

Vol. XXXV (2017)

THE JOURNAL OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

ISSN 1726-6467



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Models Rooted in Feminist Discourses**

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***Department of Political Science
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2017

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THE JOURNAL OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

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COMPREHENDING COMMERCIAL SEX: AN EXPLORATION INTO GOVERNANCE MODELS ROOTED IN FEMINIST DISCOURSES

Muhammad Usman Amin Siddiqi *

Aamir Yaqoob **

Abstract: *Prostitution and its illegal status exist side by side in most of the countries in the world. This odd coexistence is indicative of moral and operative divisions in societies like Pakistan. In the backdrop of this division, the paper intends to critically comprehend the justifications of abolitionist and regulatory approaches through an exploratory descriptive methodology. The governance strategies of abolitionism and regulatory model, it is found, are based in theoretical controversies of feminism. Radical feminists are strong advocates of eradication of commercial sex whereas liberal viewpoints suggest a controlled regulation of prostitution.*

Keywords: Commercial sex, governance models, abolitionism, regulatory, feminist discourse.

Introduction

Prostitution is perhaps one of the oldest professions, but this historical status of it does not confer any accolades upon it. This research aims at exploring ideological and operational justifications offered by liberal and radical feminists that are usually adopted to deal with commercial sex. The study seeks to identify connections between theory and governance of sex work in a traditional but fast changing society like that of Pakistan. It also tries to comprehend that how the phenomenon of prostitution is considered as offensive to the

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state sanctioned moral standards of any society. While sex-trade is illegal in most of the countries, it exists as an open secret. Even more intriguing is the fact that there apparently is no consensus about the status of sex workers – not only in the eyes of those who are in this trade but also among most of those who are charged with the responsibility of enforcing state morality through laws. Even more fascinating than the arbitrary implementation of the law is the evolution of state laws and norms of morality themselves.

The roots of traditional prostitution in Pakistan can be traced back to a clan system prevailing in South Asia which over-time gave rise to a professional clan called *Kanjar* offering some cultural but mostly sexual services to the middle and upper echelons of the society. Women belonging to this group worked as sex-workers while the clan's men played supportive roles. Later on, the working classes also had access to brothels which actually evolved when power of the kings and nobility started declined. During the British Raj, the colonial government started patronizing the sex trade and formalized prostitution around the mid 18th century.¹ The British made first laws in this regard, and they ordered their police force to protect women sex workers. It were them who created "red light" areas like *Heera Mandi* and started providing basic health and cleanliness services to the localities where brothels were housed.² Afterwards, these traditional "red light" areas underwent many changes and started attracting well-heeled clients and grew in importance as home to singers and actresses for country's nascent show business industry. However, prostitutes and their associates in the sex-trade could never really remove the social stigma attached to their profession.³

¹ Ashwini Tambe, *Codes of Misconduct: Regulating Prostitution in Late Colonial Bombay* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009).

² Sadiya Ansari, "Canada Faces Year of Argument on Prostitution Law," *We. News* January 7, 2014, <https://womensenews.org/2014/01/canada-faces-year-argument-prostitution-law/>.

³ Fouzia Saeed, *Taboo: The Hidden Culture of Red Light Area* (Karachi: OUP Pakistan, 2006), 141–164.

The profession which grew under the wings of government and especially military patronage in the subcontinent (as in many other parts of the world) had to bear the brunt of General Zia-ul-Haq's top-down Islamization of the nation. Prostitution was now viewed as an intolerable evil in an otherwise moral society, and vigorous attempts were made to eradicate it. Performance hours for the dancing girls were reduced to two hours in the evening. The police force used to establish checkpoints on all entrances of red-light districts so that the music rehearsal and practice hours may not be misused. These measures effectively frightened the clients away – as nobody would like to have his/her name recorded in police registers.⁴ Though these regulations failed to eradicate prostitution, they indirectly forced the prostitutes to find new safe havens in settled area of the cities. Resultantly, new customers, recruits, and ways to run the business were discovered. Consequently, prostitution today is quite different and diverse phenomenon than it used to be decades ago having numerous changes and important new players.

Despite so much historical and moral controversy, prostitution is almost an untouched area of research for academicians in the country. Pakistan, unlike the west, remained largely immune to the waves of feminism; therefore, research on prostitutes – normally the lowest stratum of women in the society – is almost unknown to the academic world. Fauzia Saeed, and Louise Brown's books are the only two scholarly works that have carried out serious exploratory expeditions into the functions and structures of traditional prostitution in Lahore's red-light district – commonly known as *Heera Mandi* or *Shahi Mohallah*.⁵ However, these two works are primarily culturist inquiries and do not systematically examine the complex relationship of state's construction, its response and strategy for prostitution governance, and social stigma backed by law attached to prostitution. Moreover, these studies are largely confined to traditional ethnic group (*Kanjar*) and a specific location of Lahore's red-light area and lack the capacity to grasp the complexity of prostitution beyond the tradition. Therefore, an academic investigation to look into prostitution is timely and needed.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

The study is also important from the feminist point of view as it gives primary importance to the women of lowest rank in the society. Prostitutes in Pakistan are too often classified as "bad-girls" who do not fit the traditional image and standard of femininity.⁶ Therefore, the voices of the women in the sex trade are usually overlooked, and the opinions or verdicts about them are typically made by anyone but the prostitutes. In short, the governance of prostitution in Pakistan under an abolitionist regime makes the women in sex work at odds with official version of state morality rooted in the anti-prostitution legal apparatus. The conflict is indicative of the existence of parallel perceptions about the phenomenon of prostitution. This study is a methodical exploration to trace the parallels of state's moral and prostitute's pragmatic viewpoints on this defamed profession in the governance debates of radical and liberal feminists using an explorative descriptive methodology.

Governing Prostitution

Governance of prostitution is a question of great controversy rooted in divergent forms of feminism – the abolitionists and regulatory approaches can be traced back into heated arguments between radical and liberal feminists. The dispute about the response of state and society (governance) to prostitution is actually a resultant debate that starts taking its shape in the theoretical nursery of feminism. Owing to this interconnection, at times, a clear distinction between theoretical and operational debates cannot be plainly upheld. However, recent studies on prostitution mainly concentrate on operational side of the debate, and theoretical arguments are only referred to for aligning and situating the study into a concerned framework.

The governance debates are actually the analysis of legal strategies the states use to deal with prostitution primarily divided in two main groups – abolition and regulation. McCarthy, Benoit, Jansson and Kolar talk about the existence of several legal strategies

⁶ Ibid., 44; Louise Brown, *Sex Slaves* (Little Brown, 2001).

to deal with the sex work. They attempt to assess these strategies and identify the gaps in their form and implementation.⁷ Both abolitionist and liberalists agree that the women in prostitution are stigmatized, and their life is miserable.⁸ Nonetheless, they propose different solutions to the problem. Abolitionists believe that no improvement is possible in the lives of the women in prostitution, and the only viable solution is to eradicate all forms of prostitution. On the other hand, the supporters of regulation believe that states' constructive intervention and recognition of sex as "work" can make the lives of the women in prostitution better.

The Abolitionist Approach: The abolitionists criminalize prostitution and any form of selling and buying sexual services. The enthusiasts of this approach firmly believe that prostitution is a form of violence against women, and the only solution to end this ferocity is to abolish prostitution in all its forms. Modern states and societies responded to prostitution in the beginning with abolitionist model and criminalized it in order to bring an end to this illicit business. To date, criminalization has been popular trend throughout the world with some procedural and executory differences. "The abolitionist model has historically been the first one seeking to put an end to the prostitution business. From the 19th century until after World War II, European countries adopted legislation declaring selling and buying sex as well as all related activities such as running brothels, pandering, and procuring as illegal because of religious and moral attitudes."⁹

Abolitionists build their argument against prostitution almost entirely around the extreme violence which is, to them, intrinsic to prostitution. Melissa Farley, for example, describes essentiality and extent of violence in prostitution in her lengthy article titled *Bad for*

⁷ McCarthy et. al., "Regulating Sex Work: Heterogeneity in Legal Strategies," *Annual Review of Law and Social Science* 8 (2012): 255-271.

⁸ Melissa Farley "Bad for the Body, Bad for the Heart": Prostitution Harms Women Even if Legalized or Decriminalized," *Violence Against Women* 10, Issue 10 (2004).

⁹ Schulze et al., "Sexual exploitation," 19.

*the Body, Bad for the Heart.*¹⁰ In this article, she has also quotes a number of studies carried out throughout the world only to find that prostitution harms women irrespective of its legal status. Another study carried out by Farley across nine countries in 2003 states that majority of women in prostitution report severe violence including physical assault and even rape.¹¹ Efendov and Stermac's study in Canada on rapes found that rapes in case of prostitutes are more frequent and violent.¹² Similarly, Valera et al. documented the judgment of prostitutes that the legal changes cannot protect them from violence.¹³ In another study, carried out in New Zealand, more than 80% of prostitutes reported some kind of violence. The same study reports around 40% of street prostitutes physically assaulted or attempted rape upon. The percentage was, however, low in indoor prostitution.¹⁴ Vanwesenbeeck too reported psychological problems among women in prostitution in the Netherlands where it enjoys a legal status.¹⁵ In a more elaborate way, Williams in Farley's article, pointing out to psychological disorder, quotes a prostitute woman saying, "For the first few months I worked, I had a lot of nightmares involving mass numbers of penises."¹⁶ Farley, while criticizing the arguments of regulationists, explains how rape becomes a norm for

¹⁰ Farley "Bad for the Body," 1087-1125.

¹¹ Farley et al., "Prostitution and Trafficking," 33-74.

¹² A. Efendo and, L. E. Stermac, "Sexual assault of female sex trade workers in an urban population," *Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Psychological Association* (2003, August), Toronto, Canada.

¹³ R. Valera et al., "Perceived health needs of inner-city street prostitutes," *American Journal of Health Behavior* 25, (2001): 50-59.

¹⁴ L. Plumridge and G. Abel, "A "segmented" sex industry in New Zealand: Sexual and personal safety of female sex workers," *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Public Health* 15, (2001) 78-83.

¹⁵ I. Vanwesenbeeck, *Prostitutes' well-being and risk* (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1994)

¹⁶ "Farley, Bad for the body," 1081.

the women in prostitution. She also equates prostituting with paid rape.¹⁷ Saeed in her adventure to explore the hidden culture of Lahore's red light area also reports violence and more seriously poor working conditions, particularly of those women who do not own a proper *kotha* and have to attract customer by standing in the street or at window much like streetwalkers.¹⁸

Violence, abolitionists say, is not only limited to physical harm rather it leads to a number of lasting psychological and mental disorders. Mary Sullivan dedicated a complete chapter to explain presence of severe violence and occupational hazards in prostitution. Throughout her book, she argues against prostitution and explains that how it damages gender equilibrium and puts the prostituted women in violent world invisible and separated from ordinary universe.¹⁹ When these fallen daughter of Eve experience violence for a time period that is extended to years, the psychological problems such as dying out sexual feelings and disassociation is quite common among them.²⁰ Belton, as quoted by Farley, for instance, found disassociation, depression, and other mood disorders among women in prostitution who work in street, brothels, and strip clubs.²¹ Vanwesenbeeck also reports long term post-traumatic stress disorders quite often among young women in prostitution.²² Farley has documented quite a lot of studies that found psychological disorders among women due to continuous exposure to physical and emotional violence.²³

Regulatory approach often criticizes abolitionists that they fail to understand the diversity within prostitution and tend to generalize

¹⁷ Ibid., 1100.

¹⁸ Saeed, *Taboo*, 225-35.

¹⁹ Mary Lucille Sullivan, *Making Sex work: A Failed Experiment with Legalized Prostitution* (Melbourne: Spinifex Press, 2007)

²⁰ Helen J. Self, *Prostitution, women and Misuse of law: the fallen daughters of eve* (London: Frank Cass: 2005)

²¹ Farley, "Bad for the body," 1088.

²² Vanwesenbeeck, *Prostitutes' well being*

²³ Farley, "Bad for the body," 1094.

on the basis of limited research on streetwalkers. Weitzer, a resilient propagator of regulation, summarize her argument in these words: “The irony is that most of the research has been done on the least prevalent form of prostitution.”²⁴ Farley, in response, rushes to rescue the abolitionist with bringing in various references to prove that violence is prevalent in all types of prostitution from the vulnerable street prostitutes to the sophisticated call girls. She quotes Raphael and Shapiro as finding same frequency of rape in escort service and street prostitution in Chicago.²⁵ Other than this study, Farley comes up with various other similar findings of her own and her fellow abolitionist about the existence of violence at all levels of prostitution.²⁶ One such study unveiling equal violence and emotional distress in indoor and outdoor prostitution is carried out by Vanwesenbeeck in the Netherland where prostitution is legal.²⁷ Some writers even assert that indoor sex sellers experience more violence as compare to streetwalkers as they too enjoy little or no control over their environment.²⁸

Health hazards in prostitution offer yet another ground of controversy between abolitionism and regulatory approach. For abolitionists, these health hazards cannot be overcome and none of the regulatory models has the capacity to ensure safety against HIV/AIDS and other STD (sexually transmitted diseases).²⁹ Remaining true to abolitionism and its arguments, Sullivan presents the disaster of HIV/AIDS and the failure of government to ensure the safety of prostitutes against STDs as one of the strong arguments against legalization of the this system of female oppression.³⁰ Other

²⁴ Weitzer, “New Direction,” 215.

²⁵ Farley, “Bad for the body,” 1099.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Vanwesenbeeck, *prostitutes’ well being*.

²⁸ D. Boyer, L. Chapman and B. K. Marshall, “Survival sex in King County: Helping women out,” *Report to the King County Women’s Advisory Board*, (WA: Northwest Resource Associates, 1993)

²⁹ Sullivan, *Making Sex Work*, 244-80.

³⁰ Ibid.

than their own research, abolitionists most often rely on somewhat independent studies conducted for medical purposes either by governmental and non-governmental organizations or by academia largely immune to the governance debate on prostitution. For example, a Canadian Commission's report is quoted by Farley that shows forty times higher death rate among women in prostitution.³¹ Other than this report, Farley identifies, based on various such studies, HIV/AIDS, cervical cancer, unwanted pregnancies, reproductive and genital problems, insomnia, and eating disorders diseases most commonly found in prostitutes.³² A survey in Germany, for instance, has been quoted by Erika Schulze that finds a range of mental health problems among the women selling sex in Germany.³³

In order to counter the arguments of legalization supporters, abolitionists do bring in evidences stating almost equal frequency and severity of violence in prostitution in both regulated and criminalized sex trade. For Farley "its cruel lie to suggest that decriminalization or legalization will protect anyone in prostitution. There is much evidence that whatever its legal status, prostitution causes great harm to women."³⁴ Immediately, after making this sweeping claim, she does quote about two dozens of different studies carried out in various countries during last two decades.³⁵ Sullivan too seems to defend the cause of abolitionists with same potency on this front also. The very title of her book, *Making Sex Work: A failed Experience with Legalized Prostitution*, suggests the story inside it. Throughout her sizeable volume, she has taken all the pains to discuss at length that how the legalization as a governing strategy failed miserably. Simultaneously, she feels no harm in calling legalization as an attempt to institutionalize men's right to women's bodies.³⁶ In the

³¹ Farley, "Bad for the body," 1097.

