector consultancy firm in Pakistan. He has also consulted for a number of Pakistani and international organizations. From 2004-07, he was a full-time consultant with the Sustainable Development Policy Institute (SDPI). He has also consulted for the Brookings Institution, UNESCO, Asian Development Bank, World Bank, Innovative Development Strategies, Sungi Development Foundation, and Pugwash International.

Mr. Yusuf taught in Boston University's Political Science and International Relations Departments as a senior teaching fellow in 2009. He had previously taught at the Defense and Strategic Studies department at Quaid-e-Azam University. He has published widely in national and international journals, professional publications and magazines, and appears regularly as an expert on U.S. and Pakistani media.

S. Akbar Zaidi “Subsidizing the Elite: Moral Hazard, Taxation, Corruption and Development in Pakistan”
With high rates of tax avoidance by Pakistan's elite and rich, tax payers from countries supporting Pakistan's development initiatives have been subsidizing Pakistan's elite. Pakistan's ruling elite are unwilling and loathe to tax themselves, and exploit the country's geopolitical vulnerabilities, extracting rent for many strategic alliances. Powerful and influential western governments and their leaders parrot the Pakistan-is-too-important-to-fail mantra, which suits Pakistan's elite perfectly, as the economy is constantly bailed out. Both Pakistan's elite and western governments are equally to blame for the absence of more equitable taxation efforts in Pakistan.

Biodata: S. Akbar Zaidi is a social scientist based in Karachi, Pakistan. He is the author of a number of books, including *The New Development Paradigm: Papers on Institutions, NGOs, Gender and Local Government* (1999), *Pakistan's Economic and Social Development: The Domestic, Regional and Global Context* (2004) and *Issues in Pakistan's Economy* (2005). His most recent book, *Military, Civil Society and Democratization in Pakistan* (2011), examines the political economy of the Musharraf regime. He lives and works in Karachi but is currently a visiting professor at Columbia University, New York, where he has a joint position at SIPA (the School of International and Public Affairs), and at MESAAS (Department of Middle Eastern, South Asian, and African Studies).

Afiya Shehrbano Zia “Faith-based vs Rights-based Development for Pakistani Women”

In the 1990s, the framework for women's rights in Pakistan was loosely based on a universal human rights model. However, increasing Islamisation of the state and society have challenged practically all basic liberties, freedoms and security for women. At the same time, the theocratisation of development has seeped into the rationale of several post 9/11 donor funded projects. This apologia that is apparently meant to counter Islamophobia in western societies proposes to substitute or replace universal minimal human rights with abstract conceptions of Islamic nationalism and culture. Such recourse is not just defeatist and counter-intuitive of the historical direction of women's rights in Pakistan – it also reinforces patriarchal traditions within Pakistan's gendered discourse. This paper addresses some of these new challenges to women's rights and development with a focus on the broader implications for feminism in Pakistan.

Biodata: Afiya Shehrbano Zia is a feminist researcher and activist based in Karachi, Pakistan. She is author

of *Sex Crime in the Islamic Context* 1994; *Watching Them Watching Us* ASR, Pakistan, 2000, and has edited a series of books on women's issues. In recent years, she has authored several essays carried in the *Feminist Review*, *Journal of International Women's Studies*, *Economic and Political Weekly*, *Global Policy*, *OpenDemocracy*, and the University of Cambridge Occasional Paper Series. In 2008, she was a fellow at the Gender and Religions Department at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London, UK, where her research work was on "Challenges to Secular Feminism in Pakistan."

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