³² Ibid.

³³ Schulze et al., "Sexual exploitation," 18.

³⁴ Farley, "Bad for the body," 1094.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Sullivan Jeffreys, *The idea of prostitution* (North Melbourne: Spinifex Press, 1997).

Netherlands, Vanwesenbeeck finds 40% of her interviewees forced into prostitution, and more than 50% of them were subjected to physical assault and sexual violence.³⁷ Abolitionists, in order to prove their point in a more comprehensive and systematic way, attempt to analyze and expose the regulatory regimes embraced by individual countries. Sullivan's book exposed violence in legal prostitution in Victoria State of Australia while Farley's article mainly focuses on regulation of prostitution in New Zealand. Nevada state's brothels' failure is surfaced in a study by Sward (quoted by Farley), and Vanwesenbeeck's study documents the violence experienced by the prostitutes in Holland.³⁸ Talking about individual countries, after doing in depth scrutiny of the legal system and its implementation, abolitionists clearly support their earlier theoretical standpoint and conclude that no governance system has the capacity or the will to eradicate miseries from prostitution. Moreover, their findings only reaffirmed their view that prostitution itself is violence against women and only eradication of this undesirable and inhuman business could heal the wounds.

The Regulatory Approach: The arguments of abolitionists do not go unchallenged, and the advocates of regulatory model come with their version of the story. For liberalizing model, prostitution is legitimate act of buying and selling sex by consenting adults that needs no criminalization by the state. However an adequate intervention to regulate sex market is desired which is only possible if sex work is recognized as a legitimate business. Erika Schulze summarizes her understanding of regulatory approach in these words:

Contrary to the abolitionists, the regulatory approach does not want to end prostitution but to recognize selling and buying sex as an economic activity with offer and demand regulated through the price on the prostitution market which is regulated by law. This

³⁷ Vanwesenbeeck, *Prostitutes' well-being*, 56.

³⁸ Jeffreys, *Idea of prostitution*; Farley, "Bad for the body," 1092; Vanwesenbeeck, *Prostitutes' well being*.

approach is therefore also known as legalizing and liberalizing prostitution.³⁹

The regulatory approach never forgets to remind abolitionists that prostitution is not an act in which only "women sell and men buy," rather it is opposite of this sometimes. In addition to male prostitution, transgender prostitution is also prevalent in the world. Ronald Weitzer, for illustration, accuses the supporters of abolition and eradication of prostitution of their biased conclusion on the basis of limited research only on female prostitution. Weitzer argues that it is a bare fact that male and transgender prostitution is a significant segment of sex industry.⁴⁰ A study by Sanchez Tylor is already quoted in the paper which unveils the existence of male prostitutes and female buyers. The liberals and regulatory approaches present the incidence of transgender and male sex work as an argument against the abolitionists' claim that prostitution is violence against the women by virtue of the privileged status of buyer over the sellers' bodies.⁴¹

In response to the assertions of abolitionists about violence in prostitution, the regulatory approach constructs the argument around the internal diversity in prostitution and the agency of women involved in prostitution. As far as diversity is concerned, Weitzer deals with this issue under a separate heading in her article titled *New directions in research on prostitution*. She writes:

Victimization and exploitation is highest among street prostitutes and among those who have been trafficked into prostitution, but other workers are much less vulnerable to violence, exercise more control over

³⁹ Schulze et al., "Sexual exploitation," 20.

⁴⁰ Weitzer, "New directions," 220.

⁴¹ Ronald Weitzer, "Flawed theory and method in studies of prostitution," *Violence Against Women* 11, no.7. (July, 2005): 934–949

their work, and derive at least some psychological or physical reward from what they do.⁴²

She, in her article, identifies more than six different levels and ways of prostitution, each with its corresponding working environment with streetwalkers exposed to most of the violence in prostitution. She also charges abolitionism for quoting the violence in street prostitution as violence in prostitution per se.⁴³ Monto, too, sounds similar while defining prostitution as a remarkably diverse field with diversity of experiences and participants.⁴⁴ Perkins, Prince and Vanwesenbeeck seem to be in perfect harmony to conclude that call girls exert better control on their working condition; therefore, they have better job satisfaction as compared to brothels and street prostitution.⁴⁵ Moreover, Fouzia Saeed while highlighting the miseries experienced by the women in prostitution testifies the existence of various levels and corresponding working conditions in prostitution with *mithi khaniann*, the most vulnerable group among all.⁴⁶ By presenting various studies exposing greater variations in prostitution, the regulatory model concludes that the type of prostitution is the best forecaster of working conditions hence violence in prostitution is not intrinsic.⁴⁷

When it comes to the agency of women in prostitution, the abolitionists borrow the arguments from fellow liberal feminists. They tend to draw a line between coercion and free will. Erika Schulze summarizes her understanding of their argument saying that they regulatory regimes have a tendency to distinguish between forced and voluntary prostitution, and thereby between sexual

⁴² Weitzer, "New Directions," 219.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Martin Monto, "Female Prostitution, Customers, and Violence," *Violence Against Women*, no 10 (2004): 160-168.

⁴⁵ Vanwesenbeeck, *Prostitutes' well-being*, 223

⁴⁶ Saeed, *Taboo*.

⁴⁷ Weitzer, "New directions," 219.

exploitation and selling sex.⁴⁸ Sanders et al. also discusses the issue of agency and draws a line between forced and voluntary sex work.⁴⁹

In addition to free will of women and diversity in sex trade, the regulatory approach further negates the arguments of radicals and abolitionists about inherent ferocity blaming the legal system and social stigma for violence experienced by sex workers. Sanders and Campbell, supporting decriminalization if not complete legalization, point out the existence of empirical data supporting the fact that criminalization not only violates employment rights but also deprives women in prostitution of their human rights. They also tend to oppose criminalization as it is for them damaging to prostitutes and sex industry at large.⁵⁰ They also identify decriminalization and full legalization as incidence of constructive state intervention in the arena for protection of those selling sex out of their free will.⁵¹ Arnott and Crago also find in their study that criminalization in Namibia, Botswana, and South Africa bring many misfortunes for sex workers such as extortion by police, vehemence by customers and pimps, vulnerability to HIV/AIDS, unavailability of health facilities, and resultant violent and unhealthy working conditions.⁵² Swedish model, penalizing demand instead of supply and creating new strategy of neo-abolitionism, is criticized by Sanders and Campbell as an another way to penalize prostitutes indirectly and striking forced rehabilitation while affronting the agency of women in sex trade.⁵³ Similarly, Kinnell relates violence experienced by sex workers to criminalized status of prostitution in the UK. The author also says that the law and its implementation strategies are responsible for

⁴⁸ Schulze et al., "Sexual exploitation," 20

⁴⁹ Sanders, O'Neill and Pitcher, *Prostitution*, 11.

⁵⁰ Sanders and Campbell "*Criminalization*," 539.

⁵¹ Ibid., 540.

⁵² Jayne Arnott and Anna-Louise Crago, *Rights Not Rescue: A Report on Female, Male, and Trans Sex Workers' Human Rights in Botswana, Namibia, and South Africa* (New York: Open Society Institute, 2009).

⁵³ Sanders and Campbell "*Criminalization*," 539.

much of the violence in prostitution.⁵⁴ Saeed in her *Taboo* also highlights vulnerability due to illegal status of prostitution in Pakistan. She also talks about the severe problems particularly during Zia's regime due to harsher intervention by the states with puritanical aims.⁵⁵ Regarding the state's motivation to end sex trade, McCarthy et al. conclude that state use variety of moral and religious reason to come up with its abolitionist façade.⁵⁶ The writers also seem to side with regulatory approach when they perceive criminalization as an intervention of governments in "buying and selling of sexual services by consenting adults."⁵⁷

The advocates of regulatory model do not simply blame the legal system for violence in prostitution; they also take all the pains to convey evidences of improved working conditions if the sex trade is legalized or at least decriminalized. Sanders, for instance, cited a number of studies evaluating various liberal models of governance of sex work. Decriminalization in Nevada (US), New Zealand, Australia, and partial or full legalization in Austria, Switzerland, the Netherlands, and Germany is identified as alternative to criminalization of either demand or supply.⁵⁸ In the Netherlands, Dalder states that the vast majority of women in sex work both working as escorts or in window units reported general satisfaction and feeling of greater safety.⁵⁹ Brents and Hausbeck, on the other hand, place protection from violence and safe working environment as two of the prime benefits of regulated prostitution in Nevada.⁶⁰

⁵⁴ H. Kinnell, "Clients of female sex workers: men or monsters?," in *Sex Work Now*, eds. R. Campbell and M. O'Neill, (Cullompton: Willan, 2006)

⁵⁵ Saeed, *Taboo*.

⁵⁶ McCarthy et al., "Regulating Sex Work," 260.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Sanders and Campbell, *Criminalization*, 14-15.

⁵⁹ A.L. Dalder, *Lifting the Ban on Brothels* (The Hague: Netherlands Ministry of Justice, 2004), 30.

⁶⁰ Barbara Brents and Kathryn Hausbeck, "Violence and Legalized Brothel Prostitution in Nevada," *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 20, (2005): 289.

Weitzer quotes the report of Australian Crimes and Misconduct Commission as proclaiming that legal brothels in Queensland are modern examples of healthy, crime-free, and safe prostitution which is working smoothly with very rare incidence of interruptions.⁶¹ In addition to this report, she, like Sanders, mentions various studies proving the relative improvement in the lives of sex worker across all levels of prostitution from streetwalkers to call girls in the countries where prostitution is either legal or decriminalized.⁶² McCarthy et al. also mention various benefits of legalized prostitution in their article dedicated to explore and examine heterogeneity in legal ways to govern prostitution.⁶³

Conclusion

Academic debate on the governance of prostitution is not immune to the fierce theoretical opposition between liberal and radical feminists. In actuality, it is the same theoretical debate that leads to division of literature between abolitionism and regulatory approach. Following observations can be made about contemporary literature on governance of prostitution.

The literature on prostitution, like theoretical debates, is polarized between two strikingly opposite groups (abolitionists and regulatory supporters), supporting completely adverse methodologies to deal with phenomenon of prostitution. One group strongly calls for abolition of any form of buying and selling sex whereas other group supports its decriminalization and even legalization and call for acceptance of prostitution as normal economic activity. Interestingly, both groups bring in not only well-constructed arguments but empirical data to support their conclusions.

The division between the supporters of legalization and abolitionists goes down into the core of governance and theoretical debate so much so that even the language used by them speaks the volume of their commitment to the underpinnings of their respective

⁶¹ Weitzer, "New directions," 217.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Bill McCarthy et al., "Regulating Sex Work," 255-71.

school of thought. Abolitionists refer to women in sex business as "prostituted women" to give impression that prostitution is violence against women and no woman can freely and actively choose it. Moreover, "pimps" and "Johns" are the terminologies used for the owners of business and buyers of sex respectively. Through these words, the abolitionists present buyers and managers as people full of luxury loving tendencies and lustful sexual behavior with money-maker's mind who are always ready to coerce female in order to get their nefarious objectives achieved. In contrast, regulatory approach in partnership with liberal feminists coined more respectable terms to talk about this controversial business. For them, prostitution is too stigmatizing word hence sex work replaces prostitution and the women involved are referred to as sex workers throughout liberal literature. Buyers of sex are customers whereas pimps are managers for regulatory approach as they tend to normalize sex trade as a regular economic activity. Though this diversity of terminology is confusing for initial reader, the division in language is still helpful in order to classify the literature in either of the two categories.

Though the conclusions and solutions offered by abolitionists and regulatory supporters are quite different, they agree on a number of things as well. Both groups agree that the women in prostitution are stigmatized. This stigma marginalizes them and reduces them to lesser human being. Similarly, trafficking in persons and sexual exploitation is almost equally condemned by both groups with little operational disparities. They also seem to be in perfect harmony when it comes to the presence of severe violence in prostitution. However, they seriously dispute the causes of the violence and offer opposing solutions for the wellbeing of women. Motivation, at least explicitly claimed one, is also same. Both opposing groups look to prostitutes with sympathy and rush to rescue them. Perhaps this is the reason both opposing schools of thought can trace their roots in feminism. Lastly, both abolitionists and regulatory approaches call for further research in the controversial field.

The literature revolving around the governance of prostitution is contributive as it not only enriches one's knowledge on the subject but also helps assess various strategies adopted by different states in diverse contexts to deal with this contentious issue of prostitution. It reveals the significance and scope of states' intervention to rescue

women in sex trade on one hand and to chalk out workable strategies to eradicate or regulate it. Having said this, the literature somehow deficient to grasp the understanding of full scale sex industry as the research largely is confined to the sex workers with little or no attention on customers, managers and ancillary industries. Similarly, majority of authors, academicians and researchers fail to liberate them from of arresting binary of the liberal and radical debates. They in way or the other take sides and struggle to prove their engrossed ideas. Many a time, it seems that the researchers have predetermined suppositions and they are running to support their conclusions with adequate data. To conclude, one can say that the literature on governance is revealing yet there are few under researched area demanding objective and independent research beyond the binaries of preexisting literature.

CEPC: PERSPECTIVES FROM GILGIT-BALTISTAN, A CONNECTION BETWEEN CHINA AND PAKISTAN

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***Abstract:** This paper takes into account the local perception of "development," which in accordance to CPEC is synonymous with the building of roads and infrastructure. The term "local" denotes that how the popular wisdom in Gilgit-Baltistan (GB) translates the meaning of China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), and how do the people make sense of this mega project – essentially a subaltern perspective on "development." The researchers aim to evaluate how the local perception of development is different from the state-led, positivist version of building corridors and infrastructure. The research also takes into account the ambivalences arising out of social migration and increasing cross-cultural contact between people. By assessing these popular perceptions, the researchers try to fill an important research gap in the available literature which is otherwise dominated by the mainstream discourse related to CPEC—the one which paints the project as the savior and panacea for the ills of the country (i.e., Pakistan). Apart from secondary sources, primary sources of different style like open ended interviews have been used to have an insight of the topic's understanding. As the topic is new and sufficient materials have not been available, therefore, newspapers and articles were the main sources to gather information. GB became very important because it connects China and Pakistan for a joint project of huge, economic, social,*

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political and strategic value, and still it is not part of Pakistan's federation constitutionally like other parts of Pakistan and is considered as a disputed area between Pakistan and India.

Keywords: CPEC, Gilgit-Baltistan, social migration, subaltern, cross-cultural contact, state subject rule.

Introduction

China-Pakistan Economic Corridor envisions regional connectivity by harnessing trade, development, and territorial linkages, primarily among China, Pakistan, and the landlocked countries of Central Asia. The project is touted to be a win-win model for both China and Pakistan as it would bring improved road linkages, rail connection, air transportation system, and more importantly a panacea for Pakistan's fledgling energy sector. The project is considered to be a step forward for "economic regionalization," much different from the popular experiments of regionalization that have been carried out in the post-cold war period. The potential areas of cooperation through CPEC seems numerous, and work on few of the projects has taken a fast pace. The areas include transport infrastructure, energy zones in various locations of Pakistan, trade, commerce and cross-cultural contact through academic and people to people interaction. The consolidation of the model; however, relies heavily on the long-term peace and stability of the region which is otherwise infested by militancy, extremism, poverty, and low standards of living. The mainstream narrative about CPEC is primarily shaped by the state institutions which are further given oxygen by the independent think tanks and policy institutes. This narrative has been further trickled down through the popular media. A subaltern perspective related to CPEC is still missing in the extant literature which primarily relies on the information coming from the top echelons of power. This study sheds light on the significance of GB as an important link between Pakistan and China, and perceptions of the people about CPEC on which less has been discussed and written. It is imperative for smooth sailing of this multibillion dollar project that how GB and its people are taken along.

Status and Political Position of GB

As an internationally disputed territory, GB has remained on the fringes of constitutional and political developments that happened in Pakistan. It remained a subject of ad-hoc mechanisms of governance suited to Pakistan's national and international interests, particularly its stance on the Indian occupied Kashmir (IoK). The most important development with regards to the constitutional and political status of the region was the "Gilgit-Baltistan Empowerment and Self-Governance Ordinance 2009." This reform package was introduced by Pakistan People's party which came into power after a long hiatus of military dictatorship imposed by General Pervaiz Musharraf. The reform package is considered to be the most advanced in comparison with the previous models of governance in the region. It tried to give semblance to the political structure of the region by introducing a permanent legislature to be elected on the basis of adult franchise. It also introduced the office of chief minister and governor— a practice standard for the governance of a province; the former to be elected by the assembly while the later to be appointed by the federal government of Pakistan. The erstwhile "Advisors" in the assembly were titled as "Ministers" and the "Chief Executive" to "Chief Minister." The ordinance also renamed the region from "Northern Areas" to "Gilgit-Baltistan." A move generally appreciated and welcomed by the local people primarily because the areas was confused with the terror-infested FATA and its tourist economy shrunk because of this confusion.¹

However, the Self Governance Ordinance did not resolve the long standing issue of constitutional non-recognition of GB in Pakistan's federal framework. The main criticism on the ordinance stemmed from its legal status (i.e., ordinance.) Legal experts are of the opinion that the ordinance can be revoked at any time by another one until and unless it is approved by the parliament and given the constitutional protection. The second most important aspect of the Governance Ordinance is the establishment of GB Council which is

¹ Zulfikar Ali, Tariq Naqash and Jamil Nagri, "'Almost' Pakistan: Gilgit-Baltistan in a constitutional limbo," *Daily Dawn*, January, 19, 2017.

supposed to serve as upper house. Established under article 33 of Gilgit-Baltistan Self-Governance and Empowerment Ordinance, the GB Council consists of 15 members, 6 of whom are to be elected from Legislative Assembly while the rest are the elected legislators from Pakistani assemblies.² Legislation pertaining to main subjects like mineral, water, and power are the sole jurisdiction of GB council. Critics are of the opinion that the skewed balance of power between GB council and legislative assembly points to the fact the federation did not want to empower the local people. However, the major questions remained the same. Is GB the part of Pakistan and what is its constitutional position in Pakistani federation?

Two important points present a contrary answer to the above question. First, GB does not own any share in National Finance Commission, an institution that disburses the resources and money among the central government and federating units. Second, GB does not have any formal representation in Pakistani parliament. It has no role in electing the prime minister and president of the country while it is kept out of decision-making in most important national questions. Various functionaries of the government have also reiterated time and again that GB is not the part of Pakistan, and it cannot be integrated into Pakistani federation under the current International Law regime.

In the midst of all this constitutional ambiguity, GB became the center of attention in the wake of China-Pakistan Economic Corridor. The said project is already termed as a 'Game Changer' and is regarded as one of the most important matters of public debate in Pakistan. Proponents of the project suggest that it could be a panacea for Pakistan's fledgling economy in the longer run while critics hold the view that the institutions and local political acumen in GB is not advanced enough to negotiate its interest in the project. There is another similar view that under current arrangement GB is being ignored in the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor because all the decision-making is carried out from Islamabad by the federal government, and since there is no representation of local people in the

² Ibid.

decision-making bodies, it is likely that Gilgit-Baltistan will be unable to claim its stake in the project.³

CPEC Perspectives from GB

An important strategic territory from the perspective of CPEC, Gilgit-Baltistan connects both China and Pakistan territorially and has served as an important outpost for regional and international developments historically.⁴ There is opinion of one quarter that in the distribution of projects related to CPEC, Gilgit-Baltistan has not received much of a developmental attention from policy makers. The local population does not seem satisfied with attitude of the federal government. Their concerns stem from the fact that not only they are constitutionally and politically unrecognized in the federation of Pakistan, but have been subjected to the ad-hoc mechanisms of governance ever since its accession with Pakistan in 1947. Some are of the view that the disputed nature of GB internationally has the potential to disrupt the smooth materialization of CPEC projects, which China is carefully observing. It cannot be ruled out that the people of GB do not enjoy the full rights from the federation of Pakistan, and the discontent among people can plunge the region into political instability. The region has witnessed issues related to the social and political instability in the past including sectarian and faith based violence. It is thought that the subversive elements could take advantage of the vulnerabilities of the region and cause hindrance to the smooth materialization of CPEC project.

The dissatisfaction among the local people of GB manifested itself in some protests. Some protests were carried out because of the land acquisitions for CPEC projects undertaken by the government without taking local people in confidence. The provincial wing of Pakistan People's Party led these protests and blocked the main CPEC route for a day. Thousands of protesters joined in for this blockage which points to the fact that common people are not happy over the

³ Afzal Ali Shigri, "No space for G-B on CPEC table," *The Dawn*, January, 11, 2016.

⁴ F.M Hassnain, *Gilgit: The Northern Gate to India* (New Delhi: Sterling Publishers, 1978), 55.

circumstances, and they need to be heard.⁵ The members of legislative assembly of GB have also been the part of these protests. The protests demanded from the federation of Pakistan to give a fair share for Gilgit-Baltistan and do away with the taxes that have been imposed on the people.

The rationale of tax imposition without giving the due representation in parliament and other decision making bodies seems inexplicable.

What at least we can be given is an Azad Kashmir like set-up which will ensure the autonomy in our internal decision making and some semblance of political status, thus GB will be able to plead its case for mega projects like CPEC. There are no institutions and legal mechanisms in place where local people could question and make those accountable, lest they infringe on our interests. This keeps the field wide open for any kind of advancement, be it federal government, corporations or any other actors. Our virgin market and resources thus remain at stake.⁶

The minister of Excise and Taxation of Gilgit-Baltistan shares a somewhat similar discontent about the CPEC and decries the powerlessness of local representatives to do something about it. The politicians who have made their way to legislative assembly of Gilgit-Baltistan are largely illiterate about the project of CPEC. Most of them have just earned higher secondary education, and now are acting as the representatives of the people.

The perception of GB has not been given proper attention in CPEC related projects is not without any substantiation. The deputy chief of Chinese Mission in Islamabad shared a series of information

⁵ “GB people go on strike to seek ‘due share’ in CPEC,” *The Dawn*, August 16, 2016.

⁶ Interview with Ahsan (Advocate and Focal Person of Awami Action Committee, Gilgit-Baltistan), January 2, 2017.

related to the distribution of projects in Pakistan. The information reveals that Pakistan's four provinces enjoy a fair share of projects in CPEC while Gilgit-Baltistan is not mentioned in any of the projects. Following a controversy that smaller provinces like Balochistan and KPK are being neglected in this mega scheme, Mr. Zhao Lijan explained the share of projects in CPEC.

According to the Deputy Chief of Chinese Mission in Islamabad, here is the breakup of the projects.

- ✓ Baluchistan 16
- ✓ KPK 8
- ✓ Sindh 13
- ✓ Punjab 12⁷

The provincial government's response is somewhat different from what common people think. Chief Minister Gilgit-Baltistan Hafiz Hafeez ur Rehman is the member of Joint Coordination Committee for the implementation of CPEC. He was present at every platform deciding the matters of CPEC. The minister of Planning and Development Ahsan Iqbal personally invited the Chief Minister to attend the joint meeting of Coordination Committee on CPEC on November 28–29, 2016.

Besides GB is getting a specialized economic zone under CPEC, while projects related to the development of tourism and mining are also allocated to Gilgit-Baltistan. Hydal power projects as well as the establishment of a medical and engineering college are also part of package. The perception of Gilgit-Baltistan being neglected in CPEC is baseless. Our government has successfully secured a fair share in the projects related to CPEC. I would only reiterate that opposition parties should come and sit with us and have a dialogue and instead of going on the roads to destabilize this project, I think, we all should join hands to smoothly materialize whatever is in our

⁷ "Details of CPEC Projects by Chinese Embassy," *Pak China News*, October 5, 2016.

hands. We have lagged much enough in past seven decades and now it is the time to correct our mistakes, learn from history and deliver to the people of this region.⁸

For the smooth materialization of CPEC, it is important to be cognizant of what the common people and their leaders wish for. Without taking into account the aspirations and desires of the people, no developmental project could seek its desirable outcome. CPEC has come out to be a game-changer for the economic and social development of the country; therefore, it is necessary that this development should be inclusive; it should be people-led and people-oriented and must take all the stake-holders in confidence including the people of GB.

Migration, Development and Local Community: Assessing the Demographic Changes in Gilgit-Baltistan

In the following section, the researchers take into account the concomitant effects of infrastructural development, particularly the building of roads and its effects on the habitat, social, and cultural life of communities residing in the Gilgit city. It is pertinent to mention that Gilgit city presents a homogenous outlook of social life where other communities from the outskirts and peripheries of Gilgit-Baltistan reside for different purposes. Being capital of the region, it offers job opportunities and urban facilities; thus, accommodating the people from different areas mainly fleeing to escape joblessness and poverty. Urban Gilgit is approximately 11 km strip with an area of 57 kilo meter squares. The strip is further divided by the Indus River; along with which are main settlements of the city. The major language spoken in the region is *Shina* which makes almost forty five percent of the total population.

High mountainous region such as Gilgit-Baltistan was previously isolated from the mainstream Pakistan. It has thus been described as "Ethnographic museums" where culture, values, and

⁸ Interview with Dr Mohammad Iqbal (Minister Works and Construction, Government of Gilgit-Baltistan), August 6, 2016.

traditions remained untainted because of its isolation from the peripheral areas.⁹ The area being situated at the lap of three mighty mountain ranges namely Himalayas, Karakoram, and Hindukush has prevented an easy connection with the surrounding plain regions; thus, preserving its own way of life. The terrain being highly mountainous and rugged has proved to be inimical to the mobility and communication among different communities. This strategic isolation was punctured in the wake of construction of Karakoram Highway which was completed in 1978. It opened up the region for an all-weather connection with the rest of Pakistan.

The construction of Karakoram highway made the connection between high and low lands of the country. It has thus proved to be beneficial in terms of providing easy and rapid availability of services and utility. There is a contrary view related to the construction of Karakoram Highway as well. "The Karakoram Highway rather than bringing them the promised benefits resulted in the transformation of Gilgit city to such an extent that it endangered the tranquility of the entire area."¹⁰

The effects of road construction culminated into a large-scale migration within and towards the territory of Gilgit-Baltistan. Due to its historical positioning in the region, the Gilgit city enjoys a relatively high status among its peripheral areas. All the important offices are located in the city, and fifteen different languages are spoken in a territory inhabited by just 0.26 million people.¹¹

The rugged and harsh mountainous territory of the region could not stop the migration from different surrounding areas. In fact migration has been a major feature even before the construction of Karakoram Highway. The major tribes currently present in the city account the arrival of their ancestors from different adjoining areas. The *Qazalbashis* residing in the Gilgit city claim that they have

⁹ Martin Soekfeld, "Anthropology of Gilgit-Baltistan, Northern Pakistan," *Ethnoscripts*, XVII, (2014): 30.

¹⁰ Afzal A, Shigri, "Land ownership rights," *The Dawn*, April 2, 2017.

¹¹ Martin Soekfeld, "Migration and Society in Gilgit: Northern Areas of Pakistan," *Anthropos* 92, XX, (1997): 83-90.

arrived from Iran and Central Asian regions. There is a major chunk of Kashmiri population in the city whose ancestors are believed to have been migrated from the Kashmir region. While the tribes of *Sheen* and *Yashkun* proudly state that they are the earliest inhabitants of this region. Not all of these migration accounts can be taken as factually correct, but the accounts of local people suggest that the territory had a fair connection with rest of the adjoining areas.

The *Mathulfauo* claim that they are the original inhabitants of this land – the ones who first came here and made the settlements.¹² This does not mean that only the insider perspective is right; rather from it a whole perspective of us and them stems, giving way for the discord between the natives and non-locals. Generally, people from outside are not well received in the region. The insiders that are the local consider themselves as superiors then the outsiders. The outsiders migrated primarily because they could not provide a decent life to their families, or they were expelled from the other lands, thus; they became nomads and came to live in other regions. But in the course of years, this distinction between the outsiders and insiders has changed. The locals, once powerful and rich, have been reduced in terms of their class and privilege. Local wisdom suggests the example of current government in GB which is headed by a Chief Minister who is an “outsider”– the one who migrated from Kashmir and proudly states his Kashmiri descent. The change took place because of social and political processes.

The construction of Karakoram Highway though has accelerated the links but has not been able to reduce the social gaps between different communities residing in Gilgit. One of its relevant examples is the social ostracizing of Pashtun community living in Gilgit. The Pashtuns have mostly migrated from the adjoining areas of Kohistan and Dir. Initially these migrants came for business and job purposes; however, they could not settle properly in the region. Thus, the local community considered them as “*BaeKhandani*”, a

¹² Mathulfauo: A combination of two Shina words: "Mathulo" means the humid clay stone, and "Fauo" means to make something. The word denotes the people who are original inhabitants of the land and the one who have made the land of Gilgit arable.

local slang for the people without families. The increased means of road communication could not translate into assimilation as inter-marriages between these communities are still rare. Therefore, a mutual suspicion is very much there between the duos. The migrants could not integrate with the local communities because of social stereotypes that were hurled at them. These stereotypes vary from social degradation to outright abuse sometimes.

The loss on control of social migration has rendered the local population into downright fear. Ever since the buying and selling of land came into vogue, lots of outsiders came to Gilgit; thus, ousting the local populations from their earlier privileged position. The locals view the outsiders as people who are threat to the social order, and that they are the ones who cannot be controlled; thus, the most suitable tool is to reduce social contact with them.

The changes brought about by the construction of road networks in northern areas of Pakistan were quite visible. Besides providing an integrated framework of communication, the road building served an important purpose of bringing communities together. This contact was not always positive in the sense that it sometimes led to social conflict. One of its examples is that in the violent sectarian clashes, erupted in 2005, most of the private business like shops, and shopping plazas were burned down because most of it belonged to Pashtun community which commands a fair share of private business in Gilgit city. It is sometimes alleged by the local community that the non-locals have taken over the business opportunities in Gilgit; thus, increasing the locals' dependence on them. The building of road also intensified the trickle down of social values from other adjoining areas of Gilgit. Today, the Gilgit town hosts a lot of different communities, their language and varying dialects, and accommodates their distinct way of life. This multi-culturism is given boost by the arrival of modern ways of life from the south of the country. The introduction of mobile phone, a quite recent development has altered the traditional conceptions of living. The notion of individual privacy gained a fair momentum in a society which was traditionally collectivist. Most of the informal social institutions have dried up. For instance the traditional gathering, popularly known as *Chalay* has disappeared, at least from the suburbs of Gilgit. The *Chalay* was a social gathering of elders in each

Mohallah (settlement) where the elders usually used to gather during night and discussing the most important issues of the local settlement. Folk stories, legends, and past were discussed in these settings. Each settlement had a special person nominated for story-telling who had a mastery over the art of public speaking and rhetoric. These practices have now dried up, and one of the most important factors was the introduction of television in these remote areas.

Television altered the lives of our communities. It is responsible for diminishing our social practices like *Chalay*. People no longer feel the need to sit together, discuss and interact among themselves because for them the television apparently serves this purpose. This flow of knowledge and information apparently has a positive aspect attached to it. But it has done harm as well, you see, I am not a regressive person, but you have to realize that introduction of market and commodities in this part of the world has greatly altered its social contours and, therefore, we look back to our past nostalgically, but I think this was how it meant to be. You cannot lament it every time.¹³

Modernity and technological development coupled with some of the grave political events in GB. An erstwhile strategically isolated territory, Gilgit-Baltistan remained largely on the fringes of mainstream political activity of Pakistan. Governed through ad-hoc ordinances and presidential orders from time to time, the territory remained politically deactivated when it came to choose its own representatives. This task was primarily carried out in the past by Political Agent, and these days, it is believed that most of the decision making largely rests with the powerful, "steel-frame bureaucracy." It is pertinent to add that GB has seen a style of political governance that once the British administration carried out in colonial India.

¹³ Interview with Muhammad Amin Zia (A writer, poet, and historiographer), January 2, 2017.

It seems that Pakistan's leadership wants to politically train the people of Gilgit-Baltistan before granting them any substantial political setup. Just as the British administration introduced constitutional and political reforms gradually; we can witness that in GB. From time to time, GB has been experimented with different electoral and political experiments, and gradually people are getting along with it. The current set-up in my opinion is the most advanced one, virtually matching with the modern-style of political governance. Before that the most advanced reforms were introduced by the government of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto which abolished the traditional system of kingship and *Rajgiri*, and reformed the region on the modern styles by integrating it in the form of different districts. This was a major development, because it set out the future sociological and political pattern of Gilgit-Baltistan.¹⁴

The patterns of migration and mass mobilization towards GB were impacted by the reforms that were initiated by the government of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1974. Among other reforms, one of the important political developments was the abolishment of State Subject Rule. This rule was instrumental in preventing any kind of demographic change in GB till its abolishment. It is towards this issue that we now turn our attention.

State Subject Rule: Origins, Development and Consequences

The State Subject Rule (SSR) was a preventive legislation carried out in 1927 by the government of then *Maharaja* Hari Singh. The legislation barred the people from outside to buy lands and property; thus, effectively stopping any kind of foreign encroachment on the lands of local people. The legislation was carried out to maintain stability and peace in the then Gilgit agency which was under the control of government of Jammu and Kashmir. The then

¹⁴ Interview with Nawaz Khan Naji (Member Legislative Assembly of Gilgit-Baltistan), July 20, 2016.

Kashmiri administration adopted very strict measures to prevent the inflow of foreign people to Gilgit. Check posts were established at every entry and exit point so that the unnecessary arrival of the people could be controlled. People from outside were only partially allowed after a strict scrutiny to only visit the *bazaar* in Gilgit and spend the night in hostels outside the city. These effective measures were taken because the control of Kashmir's government was challenged several times in the area from different directions. "Some of these attacks even succeeded in expelling the Kashmiri administration and garrison."¹⁵ Out of this fear of losing control of the territory, the region was subjected to such kind of regulations.

Since the dawn of 20th century, Gilgit became a blue-eyed territory of foreign investors and businessmen. With its flourishing bazaar and labor market and un-irrigated lands, it became a hotly contested territory for investment. This transformation of social space and infrastructure took place apparently after the arrival and expansion of British in the town.¹⁶ The patterns of migration to Gilgit took different shapes at different junctures in the history. After the principalities of Hunza fell into hands of the British, the people of Hunza started to come to the main city. The British were not opposed to the migration of Hunza from north, primarily because the Hunzukutz were regarded as reliable and hard-working people. Both British and Kashmiri administration were on the same page regarding the mobility of the people from southern regions like Darel, Kohistan and Chilas. The British and Kashmiri administration was suspicious and considered that these areas troubling for the stability and peace in Gilgit. Thus, both tried to prevent the mobility of people to Gilgit

¹⁵ Fredric Drew, *The Jammu and Kashmir territories*, (Karachi, Indus publications, 1980), 230.

¹⁶ A clarification is necessary about the actual administration of Gilgit city in the later part of 19th century. The British had control of the region because office of political agent was established in the town. But sub-district of the town, which is city itself, was under the control of governor of Kashmir wazarat. This double control of the region roused complications until the British took the whole area on lease in 1935 from Kashmiri administration.

from southern side.¹⁷ The control of both the powers (Kashmir and Britain) set the migration patterns into Gilgit and was helped in accordingly.

State Subject Rule (SSR) after 1947

In 1972, populist Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto initiated wide-ranging reforms in the amputated country. The new constitution of 1973 was introduced which was largely a consensual document of all the political parties. It is worth mentioning that neither the constitutions before 1973 nor the 1973 constitution itself defines Gilgit-Baltistan as its territory. The spree of reforms initiated by government of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto trickled down to Gilgit-Baltistan which was erstwhile constituted by independent principalities and autonomous states. After visit to the area, Prime Minister Z.A Bhutto promptly ordered to abolish the system of princely states, and one unit was carved out of all the area consisting of seven districts.¹⁸ With the introduction of new system, all the indigenously prevalent laws like that of State Subject Rule were done away with. The reforms were initially welcomed by the local populace who were given the right to elect their representatives on the basis of adult franchise rather than remaining subjects to a single ruling family. A new council was established known as Northern Areas advisory council which had 18 members. These members were to be selected on the basis of adult franchise.

Consequences of abolishing State Subject Rule in Gilgit-Baltistan:

The abolishment of SSR in Gilgit-Baltistan completely altered the patterns of migration in the region. An erstwhile homogenous area with only native people, the abolishment of SSR provided the opportunity for non-locals to migrate into the region. It is important to mention that the abolishment of SSR was in complete

¹⁷ Robert A. Huttenback, "Gulab Singh and the Creation of the Dogra State of Jammu, Kashmir, and Ladakh," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 20, 477 – 488.

¹⁸ Ali et al., "'Almost' Pakistan: Gilgit Baltistan."

contravention to the resolutions of United Nations on Gilgit-Baltistan and Kashmir. The State of Jammu and Kashmir is still under State Subject Rule. No person other than the native Kashmiri is allowed to buy or sell lands and property in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. There is one opinion that by abolishing State Subject Rule Pakistan did not only violate the United Nation's resolution and paved the way for a massive migration from other parts of Pakistan to Gilgit-Baltistan. One of the explanations that are given as a reason for abolishing State Subject Rule is that according to UN resolutions on Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan, both India and Pakistan are supposed to carry out plebiscite whenever the conditions are favorable. Pakistan in hope to maximize its vote in the plebiscite abolished the SSR while the UN resolutions stress both India and Pakistan not to change the demography of the both the regions.

The SSR ensures that both India and Pakistan do not change the ethnic, racial, and religious composition of Gilgit-Baltistan and occupied Kashmir. It is like a shield that protects the interests and ensures that local people are empowered. The violation of this law by Pakistan in GB has no basis at all, and the law should still be applied in its spirit as suggested by UNCIP resolutions. The importance of SSR has grown in the recent times as CPEC is in full swing. The SSR protects the rights of local people over commerce and resources. It helps in preserving the identity of local people who are otherwise constitutionally deprived in broader Pakistani federal framework.

Another view about the abolition of SSR is associated with the regional political developments that occurred in the decade of 1970's. The Iranian revolution and its subsequent impact on larger geo-politics of the region were propounded so much that its trickledown effect was felt in Gilgit-Baltistan. It is believed that the state of Pakistan feared the consequences of having a Shiite dominated province while revolution-hit Iran silently trying to spread its fangs around the region. This provoked a change in policy of Pakistan towards Gilgit-Baltistan as the state was now eager more

than ever to equalize the Shia-Sunni gap in the region, and thus it paved way for a large scale Sunni migration towards the region.¹⁹

Calls for Re-enactment of State Subject Rule

The issue of SSR has assumed a lot of importance in the wake of recent events, particularly after CPEC. Under the garb of developmental projects, the government of Pakistan is whisking away the lands of local people without any proper compensation. The issue has incited a lot of public attention in recent days as lands are being taken away from local people. For the commercial projects related to CPEC, the government has acquired 0.5 million Kanals of land, and, for security purposes, it has acquired 12,000 Kanals, and the figures are increasing.²⁰ The leading opposition, Pakistan People's Party staged a protest and blocked the Karakoram Highway in October 2016 to raise the issue and demanded for the compensation of lands that were taken away from the local people. The agitations are the part of continuum that seeks to reinforce the historical State Subject Rule. It is important to note that there is a fear among local populace about being reduced to minority in their own land which does not seems a good omen for the stability and vitality of CPEC. "It is observed that the government has been trying to take over the land in question without due compensation for the community which has the rights to this common land."²¹ Nautor Act is a black law; "PPP demands revocation of the Nautore Act to ensure protection of rights of land ownership by indigenous people."²² In the view of present situation, it is important for the government to pay proper compensations to the people whose lands are taken away by the government. The non-provision of compensations could lead to

¹⁹ Senge Hassan Sering, "Constitutional Impasse in Gilgit-Baltistan: The fallout," *Strategic Analysis* 34, no.3 (2011): 354.

²⁰ Khadija Zahid, "Fate of Gilgit-Baltistan under CPEC," *Pakistan Today*, April 2, 2017.

²¹ Afzal A, Shigri, "Land ownership rights," *The Dawn*, April 2, 2017.

²² Khadija Zahid, "Fate of Gilgit-Baltistan under CPEC," *Pakistan Today*, April 2, 2017.

annoyance and frustration among the people which would not be useful for CPEC project.

Conclusion

The importance of CPEC for the long-term economic stability of Pakistan cannot be underemphasized. The project has the capability to transform national fortune and give it a stable path for the country's economy if it comes to fruition while taking all the stakeholders along. No policy or developmental program has received as much acclaim and attention as CPEC did. The civilian military and political elite do not seem to be overlooking the importance of the opportunity which has emerged at a time when Pakistan is grappling with issues of poverty, social inequality and fledgling economy. The project reflects the trustworthy bilateral relationship that both China and Pakistan has enjoyed over the years. Apart from being an economic initiative experts have described CPEC as a strategic gambit that aims to bring the erstwhile least connected territories of South and Central Asian region to Chinese territorial outreach. This will also enhance China's access to the regions which were formerly least connected or were out of China's market ambit. The main concern regarding fruition of the project is Pakistan's internal social and political stability, and that how all the stakeholders take part in translating it into their greater advantage.

The construction of highways, railway, and other modes of connectivity that are part of CPEC project can well be understood in the larger spectrum of China's One Belt One Road (OBOR) policy. The initiative calls for the state directed investment to build roads, highways, and other forms of communication to deepen the regional and economic integration in the South and larger Asian region. This will ultimately result in the inter-continental integration with Europe and beyond. Pakistan is an important entity in the larger OBOR nexus because of the historical silk route link. Pakistan will be an important partner because the construction of CPEC will quell China's long-standing dilemma of passing its imports and exports through the Malacca strait where roughly eighty percent of its oil imports travel

through the single chokepoint of the Strait of Malacca.²³ In this context, the less developed part of China's Western region including Xingjian province has assumed immense importance, and in order to quell the extremist movements; China has already accelerated its developmental programs in the province. China's attempt for economic development and investment can also be viewed through its tacit effort to counter extremists not only in its Western Xingjian province but in the whole spectrum of CPEC. The developmental initiatives that are part of CPEC are thought as an antidote to the rising extremism and poverty in Pakistan as well. The job creation through the initiative will counter the anti-state sentiment, thereby, improving the law and order situation in the country.

Based on findings of this research, below are some of the concluding thoughts that how CPEC can be an effective project, and that what measures are needed to do away with concerns of the people of Gilgit-Baltistan that have emerged in the recent times.

The effective implementation of CPEC will ultimately depend on how Pakistan addresses its issues including terrorism, provincial disharmony, and the rising tide of geostrategic opposition including the Indian factor. The single most important problem that Pakistan needs to resolve immediately is the provincial disharmony over the distribution and allocation of projects in CPEC. Based upon the interviews that the researchers have conducted as a part of this research, the logical conclusion is to immediately consult the stakeholders of GB, to take them into confidence in decision making, and to address their grievances without delay.

GB should be given participation in parliament, National Finance Commission, and Council of Common Interests. The participation in these higher echelons of power would set GB on a new trajectory of political journey which would eventually have long-standing ramifications on its social and economic sector. Giving better political status to the territory would give a sense of empowerment to the people of GB and will foster a sense of unity

²³ Daniel S Markey and James West, "Behind China's Gambit in Pakistan," *Council on Foreign Relations*, May, 12, 2016, <http://www.cfr.org/pakistan/behind-chinas-gambit-pakistan/p37855>.

and national integration which is important for the projects like CPEC. The political empowerment will bring the region at par with other areas of rest of country and will enable them to plead their cases on national forums. The absence of representation in Pakistan's parliament has generated a skeptical response from people of the region over the years. Their political deprivation is being viewed from the perspective of colonial extension of rule which among other things has been used by anti-state elements to further their agenda in the region. At a juncture when the investment related to CPEC is coming in as fresh air for Pakistan, it is timely and much needed that the concerns of GB should be addressed, and the region should be integrated with the country's constitutional and political framework.

The absence of political rights and constitutional recognition has neither served the interest of Pakistan nor GB. Without proper institutional frameworks, capacitated with the protection of local interest, the introduction of projects like CPEC will bring sweeping distortions of fair and free economic competition.²⁴ Such a scenario will give strength to the perception that CPEC is a tool of exploitation for the resources like mining and gemstones which are abundantly found in the region. The grant of mining contracts to non-local firms in recent times was also met with criticism. Moreover, the issue of land grabbing for CPEC projects without due compensation for the affected people is also causing a lot of concerns. Thus, protests and demonstrations for compensations can mar the smooth functioning of CPEC and Karakoram highway. In a more nuanced form, political development should precede economic development in GB because the establishment of political and legal reforms would ensure that local interests are not sacrificed under some fictional national or international interest.

²⁴ Seigfried O' Wolf, "China-Pakistan Economic Corridor and its impact on Gilgit-Baltistan," *South Asia Democratic Forum*, Issue no 25, (2015): 47.

FOREIGN POLICY OF PAKISTAN TOWARDS INDIA IN MUSHARRAF ERA

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Abstract: *Despite living together for centuries, Hindus and Muslims could not create a relation of harmony. Though certain deliberate efforts had been made to bring the two close to each other, but the alliance could not prosper. Consequentially, the sub-continent was partitioned. Soon after that certain unsettled agendas of partition nurtured the enmity further. Afterwards, woefully enough, the two could not live in harmony as sovereign states even after seven decades. The two had been involved in three major wars and several armed clashes. Objective of this paper is to explore the nature of India-Pakistan relations in Musharraf era and a major shift in Pakistan's foreign policy towards India after 9/11. Policies of Musharraf became the cornerstone in moving forward Pakistan's established position on Kashmir than any of his predecessor in the past.*

Keywords: India, Pakistan, Kashmir, General Musharraf, foreign policy.

Historical Evolution of Indo-Pak Relations

India Pakistan ties are a narrative of mutual misunderstanding, distrust, lack of confidence to take optimistic decisions, misperception, and disharmony.¹ Due to a variety of historical and political events, relations between India and Pakistan had remained complex. Violent partition of Sub-continent in 1947 defined the nature of subsequent ties between India and Pakistan. However, in the wake of liberation of Pakistan, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah

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¹ D.S. Mahmood, *International Affairs* (Lahore: A.H Publishers, 1994).

in a meeting convened in the Chamber of Commerce Bombay said, "We will live in Pakistan, you will live in India. We will be neighbors...we want to live in a friendly way, friends in trade and commerce as two brothers."² Similarly, Nehru in 1950 in Indian Parliament stated, "We cannot be enemies forever and good relations are better than fighting."³ Moreover, shortly after the partition of sub-continent, India and Pakistan tried to build diplomatic ties but varied territorial claims and other clashes overshadowed their relations. The disagreements began to occur between them even after they became separate independent states owing to the fact that Hindu leadership did not accept the existence of Pakistan. India endeavored to eliminate Pakistan from the world's map and relationship of the duo had been evolved in mistrust, fear, antagonism and anxiety. Since their independence, the two had fought three major wars (1948, 1956, and 1971), a military clash in Kargil (1999), and had been involved in numerous armed skirmishes and several military standoffs. Oimstead is of the view that India and Pakistan were birthed out of bloody partition that heartened each to define herself in hostility towards the other, and they had waged four wars since partition.⁴ Kashmir conflict, the unfinished agenda of partition further plagued their ties with hostility and suspicion. With the acquisition of strategic weapons and modernization in the region, a new dimension had been added in the relations between the two arch rivals. This acquisition of strategic weapons had become more and more a matter of competition between the two rival states culminating in conducting nuclear tests in 1998. A complicated nuclear race began in the region that made South Asia a dangerous and unstable place. The global community also became concerned that these nuclear weapons could be used in further aggravation of ties. The relationship between the

² A. Z. Hilali, "Confidence and Security Building Measures for India and Pakistan," *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* 30, no. 2 (Sage Publications, Inc. 2005).

³ Ibid.

⁴ J. Oimstead, "India-Pakistan Relations: A Destructive Equilibrium," *The Diplomat*, November 2, 2014.

two is now measured as fusion of animosity and distrust on both the sides even after seventy years of the partition.

Foreign Policy of Pakistan towards India in Musharraf Era

Foreign policy is a set of ideologies and objectives which determines the relations of one state towards another state. Pakistan's foreign policy is based upon friendship and goodwill towards all the states in the world. Pakistan and India have problematic relationship having a history of wars and mutual clashes on water, territorial disputes of Kashmir, Siachen, and Sir Creek. Pakistan's foreign policy towards India is shaped with the same stance. These issues are required to be tackled by both the nations.⁵ General Musharraf during his presidency tried to build a cordial relation with India and other nations of the world but not at the cost of sovereignty and security of the state. He in his first press conference declared his policy objectives regarding India that hostility would be met with hostility, peace with peace, and threats with threats and that he would ensure the honor and dignity of the country. Also, anyone threatening Pakistan would get a similar response.⁶ Musharraf gave Kashmir a pivotal place in Pakistan's foreign policy. After 9/11, a major move in Pakistan's foreign policy came when Pakistan became aligned with the United States of America and got the status of a frontline state to fight against the "war on terror." On December 13, 2001, a terrorist attack on Parliament of India in New Delhi was carried out. Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) and Jaish-e-Muhammad (JeM) were accused as perpetrators which increased tensions between Pakistan and India resulting in the 2001–2 military stand-off. President Musharraf responded by banning Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) and Jaish-e-Muhammad (JeM). Gradually, Pakistan resumed the peace process and the resurgence of Composite Dialogue in 2004 along with the restoration of diplomatic relations and over flights etc.

⁵ M. Bukhtiar, "Pakistan's foreign policy towards India in Musharraf Era," *Parliament Times*, January 11, 2017.

⁶ F. Akhtar, "Pakistan's Foreign Policy towards India during Musharraf Era" (MPhil dissertation, University of the Punjab, Lahore, 2016).

The 2001 Agra Summit

After the Kargil outbreak in 1999, the process of rapprochement between both the neighbors again started after a long stalemate through Agra Summit. It is also generally accredited that Musharraf, against the verdict of civilian-led government in Pakistan, ordered his forces, supported by Pakistani-based Islamic militants, to penetrate into Indian occupied territory of Kargil in Kashmir. India called the issue 'cross-border terrorism' that involved attacks by Kashmiri militant factions. Later, the attack on Indian Parliament in Delhi in 2001 was supposed to be a follow on of this action. Furthermore, India reacted severely by deploying hundreds of thousands of troops on the other side of border. The leadership of India called it a "decisive battle." Prime Minister Vajpayee condemned the attack, and the most popular war cry in India was to "teach Pakistan another lesson."⁷ On the other hand, Pakistan endeavored to persuade India for talks in order to restore ties with India. The ice was melted to some extent when President Musharraf phoned Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee and shared his sympathies over the catastrophic incidents of Gujarat and Kutch earthquakes. Additionally, he sent goods and medication to help the grief-stricken people. On May 25, 2001, Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee invited General Musharraf for the Summit talks. General Musharraf responded by accepting the invitation. He, on July 14, 2001, went to India. The leadership of both the countries met in the historical city of Agra. In order to resolve mutual issues including Jammu and Kashmir and cross border terrorism; four rounds of talks had been held. But both the states could not reach a joint statement which ultimately led to the failure of talks. However, the talks could not succeed, but it was proved to be a watershed in process of normalization of relations. And, both the countries agreed to open doors for dialogue process in the times to come. The tensed military impasse took ten months to last when both the sides after so long

⁷ Z. Abbas, "When Pakistan and India went to war over Kashmir in 1999," *The Herald*, February 17, 2017.

reached a decision in October 2002 to start lowering troops placed along both sides of the borders.

Indo-Pakistan Ties: Post 9/11

On September 11, the United States of America was hit by a series of four coordinated terrorist attacks. Within hours of the attacks, al-Qaida was quickly suspected of carrying out the attacks.⁸ The U.S. responded irately by launching a Global War on Terror (GWOT) and effective counterattack by invading Afghanistan in order to penalize the perpetrators.⁹ (Pakistan was left with no choice but to join the GWOT as a frontline state. General Musharraf thought it wise to align with the US-led war in counteroffensive at al-Qaida bases in Afghanistan. Jones and Shaikh argue that while the events of 9/11 enforced the U.S. to court Pakistan to fight against Islamic militants, the military rule in Pakistan was aware of the fact that if there would be any decline in her liaison with the U.S., then India would be poised to emerge as the key U.S. ally in the region.

Since 9/11, terrorism became a global phenomenon that later opened a new phase of conflict between India and Pakistan. The 9/11 attacks on the Twin Towers in the United States of America afterwards changed the nature of relations between India and Pakistan. Especially, following the terror attacks on Indian Parliament on December 13, 2001, India started raising her voice over Pakistan's involvement in cross border terrorism. She alleged Pakistan based organizations Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) and Jaish-e-Muhammad (JeM) involved in the terrorist attack on Indian Parliament and held them responsible for creating insecurity and insurgency in Kashmir. Simultaneously, India disrupted all transit links to Pakistan along with cutting off diplomatic ties with Pakistan. She deployed her

⁸ H.S.Rothstein, *Afghanistan and the Troubled Future of Unconventional Warfare* (New Delhi: Manas Publications, 2006).

⁹ S. Kay and S. Khan, "NATO and Counter-insurgency: Strategic Liability or Tactical Asset?" *Rutledge Taylor and Francis Group*, April 29, 2008, <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/13523260701240625>.

forces at the common frontier with Pakistan. The attack on Indian Parliament faded all the prospects of peace and composite dialogue between India and Pakistan. Vajpayee's agreed visit to Pakistan was also called off. All trade and social exchanges between India and Pakistan were suspended. Moreover, over flight of Pakistani commercial planes was also suspended. A similar posture was taken by Pakistan. She also positioned nearly more than a million armed forces personnel on her side of border.

India put forward the following demands to Musharraf in the form of a charge sheet:

- ✓ Handover to India twenty wanted criminal and terrorist outfits suspected to be living in Pakistan;
- ✓ Pakistan may terminate her backing to all terrorist factions battling against Indian rule in Kashmir and to close down all their training sites functioning in Pakistan as well as infiltration of terrorist networks and their arms supply;
- ✓ And terrorism in all its manifestations should be banned categorically and unequivocally.¹⁰

The list of demands also included the handover of masterminds of Jaish-e-Mohammad (JeM) and Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) accused to have been involved in terrorist attack on Indian parliament. Pakistan categorically denied all the claims and averred to provide appropriate evidence. Pakistan also set up her forces forward in defensive position on border and Line of Control. For several times, they even reached at the verge of war. "For a year, the forces of both the countries stood eye ball to eye ball and on more than one occasion the both countries came very close to begin war."¹¹ With the escalation of conflict, risk of nuclear warfare between both the states

¹⁰ M.A. Bashir and M Ahmed, "Pak-India Relations during Musharraf Era Behavioral Study of Leadership" *Berkeley Journal of Social Sciences* 3 (2013).

¹¹ A. Sattar, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy (1947-2005)* (Oxford University Press, 2007).

rose. The international community, apprehensive by the military belligerence and involvement of nuclear dimension, tried to pacify the situation and normalize the ties. U.S. President Bush shared his sympathies over the terrorist attack on Indian Parliament in a telephonic discussion with Indian PM Vajpayee. Also, he made a phone call to President Musharraf to carry out discreet actions to counter the cross border terrorism. Pakistan tried her best to prevent Islamic militant organizations to involve in jihad in Indian occupied Kashmir, and this was deemed to be a major move in Pakistan's policy towards India. Pakistan clearly stated that she would not allow her soil to be used in terrorist activities against any state including India. Though, Musharraf after 9/11 severely coerced by Pakistan's status as a major ally in the "war on terror" sternly rein in militant (Jihadi) factions functioning in Kashmir. Afzal Guru, who was exclaimed to have been involved in the attack, was hanged to death in India. According to Indian claims, Pakistan has yet not taken any substantial step to annihilate the infrastructure of terrorism such as launching pads, training sites, communication infrastructure, and financing system. Musharraf vehemently spurned these accusations. Since 9/11, Pakistan banned many terrorist organizations which were included and topped the U.S. government terrorist watch-lists. Pakistan under the stress of U.S. also tried hard to suspend operations in Kashmir by militant outfits.

In 2003, the tension was somewhat lessened when Indian PM Vajpayee put forwarded numerous confidence building measures (CBMs) to help normalize the tensed and aggravated atmosphere between the two states. A step by step approach was taken which includes resumption of ambassadorial ties, restoration of land links, and agreement to reopen their skies early next year to each other's aviation airlines. Fahmida Ashraf, a well-known expert of the Islamabad-based Institute of Strategic Studies says that normalizing relations between India and Pakistan is one thing and to restart the dialogue is quite another.¹² Subsequently, Vajpayee offered talks with

¹² F. Ashraf, "Jammu and Kashmir Dispute: Examining various Proposals for Its Resolution," *CSS Forum*, June 18, 2015, <http://www.cssforum.com.pk/css-optional-subjects/group-i/international-relations/360-jammu-kashmir-dispute.html>.

Pakistan. Pakistani Prime Minister Zafar ullah Jamali did not hesitate to take Vajpayee's "hand of friendship." The ceasefire was finally enforced on November 26, 2003.

In turn, in November 2005, the banned Kashmiri militant group Lashkar-e-Tayyaba is accused to hold a timed bomb blasts in Delhi that impaired an accord with India to open LOC for the first time since inception and to let Kashmiri people, affected by the earthquake, to link up with their relatives.

The Revival of Composite Dialogue (2004)

As the U.S. was dependent on Pakistan in the "war on terror," seemingly, the real move in Pakistan's stance would be internally taken. Significant developments in Kashmir had been made visible since 2003, which included the opening of bus services between Lahore and Delhi and massive "people-to-people" contact. Additionally, it was planned to initiate similar service across the LOC in Kashmir along with restoration of a rail link across the Wagah border. In 2004, Pakistani President Musharraf and Indian PM Vajpayee during SAARC summit in Islamabad agreed to carry on a composite talk on Kashmir and other unsettled mutual issues. Sadly enough, the same year, Vajpayee lost power. In September 2004, at the sidelines of UN General Assembly in New York, fresh talks between Musharraf and Manmohan Singh, the new Indian Premier, started. In 2005, Musharraf and Singh in a joint declaration asserted that the mutual peace process is irrevocable. Since then, the Pak-Indo ties appeared to move along three similar roads. Although, there was a slight progress visible. Following the first composite dialogue there was withdrawal of troops from Siachen Glacier and demarcation of boundary in the Rann of Kutch. The second round of talks included a ban on nuclear tests and bilateral advance notice of missile tests. The third round of talks concerned the core agenda of Kashmir was being taken up behind the closed doors. Both the governments were in touch through backdoor channels for the implementation of Musharraf's proposals. The Indo-Pak relations went towards the right

direction in early 2006. A joint mechanism for countering terrorism was adopted by the Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and the Pakistan's President Pervez Musharraf at Havana in September 2006.

Musharraf's Four-Point Formula on Kashmir

Since inception in 1947 of Pakistan, the state of Jammu and Kashmir has been disputed territory for both Pakistan and India. After seven decades, the two have not been able to move on to a consensus on this unfinished agenda and carried on to a zero-sum approach on the issue. Even their narratives and agendas on the issue are different from each other. Pakistan furthered the case of Kashmiris in order to internationalize the issue after the 1989–90 mutiny, and India's attempted to tackle the Kashmiris by adopting repressive measures. It was also reckoned that it was General Musharraf, who moved Kashmir conundrum further from Pakistan's established posture than any of his predecessors in the past. In order to break a stalemate, in 2001, he himself met with Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee that had proved to be a defining movement in the way to normalizing relations with India. Musharraf stated, "We are for the United Nations Security Council resolutions. However, now we have left that aside," adding further, "if we want to resolve this issue, both sides need to talk to each other with flexibility, coming beyond stated positions, meeting halfway somewhere. We are prepared to rise to the occasion. India has to be flexible too."¹³ On December 5, 2006, President Musharraf proposed his four-point solution to the Kashmir issue during an interview to the Indian television network NDTV.

This formula included:

- ✓ Demilitarization or phased withdrawal of troops
- ✓ There will be no change of borders of Kashmir.
However, people of Jammu & Kashmir will be allowed to move freely across the Line of Control.

¹³J. Shah, and N. Riaz, "September 11, 2001 and Change in Pakistan's Foreign Policy," *American International Journal of Contemporary Research* 31 (2013), http://www.aijcrnet.com/journals/Vol_3_No_1_January_2013/12.pdf

- ✓ Self-governance without independence.
- ✓ A joint supervision mechanism in Jammu and Kashmir involving India, Pakistan and Kashmir.¹⁴

Musharraf was able to persuade the Indian leaders to determine the years' old unresolved agenda of Kashmir. Pakistan always wanted the instant attention and immediate solution of the Kashmir issue. India was agreed to consider Musharraf's suggestions on Kashmir. Both the governments were in touch through backdoor channels for the execution of Musharraf's formula for Kashmir. Even though, the Indian prime minister afterwards accepted that India and Pakistan had reached to the preparation of final draft for the conclusion of the Kashmir conflict.

Samjhota Express Attack and Its After-effects on Indo-Pak Ties

On February 18, 2007, a terrorist attack on Samjhota Express was carried out in the midnight. Bombs were set off in two carriages of the train. It was a twice-weekly train service connecting Delhi (India) and Lahore (Pakistan). The attack left sixty eight people dead. Most of them were Pakistanis. The perpetrators of the attack intended to interrupt peace negotiation between India and Pakistan because the attack was conducted just a day before Pakistani Foreign Minister Khurshid Mahmud Kasuri was to arrive in New Delhi. At the outset, the Indian government pointed fingers towards Pakistan, but afterwards the attack was likely to be connected with Hindutva ideology. The government of Pakistan responded in the similar manner and proposed that Indian government should investigate the act of terrorism. Kasuri said the attack would not stop his trip to India, and that he "will be leaving tomorrow for Delhi to further the peace process." Adding further, he said that "we should hasten the peace process."¹⁵ Pakistani President Musharraf stated that Indian

¹⁴ N. Ali, "General Musharraf's four-point formula can provide an effective roadmap in Kashmir," *An Interview with Prof Abdul Ghani Bhat Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies* (2011), http://www.ipcs.org/pdf_file/issue/SR99BhatInterview.pdf.

¹⁵ *The Daily Star*, February 20, 2007.

authorities must execute full investigation. Concerning the peace talks, he affirmed that "we will not allow elements which want to sabotage the ongoing peace process to succeed in their nefarious designs."¹⁶

In 2007, President General Musharraf started losing his political power. His various decisions including his offensive strike in Lal Masjid of Islamabad by the Pakistan's armed forces and his actions against judiciary led the nation and the political scholars against him. In addition, the leadership of India began to losing trust in Musharraf particularly following the terrorist attacks in India. Finally, in 2008 general elections Pakistan People's Party won the elections, and Asif Ali Zardari established his government. After a prolonged military rule, a democratic government was established in Pakistan. A new policy posture over the issues of terrorism, nuclear strategy, and relations with India was established.

Conclusion

Indo-Pak history is full of conflicts and appeasements. Since independence in 1947, they both have several mutual conflicts which escalated with the passage of time. Due to a number of reasons, the efforts for the development of peace and cooperation between India and Pakistan started many a times and eventually stopped. Kashmir remained a core agenda between both the states since inception. During Musharraf era, the terrorist attack on Indian parliament in 2001 led both the states at the threshold of war. Afterwards, Pakistan initiated peace procedure along with the resumption of composite dialogue in 2004, the restoration of diplomatic relations, and air flights were the top priority. Several other agendas such as Siachen, Sir Creek, Wuller Dam, nuclearization of the region, and confidence building measures were the part of peace process.

In conclusion, at any cost, the peace process must be continued. A neutral posture should be adopted by Pakistani and

¹⁶ Y. P. Rajesh, "At least 66 killed in India-Pakistan train blast," *Reuters*, February 19, 2007, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-india-pakistan-trainidUSDEL34195220070219>.

Indian representatives. Certain Confidence Building Measures should be adopted by both sides. Ties at diplomatic level and people-to-people contact should be enhanced. Flexibility should be observed on the principle standpoints in dialogue in order to resolve major outstanding bilateral issues between both the states.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT SYSTEM OF WUHAN (PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA)

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Nadeem Abbas ***

***Abstract:** Wuhan's Local Government System is an integral and dependent functioning organ of Chinese provincial as well as central government's machinery. This is executed and administered in two ways (i.e., through centralized system which integrates the Local People's Congresses with the National People's Congress through dispensation of elections, and through dual subordination of local government set-up). It is also accountable to higher-level governments that are provincial and central in general. The administratively-functional bureaus and departments are accountable to higher-level provincial and central commissions, ministries, and agencies too. In addition to it, to run the system smoothly and efficiently, the personnel functions are integrated among various levels of local governing paraphernalia. The distinction of the system is that it has a unique monitoring and checks, not only by the voters but also by the higher cadres. Because of its integrative nature, Wuhan's Local Government System has been associated with a number of localized institutions to deliver the services. In this paper, an attempt has been made to evaluate the functioning of town and district governments with an objective of drawing analysis of Local Government System in Wuhan to assess the local councils' performance, people-centric participation in formulating and implementing public policies, and urban development programs.*

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Keywords: Wuhan, National Peoples' Congress, local government, institutions, management, governance, performance, municipal.

Introduction

Local Government System (LGS) of Wuhan can be defined as a political and administrative sub-division of People's Republic of China (PRC). It has got control over local affairs including power to impose taxes or exact labor for the prescribed purposes. The governing body of the Peoples' Governments of Wuhan is elected by the eligible voters. Thus, the concept of local government involves a territorial semi-autonomous political-cum-administrative mechanism to manage and regulate affairs of the city with participation of the local populace. District administrators and town managers and magistrates run the local administrative set-up under the guidance and supervision of the elected officials (i.e., mayor, and deputy mayors.)

In the PRC, most political powers reside in the Chinese Communist Party and National People's Congress, however, the local governments are constitutionally tasked with the responsibilities to handle administrative assignments related to local legislation and management of commerce, investments, education, science, culture, public health, urban and rural development, finance, civil affairs, public security, nationalities affairs, judicial administration, gardens, forestry, city archives, tourism, environmental protection, and family planning. In addition to it, the local governments also administer and supervise cities' infrastructure planning, development, land resource utilization, transportation system, agriculture marketing, food and drug supply regulations, recreational facilities, housing, and security affairs. In practice, each tier of governmental machinery exercises varying degrees of autonomy. Likewise, the LGS of Wuhan is mainly responsible for the efficient administration and management of effective infrastructure development, rapid provision of municipal services, and ensuring result-oriented governance in cooperation with

local institutions and street bureaucracy under the supervision of People's Governments in its thirteen administrative districts.¹

In Wuhan, socialist consultative democracy is characterized by the direct participation of the voters to elect members to the people's congresses. This system refers to the right to vote which is directly exercised by farmers, workers, intellectuals, and other personnel in local organs of political power, business enterprises, public institutions, and other organizations including economic, social, cultural and political cadres' committees. Similarly, according to the municipal law, the residents exercise their right of election, decision-making, management and supervision of local public organizations and street bureaucracy. This ensures implementation of people-centric governance, responsiveness to public needs, effective delivery of municipal services, and institutional accountability.²

With application of "Scientific Outlook on Development," the Wuhan local administration has framed and executed a number of new laws and regulations such as "Employment Promotion Law," "Labor Contract Law," "Urban and Rural Development Law," "Pension Insurance System," "Compulsory Education Law," "Regulations on Preparedness for and Response to Emergent Public Health Hazards," and "Emission Controls Program," with the stated objective to adequately shield legitimate rights and interests of the people. This system has achieved the results for improving and enhancing local institutions' performance, efficiency, and timely service delivery orientations.³

In addition to it, local institutions in Wuhan are assigned maintaining the highways, administering the city, inspecting and building houses, relieving destitution, supplying gas, water, electricity, and managing financial undertakings, fire brigades, citizen and marriage homes, libraries and recreational arrangements,

¹ James C.F.Wang, *Contemporary Chinese Politics: An Introduction* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1999), 175.

² Liu Mingfu, *The China Dream: Great Power Thinking and Strategic Posture in the Post-American Era* (CN Times Books Incorporated, 2015), 52.

³ Ibid.

protecting environment, controlling population and accepting responsibility. In short, local institutions in Wuhan are responsible for all the necessities and amenities of a municipal character under the considered guidance and supervision of People's Governments in all administrative districts.⁴

Constitution of the PRC gives certain rights to the citizens. Subsequently, legal apparatus of Wuhan's local government has been empowered to make laws and regulations to protect various rights of the people for development and subsistence, acknowledged by the Constitution (i.e., freedom of religious beliefs, freedom of assembly and association, personal and property rights, freedom of speech and publication, freedom of demonstration, right to education, and right to social security as well.) Additionally, other rights including social, economic, political, and cultural are also safeguarded.

In Wuhan, grass root government's functionaries and elected officials, with a rationale for decentralized and delegated decision making and public-oriented role of local bureaus and departments, have been providing the residents a number of municipal facilities on the generally accepted grounds of effectiveness, responsiveness, efficiency, result-oriented performance, manageability, and accountability. Because of these measures, people seem quite satisfied with smooth working of system, and uninterrupted delivery of municipal services.⁵

Similarly, Wuhan's local government jurisdiction is quite large as its expenditures constitute sizeable amount of consolidated public spending. Additionally, some defined central functions such as unemployment insurance, social security, and social safety nets have been assigned to local government apparatus with considerable autonomy coupled with enhanced fiscal capacity to ensure citizen-centered local governance.

⁴ Yang Fengchun, *Chinese Government* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 2004), 267.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 260 – 64.

Statement of the Problem

Wuhan which is economically thriving, industrially advancing, and densely populated city in central China has been facing social security, housing, energy, environment, traffic, and increasing local debt-related problems. To find the solution of these problems, an analytical study of its local government system is imperative.

Significance of the Study

Less has been written on local government system of Wuhan by the local as well as foreign researchers. Wuhan's ancient historical background coupled with unique archeological and architectural blend, the location surrounded by scenic lakes and river in the Central China, worth-reading cultural settings, progressive educational institutions, innovative industrial façade, and people-centric local government system have greater research potential to attract researchers to add to its scholarship. Being a researcher on local government system of Wuhan, it is necessary to have an insightful understanding of social, political, and economic arrangements of local government. Likewise, on scholarly level, this study is important to evaluate functionality of local government institutions of Wuhan to give an input to the scholars who want to investigate and have comparison of different local government systems.

The study presents an insightful understanding of political, constitutional, institutional, economic, and local governance system of Wuhan. It would also be useful for those policy makers who intend to design or amend their local government systems to serve their people in a better way.

Objectives of the Study

- ✓ To know the existing structure of local government system of Wuhan.
- ✓ To analyze the extent of functioning of the system.
- ✓ To critically evaluate the provisions of municipal services for the people.

- ✓ To suggest measures for improving the existing structure and mechanism of local government system of the city.

Methodology

It is a descriptive research coupled with exploratory aspects. Apart from secondary data, primary data in shape of interviews of different experts have been used to have a insight of the topic. For sampling, convenience sampling has been used due to few experts available on the topic of research.

Structure of Local Government in Wuhan

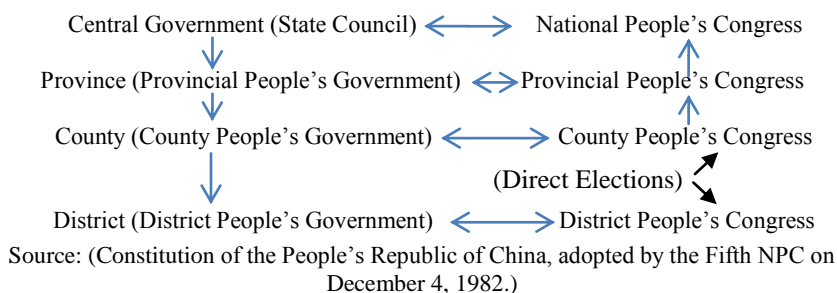
Local People's Congresses (LPC) elect and have power to recall members of the People's Councils at the corresponding levels in all administrative districts and towns of Wuhan. For an eligible voter, minimum age is eighteen years to elect members to the People's Congresses except for persons deprived of political rights according to the electoral law. Similarly, the Communist Party can place an eligible local voter for the election of People's Council. Furthermore, the People's Congresses at district level elect and have the power to recall the president of People's Courts at corresponding levels. The Local People's Council is an integral organ of government's machinery. At the municipal level, the Council consists of one mayor and some deputy mayors. At the county level, it consists of the county heads, and the deputies. The Local People's Councils carry out decisions made by the People's Congresses at corresponding levels, and decisions and orders made by the administrative organs of the state at higher cadres. The People's councils at district level direct the work of all their subordinate departments and have the powers to suspend any inappropriate decision made by the People's Congresses at the next lower level, and to revise or annul decisions and can issue orders to their subordinate departments. It is worth mentioning that the Local People's Councils are responsible to the People's Congresses at corresponding levels, and to the administrative organs of state at the next higher level, and report them on their specific administrative functions. The Local

People's Councils are administrative organs of the city and are subordinate to and work under the coordinating direction of the provincial government and State Council. At every level, there is a People's Court elected for a four years term and is responsible to the Local Congress and the People's Court at the next higher level. At the primary level, the Village Committees are responsible for economic functions including agriculture and small industries. Each respective locality is under a committee divided into production brigades and production teams, and each team or brigade is responsible for directing economic efforts within its jurisdiction.⁶

The Local People's Congresses at every level ensure observance and execution of laws and can issue decrees in their respective jurisdiction, draw up plans for local economic and cultural development and public works, examine and approve local budgets and financial reports, protect public property, maintain public order, safeguard the rights of citizens, and equal rights of national minorities as well.

Though in People's Republic of China there is no division of powers among various tiers of government, but each successive tier of government down from the top reports to the preceding tier above it. The central government wields all political powers within the country. However, certain constitutional clauses do allow the local government of Wuhan to handle municipal affairs in their respective administrative demarcations with varying degrees of autonomy.⁷

Figure 1: Central, Provincial and Local Governments' Structure



⁶ Huang Huikang, *Introduction to China's Law and Politics* (Wuhan: Wuhan University Press, 1990), 49–55.

⁷ Ibid.

Wuhan's Administrative Division

Wuhan, the capital city of Hubei province, covering an area of 8,494 square kilometers with population of eleven million is divided into thirteen districts for administrative convenience.

Table 1

Serial No:	Districts	Chinese Name	Pinyin
1	Jiang'an	江岸区	Jiāng'àn Qū
2	Jianghan	江汉区	Jiānghàn Qū
3	Qiaokou	硚口区	Qiáokǒu Qū
4	Hanyang	汉阳区	Hànyáng Qū
5	Wuchang	武昌区	Wǔchāng Qū
6	Qingshan	青山区	Qīngshān Qū
7	Hongshan	洪山区	Hóngshān Qū
8	Dongxihu	东西湖区	Dōngxīhú Qū
9	Hannan	汉南区	Hànnán Qū
10	Caidian	蔡甸区	Càidiàn Qū
11	Jiangxia	江夏区	Jiāngxia Qū
12	Huangpi	黄陂区	Huángpí Qū
13	Xinzhou	新洲区	Xīnzhōu Qū

Public Services

Municipal government institutions remain open from Monday to Friday (excluding statutory public holidays) from 8:30 a.m. to 12:00 a.m. and from 2:30 p.m. to 5:30 p.m. However, citizens and business organizations can make an appointment with the relevant government offices in advance, in case, if they want government services during public holidays.

Composition of Local Government's Apparatus

In Wuhan, city mayor and deputy mayors of districts and towns assume overall administrative responsibility for running the functions of local people's governments at their respective administrative and managerial levels. In addition to it, to handle the administrative affairs, a number of functionaries of the local government system include secretaries, head of departments, head of

bureaus, and chairmen of neighbourhood committees. Likewise, people's governments of townships are administered or led by the heads and deputy heads of various departments. Furthermore, administrative affairs of ethnic townships in Wuhan are managed or governed by the heads and deputy heads, elected or nominated from the relevant ethnic minority groups.

Constitutionally, it is mandatory for the newly-elected leaders to appear before the standing committees of the people's congresses at the corresponding levels for the appointment of executive secretaries, directors, and deputy directors of offices and subordinate and attached departments and heads of departments, bureaus, and chairmen of respective committees within two months after local councils' elections. Moreover, secretary general and deputy secretaries-general are nominated by the Communist Party in big cities like Wuhan which is divided into administrative towns and districts to closely watch and supervise administrative activities of the local bureaucracy to ensure transparency, effectiveness, responsiveness, meritocracy, and accountability in the system.⁸

Component Departments of Local Government System

According to the Organic Law of the PRC on Local People's Congresses and Local People's Governments, component departments are those functioning departments, bureaus, and offices that constitute administrative parts of the functioning machinery at various levels. Some administrative organs work more independently with greater administrative and legal status while some mainly perform their functions as subordinate offices to the parent departments. Heads of these departments are appointed or removed by both local people's congresses and local governing mechanism as per legal requirements.

Moreover, local government set-up establishes supervision departments in the light of "Law of Supervision," to enforce system of checks and balances. By the same token, a number of component

⁸ Fengchun, *Chinese Government*, 269-273.

departments are working in Wuhan under the local government system to serve the citizens concerned with civic facilities.⁹

Term of Offices of Local Governments

According to the local government laws, the term of offices of the district governments in big cities like Wuhan and municipal districts' is five years. Likewise, the term of office of the governments at townships, ethnic townships, and towns' levels is three years.

Local Governments' Revenues and Audit

In Wuhan, local revenue is largely managed or collected from local taxes such as collective enterprise income, agricultural and real estate taxes, shared taxes, joint venture enterprises taxes, and income from monopolies, set quotas, bonds, and credits. In addition, district governments also receive annual grants, special grants, project funds, and portion from consolidated budgets of provincial and central governments. However, all financial processes and transactions are directly overseen by the provincial finance department, but local district governments prepare their own budgets and devise revenue collection methods and expenditure rules in compatibility with local conditions. The Local People's Congresses discuss and approve budgets and financial allocations at all levels. All budgeted revenues and expenditures are strictly audited by the local and provincial supervision departments and the State Council through its audit branches at all levels. Additional finances for development projects, out of annual budgetary allocations, are processed, channelled, and operated through a well-defined "Graded Management System" in transaction understandings with the financial institutions concerned.

Coordination between Central and Local Governments

Well-orchestrated relationship between the respective local party leader and the local top civil service is a key for the people-

⁹ Ibid.

friendly governance, better management of policies, and well-coordinated implementation of laws and regulations. Therefore, the Party Standing Committee, the State Council, and the respective ministries use their authority over the local party and local government administration to implement developmental policies, national laws, and governing regulations in the best interest of the recipients. In addition, each lower-level of government reports to the higher-level authorities to ensure smooth governing arrangements. Hence, it reduces risk of corruption, self-interests, and nepotism. It also promotes and trains provincial and local leaders who are considered successful in Wuhan's governing apparatus.¹⁰

Local Governments' Transparency

District governments in Wuhan have taken measures for transparency in government affairs by establishing "Departmental Spokesperson System" for various office and bureaus, and holding biweekly press conferences. Hence, the district governments are toeing the lines of "Municipal Provisions on Open Government Information," the first legislative mechanism regarding information disclosure in China with the stated objective of enhancing transparency in local government bodies.¹¹

Following are the main departments, offices, and bureaus under the Local Government System of Wuhan with their various public-centric functions.

City Health and Family Planning Commission

Wuhan's administrative districts have a medical and healthcare mechanism with general and specialized hospitals administering modern and traditional Chinese medicines. In Wuhan, foreigners can avail medical facility at hospitals by presenting their personal identity documents and residential permits. In case of any emergency, people can dial emergency assistance number (120) or

¹⁰ Tapan Biswal, *Comparative Politics: Institutions and Processes* (India: Laxmi Publications, 2013), 283–84.

¹¹ Ibid.

the contact number of their designated hospitals for ambulance service on payment of 100 to 700 RMBs depending on distance travelled and medicines taken. The first-class hospitals have numerous medical facilities for the in-door and out-door patients. Furthermore, hospitals are equipped with sophisticated laboratory tools to investigate and diagnose diseases. For convenience of the patients, they are offered online and telephonic appointment services. In addition, formulation and implementation of "Regulations on Preparedness for and Response to Emergent Public Health Hazards" has established a unified, efficient, and authoritative mechanism for emergency response to the public health hazards to further safeguard people's health and social safety.¹²

Statistical Bureau

According to the national laws, city financial regulations, city planning based on statistical calculations, city statistical policy, basic statistical arrangements, and statistical standards, in Wuhan are within the purview of the local government mechanism. Wuhan Statistical Bureau is accountable to the Municipal Party Committee and the Municipal People's Government, and other relevant departments for the provision of statistical information and advice to improve project planning and infrastructure development in the city.¹³

Wuhan Citizens' Homes

Citizens' homes are composed of spacious halls, luxurious exhibition halls, and well-furnished living rooms. It is based on five functioning platforms (i.e., administrative approval platform, public resources trading platform, integrated government platform, administrative monitoring platform, and educational display platform). It functions on the 'window-based fee, one-stop service' operating mechanism. There are 66 station units, 318 windows, and

¹² Interview with Yun Jio Xia (Ex-Representative of Local Government, Associate Professor at School of Public Administration, CUG, Wuhan), December 2016.

¹³ Ibid.

426 public service-oriented halls to serve and entertain the citizens culturally and educationally. Likewise, Wuhan Planning Exhibition Hall, continually arranges cultural exhibitions with comprehensive display of Wuhan's past, present, and future civilizational outlook. In addition, Citizen's Lecture Hall and *Jiangcheng* Love Hall regularly organize public welfare, cultural, and educational activities.¹⁴

Municipal Office of State Administration of Taxation

Wuhan Municipal Office of State Administration of Taxation is the administrative body that carries out the state's taxation activities within the administrative jurisdiction of Wuhan City. It implements state taxation laws, regulations and codes, and formulates specific measures to levy taxes, keeping in view actual local conditions.¹⁵

City Agriculture Committee

According to the Municipal Party Committee of the Communist Party of China, the City Agriculture Committee (Municipal Committee of the Rural Work Leading Group Office) works for agrarian growth, research, and development. It shoulders responsibilities of overall rural reforms programs, development and research in city agricultural sector, and new rural agrarian farms' construction. It also supervises production and business operations, quality and safety regulatory mechanisms of the agrarian products. The City Forest Bureau does research in fruit growth, tea plantation, and Chinese herbal medicines' manufacturing. Its Agriculture Research Wing studies and puts forward development and research policies concerning construction of rural grassroots work, new rural construction plans, planting industry, animal husbandry, fisheries, mechanization of agriculture and rural energy, farming, and agricultural products processing industry.¹⁶

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

Municipal Development and Reforms Commission

This Commission is government's official monitoring unit on investment activities, industrial planning, financial reforms, and construction projects etc.¹⁷

City Board of Education

Wuhan's education system in accordance with the overall policy guidelines given by the Municipal Party Committee and Municipal Government earnestly implements the long-term programs for education. It promotes quality education as the main objective, improves the quality of education as the basic requirement, focuses on the promotion of fair education, deepens the reforms, insists on innovation, and urges to meet people's demands for high-quality education. Due to its performance, City Board of Education has won national, provincial, and city awards and honors.

The Chinese students are taught six years of primary education followed by six years of secondary education.¹⁸

Bureau of Commerce

According to the Municipal Party Committee of the Communist Party of China, Wuhan Municipal People's Government set up Municipal Bureau of Commerce to deal with business related matters including city's business opening to the outside world, internal and external trade, investment promotion, and development strategy for domestic and international economic cooperation. Additionally, it formulates sea and dry port's rules, regulations and trade policies, and plays role of government's monitoring on medicines' management, and circulation in the city.¹⁹

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

Bureau of Justice

Wuhan Bureau of Justice is mainly responsible for the settlement of labor grievances, legal disputes, peoples' complaints, promotion of legal education, and other judicial administrative matters in the city.²⁰

City Archives Bureau

City Archives Bureau's assignment is to receive, sort out and keep official records, proceedings, and files of City Municipal Government's offices, departments, institutions, and relevant enterprises. It also organizes workshops for party members to study Marxism-Leninism, MAO Zedong thoughts, Deng Xiaoping theory, and Communist party's principles, policies, resolutions, ideology, culture, and politics.²¹

Urban Management Committee

It helps out Municipal People's Government to administer and enforce city's environmental protection laws, health management, urban planning management, urban landscape management, regulations of social life, regulations of administrative punishment for unlicensed peddlers, public security traffic management laws, industrial and commercial administration management laws, and other administrative punishments as determined by the Municipal People's Courts.²²

City Water Bureau

City Water Bureau was founded in September 2001 which is a unified body for the management and distribution of water resources. It is also responsible for city's water supply, flood control, and drought relief activities. Water Conservancy Office, one of important branches of City Water Bureau, is responsible for drainage and

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

sewerage treatment and management. City Water Bureau is also head of city's waterways, embankments, lakes and reservoirs, rural water conservancy works, coordination of farmland water conservancy, and management of all kinds of water engineering. Likewise, City Water Bureau acts upon "Deng Xiaoping's water theory of '3Ws' (i.e., Water safety, Water environment and Water resources)."²³

Civil Affairs Bureau

It executes social assistance plans, policies and standards to improve urban socio-economic standards. It also implements 'supporting system' for the poor, covering medical and economic relief, and gives advice regarding marriage ceremonies, funeral processions, and child adoption cases.²⁴

Civil Defense

Wuhan city is located in central China, economically developed and densely populated, and is known as "thorough fares of nine provinces" surrounded by strong earthquake geological structure. Because of its important strategic position, Wuhan People's Air Defense Committee, City Earthquake Working Organs, Earthquake Disaster Reduction Committee, and Street Level Part-Time Assistant Offices are working under the supervision of Civil Defense Office to mitigate and cope with earthquake disasters and natural calamities. This "Civil Defense Establishment" has made progress in monitoring, prediction, seismic damage mitigation, and emergency rescue service. Likewise, the city administration has built twenty five precursors and earthquake seismic stations. Due to these efforts, the "Municipal Administrative Area" is within 98% earthquake monitoring capacity.²⁵

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

City Construction Committee

City Construction Committee is responsible for comprehensive and systematic formulation, execution, and completion analysis of overall long-term development strategy and construction of major projects in the city. It also frames and implements technical rules, regulations, guidelines, policies, and engineering standards under the local government's directions for making affordable engineering maps and surveys, architectural designs, housing construction, infrastructure development, and construction of seismic-proof buildings as well.²⁶

Environmental Protection Bureau

Municipal Environmental Protection Bureau is handling environmental protection planning, annual resource mobilization plans, management of land and its resources, sustainable development of regional economic planning, comprehensive utilization of resources' strategy and reviewing overall urban planning. In addition, it inspects, oversees, and checks each polluted area to control carbon emission. It carries out carbon emission assessment to design effective pollution preventive modus operandi in future. It also guides and supervises ecological protection, assessment of ecological environment quality, natural resources development and their effective utilization activities, preservation of scenic spots, forests, parks, biodiversity conservation, wildlife protection, and wetland environmental protection. With the application of "Three Simultaneity" program, it ensures construction of environmental-friendly projects, constructs pollution treatment facilities, and issues radiation safety licenses too.²⁷

Ethnic and Religious Affairs Commission

It takes measures to enforce national religious policy and organizes seminars and study circles to address important religious issues and queries. With relevant departments, this commission

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

promotes socio-economic programs to create social harmony, ethnic cohesion, and national integration²⁸

Bureau of Finance

It formulates fiscal, taxation, annual budgetary and economic development policies. In addition, it implements macroeconomic regulations, controls of fiscal and taxation policies, balanced allocation of public funds, municipal and district financial distribution arrangements, and earmarking of money for the promotion of public welfare undertakings in the city. Furthermore, it administers non-tax government revenues, government-managed funds management, management of treasury bills and treasury related payment system, management of lottery money, municipal treasury business, treasury cash management, state-owned capital management budget system and measures, city's social security regulations, government investment funding, municipal construction investment policies, and overall expenditure management.²⁹

Food and Drug Administration

It carries out inspection of food, Chinese medicines, cosmetics, pharmaceutical manufacturing, and production industries. It also frames and implements local rules and regulations for better management of food and drug industry, circulation of drugs and medicines, and manufacturing of infection-free surgical tools.³⁰

Housing Security and the Housing Authority

It frames and carries out policies for city's real estate development, affordable housing construction, housing system reforms, housing special planning, real estate market regulations, and housing management laws. It also supervises city's housing management, property management, building safety management,

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

various aspects of application of architectural designs, dissemination of scientific and technological achievements in housing sector group housing information exchanges, implementation of housing industry technical standards, introduction of modernization in housing industry, and development of energy saving residential industry.³¹

Human Resources and Social Security Bureau

Social Security Bureau formulates and executes city's short-term, long-term, and annual social security development plans. In addition, it chalks out city's urban and rural social insurance policy and standards, annuity disbursement schemes, unified measures for transferring social insurance money, supplementary insurance funds management, social security funds' investment policies, social security transfer payments, policy for allocation of municipal adjustment funds for special persons, preparation of city's social insurance budget, and arrangement of endowment funds to help the poor and needy.³²

Land Resources and Planning Bureau

It makes and implements rules and regulations about urban and rural land planning and resources, house demolition arrangements, land surveying, and land mapping. It is also responsible for organization of urban development strategy, sustainable use of resources, land assessment, assets management, land research planning, revision and co-ordination of urban system planning, urban master planning, land use planning, geological and environment protection planning, mineral resources protection, and utilization planning.³³

City Garden and Forestry

It frames and implements strategic plan for the development of gardens and forest industry. The Animal Husbandry Wing

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

forecasts and handles occurrence of emergencies such as major wild animal epidemics and forest pests to ensure ecological safety. It also keeps people abreast with imminent happening of disasters and winds through micro-blogs, *Wechat* communication system, newspapers, radios, and televisions.³⁴

City Traffic Administration

It supervises management of city's bridges, underpasses and tunnels, such as the *Yangtze* River Bridge, the *Baishazhou* Bridge, the *Han* River Bridge and others. It makes plans for road traffic management system, road traffic facilities, traffic research, accident prevention, illegal traffic handling, vehicle's registration, and driver's training system as well.³⁵

Science and Technology Bureau

It takes measures to timely maintain, protect, update, and open online government information, in accordance with the "public information directory" related to the network of community involved in science and technology planning system, science and technology project reporting, technical operating procedures, scientific and technological achievements, and scientific awards review results. It is also authorized to inform about international science and technology news, Chinese science and technology achievements, Wuhan science, technology and economic news, and Intellectual Property Right Office's announcements. This Bureau has also launched , the Public Information, Open Guide, Open Directory, Open Application, and "I want to ask," and Director's Mailbox like information blogs through which media organizations, and people can have easy access to city's innovative technical projects.³⁶

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid.

Legislative Affairs' Office of the Municipal Government

It enacts and implements Local Government's policies, laws, rules, and regulations, annual legislative plan and disciplinary documents of the Municipal People's Government, and reports to the leading comrades of the Municipal People's Congress for examination and approval and guides the departments concerned to get them implemented.³⁷

Municipal Service Centre Management Office

It is an interactive platform responsible for government information disclosure, strengthening the organization and administrative leadership of Peoples' Government's departments, improving Local Government System to proceed, and broadening the channels and forms of government information proliferation for public good, official documents' reception and transmission, website maintenance management, and supervision, to develop service-oriented government's administrative structure.³⁸

Bureau of Tourism

It devises, executes, and manages tourism-related programs such as cultural activities, trade exhibitions, sports, educational fares, regional fashions' festivals, historical monuments and ancient religious sites' visits, and investment opportunities for local and foreign tourists, researchers, students, anthropologists, and businessmen.³⁹

Conclusion and Recommendations

In the People's Republic of China, the People's Congress System is the basic political set-up in which the power resides in people. Therefore, in Wuhan, the people's congresses at the district or

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

town level implement the direct electoral system, and the average voting participation rate can reach up to ninety five percent.

Wuhan's local government largely protects people's right to vote and takes various steps to facilitate the voters during the direct electoral process to elect the members to the people's congresses. According to the electoral law, deputies to the People's Congresses are elected by the eligible voters. In Wuhan, many small businessmen and first-line workers through their efforts and struggle have been recognized by the people and elected as deputies. They discharge their duties and take part in various town committees' proceedings to protect the rights and interests of the communities concerned. Therefore, it can be said that the National People's Congress's powers belong to the people. Almost all towns and districts in Wuhan have hospitals, schools, other social security facilities, and essential cultural facilities such as youth palaces and reading rooms. In addition, Wuhan's health system based on "Regulations on Preparedness for and Response to Emergent Public Health Hazards" has solved many problems of people by providing them sophisticated medical services. It has contributed in protecting health of the residents, resulting in increased average life expectancy.

Likewise, the "Pension Insurance System" is increasing the proportion of the insured persons and providing pension services to all the retired officials and cadres. Similarly, under the "Compulsory Education Law" all school-aged children and adolescents are receiving free nine years education. It adequately protects citizens' inalienable right to education by reflecting the concept that education is the foundation for long-term socio-economic development, promotion of scientific and technological progress, and realization of socialist modernization.

In Wuhan, the local government authorities and legislative bureau organize hearing system to listen to the opinions and suggestions from all quarters of life before undertaking major decisions. This arrangement helps the administrative and legislative bodies to solicit opinions while taking further measures in decision making process. This acts as a catalyst to mobilize government cadres and trigger public-service enthusiasm and passion among the people as well. By these community-based orientations, people actively and

directly participate in socio-economic matter and development of their city. This people consultation-oriented system fully manifests residents' status as 'the masters' in decision making process regarding local administrations' functionalities. In addition, the local government offices and departments build interactive platforms for the public through television, mobile phones, radio, internet, official websites, and electronic signposts to enable them to easily watch and supervise government affairs and performance. This system has achieved encouraging results by enhancing government efficiency.

In Wuhan, grassroots' government functionaries and street bureaucracy with closest contact with the people are directly responsible for implementing policies, standards, rules, and regulations. This reflects their dedication and hard work to serve the people, and the people seem to be satisfied with the system and delivery of municipal services.

Since the reforms and opening up policy in the late 1970s, Wuhan has been making progress in socio-economic landscape. To ensure that the residents may share the fruits of reforms-driven economic development, Wuhan Municipal Government has been trying to protect the basic rights and interests of the people by improving health care system, education sector, minimum living standard system, energy security arrangements, and building affordable and low-rent houses. With growth of income, people's living standards are gradually improving and now people are enjoying digitally-managed provision of improved municipal services.

In light of the above discussed analysis and research findings, following recommendations are put forwarded:

- ✓ More funds should be allocated to develop the less-developed areas of Wuhan such as Central Town.
- ✓ Modern managerial skills to be enhanced through training courses to further the administrative capacity, quality of work, and professionalism of local government institutions.
- ✓ Well-orchestrated planning should be devised to ensure energy sufficiency for sustainable socio-economic development in the city.

- ✓ Municipal Environmental Protection Bureau should take scientifically-devised and approved measures to control increasing air and aqua pollution.
- ✓ More financial allocations should be sanctioned to construct affordable apartments backed with modern facilities and gadgets for the residents.
- ✓ The municipal government should undertake initiatives for traffic management for improving the traffic flows in congested roads, and for that matter comprehensive network of underground metro systems across the city should be developed.
- ✓ Private taxi, rickshaw, and motorcycle system should be equipped with modern gadget and IT system and should be made available to facilitate the commuters.
- ✓ Outdated taxis should be replaced with modern and environment friendly vehicles.
- ✓ Local taxation system should be made more transparent and easy to understand to increase the local revenue collections.
- ✓ Steps should be taken to improve financial management and functions of administrative districts to decrease leakages in resources.

If the abovementioned suggestions are taken into account in letter and spirit, Wuhan's Local government system will have more result-oriented and more people-friendly governance. Moreover, it will have enhanced administrative capacity, improved provision of municipal services, better management of resources, greater efficiency, and extended transparency in administrative transactions and an increased institutional capacity. Indeed, it would also provide the people of Wuhan with quality life full of facilities. Only then can Wuhan model be presented as a model local government system for other cities to follow.

REDUCING THE RANCOR IN SOUTH ASIA FOR ENDURING PEACE

Dr. Umbreen Javaid *

Abstract: *Currently, the South Asian region is considered as one of the most conflict prone regions of the world. The enduring rivalry between Pakistan and India, the two door-to-door states, is a source of bitterness in the region. Pakistan and India's self-determination and their subsequent split into two sovereign states from the imperialistic rule of Britons have implanted the seeds of lasting conflicts between the two. The British scuttled its responsibilities almost overnight and left in its wake the two newly born countries that were previously united by hatred and animosity for each other. But woefully enough, they both could not live in harmony even as sovereign states. They continued to harbor their relations with each other through the narrow prism of suspicion, hostility, hatred, and the sense of otherness. The political differences, inherent disputes, and the war of words has never been lightened in the whole history of Indo-Pak relations as both of them do not miss any chance of blaming each other. Their geopolitical relations became worse day after day. The decades of conflict have also encompassed three major wars and several near conflicts, which roped in an intense nuclear arms race in the region. Furthermore, in the post 9/11 era, both the states has been indulged in accusing each other for inculcating and implanting terrorism in each other's countries that partook in estranging the bilateral relations further. The objective of this paper is to look into the intractable conflicts between India and Pakistan that have been the source of acute bitterness in the region and the conflict resolution mechanism for them.*

Keywords: India, Pakistan, partition, hostility, conflicts.

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Introduction

The term "conflict" suggests the clash of interests, ideologies, values, struggle, and competition between two or more warring parties or states. According to the Penguin Dictionary of International Relations, "Conflict is a social condition that arises when two or more actors pursue mutually exclusive or mutually incompatible goals. In International Relations, conflicted behavior can be observed as war both as a threatened outcome and as an existential reality and bargaining behavior short of the violent idiom." Since, the South Asian region has not been able to resolve its inter-state and intra-state conflicts, hovering its peace and stability, and hinders the optimism of regional cooperation. The mutual threat perception between India and Pakistan dominated the geopolitics of the whole region. The intermittent clashes between the both persistently nourished antagonism which, in turn, gave birth to long-term conflicts that further complicated the prospects of conflict management and hindered progress on economic front. Their mutually exclusive approaches to dominate the region, in the past, and in present, ignored the concerns of other smaller regional neighbors or looked beyond it to counterweight the proximate hegemon.

It is said that the present of a society is always the outcome of its past, which in turn, sets out the horoscope of its future. Although the Muslims and Hindus lived together in the sub-continent for centuries, but they could not harmonize and roll into one nation. The Muslim leadership in India, however, tried to walk side by side with Hindus in the liberation struggle, but the bigotry and prejudice of Hindus led the Muslims to establish the notion of "Two Nation Theory" that afterwards became the cause of creation of Pakistan. The Muslim rulers treated their Hindu masses on parity basis and tried to maintain peace, amity, and security in the sub-continent. Unlike, the co-religionist Hindu Rajas, who in turn, treated the Muslims hordes heartlessly. Their covert, spiteful, and malefic sentiments towards Muslims were unearthed when the Britons ruled Indian sub-continent. Resultantly, partitioning of sub-continent India took place in 1947. Looking into the historical narratives, the memories of the trajectory of India-Pakistan relations had been permeated with the violent episode of partition that was followed by

the greatest human displacement. The communal discord between Hindus and Muslims in the sub-continent was extended to hostility between the two freed states in the post-partition era. Their issues had militated against their peaceful coexistence, and amicable settlement of their disputes and differences. On the other hand, Hewitt views that India still remains Pakistan's biggest foreign policy challenge. India and Pakistan have shared a feeling of "mutual distrust" ever since the partition of subcontinent and the eventual creation of Pakistan as an independent state. This distrust was an outcome of the colonial legacy of "divide and rule" that pitted the Muslims against the Hindus. The policy gave rise to a sentiment of "Islam being in danger" amongst the Muslims in the Hindu dominated sub-continent.¹ Olmstead avows that both the states were birthed out of bloody partition that encouraged each to define itself in opposition to the other, and they had fought three wars since independence.² Paul asserts that India-Pakistan conflict is one of the lasting and unending rivalries of the era, which has direly affected the bilateral relations between the two.³ Due to a number of historical, economic, social, religious, and political events that harvested the seeds of conflict and confrontation, the relationship between India and Pakistan remained highly complex. Bahera asserts that in South Asian region, the most intractable conflict exists between India and Pakistan, which lends itself to various categorizations cast in strategic-military terms, territorial or border issue, and an ideological conflict rooted in their mutual relations.⁴ Due to their traditional prejudicial mindset, Hindus never accepted the establishment of Pakistan on the map of the world, and tried to merge her again in Indian subcontinent. However, in the post-independence era, the reconciliation that was expected between India and Pakistan never realized. Both the states initially tried to

¹ V. Hewitt, *The New International Politics of South Asia* (New York: Manchester University Press, 1997).

² J. Olmstead, "India-Pakistan Relations: A Destructive Equilibrium," *The Diplomat*, November 2, 2014.

³ T. V. Paul, *The India-Pakistan conflict: an enduring rivalry* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

⁴ Dr. N. C. Bahera, "Involving Stakeholders in Conflict Resolution," in *South Asian Policy Analysis Network*, ed. Imtiaz Alam (Lahore: 2006).

bridge the gap which was further widened by four wars and several near conflicts. It is a tragedy of their short history as independent states that their mutual antagonism plunged them into three wars, and when not engaged in combat, has kept them close to the brink. The conflicts between India and Pakistan have not only determined the security environment of South Asian region, but also perpetuated the opponent's image of each other. Since inception, India had remained in the centre of Pakistan's threat perception and still continues to influence her security strategies. The two states even fought hot and cold wars that destabilized the region. Shortly after independence, the forceful accession of Kashmir territory with India remains a bottleneck issue between India and Pakistan. However, despite India's several pledges to hold a plebiscite in the Kashmir Valley, the status quo still remains the same. What is more, in spite of all Indian efforts to impair and plot against Pakistan as the creation of Bangladesh, her subversive activities in Baluchistan and Indian efforts to label Pakistan a terrorist state and isolate her diplomatically etc., Pakistan still exists as a sovereign state. Other issues, such as Kargil, Siachen, Wullar Barrage, Sir Creek, and cross-border terrorism also cropped up. Stephen Cohen terms the hostile relationship between India and Pakistan as "hard to manage and even impossible to resolve."⁵ Besides other differences and disagreements, the acquisition of nuclear weapons has obstructed the process of normalization of relations between the two. Now Indo-Pak liaison is a fusion of tit for tat relation, acquisition of ever more nuclear arms race, and other tactics at diplomatic level. Ajithkumar avows that the changing scenario in the Asiatic politics demands a new approach to Indo-Pakistan relations. They both have a great deal to gain, and chances of peace in the region could be bettered if they could remain on friendly terms with each other.⁶

⁵ S.P. Cohen and R. S. Sandhu, "Rising India's Pakistan Problem," *International Studies*, 47 (2010), 413–433.

⁶ M. P. Ajithkumar, *India-Pakistan Relations: The Story of a Fractured Fraternity*, (Delhi: Kalpaz Publications, 2006).

Kashmir Issue

Kashmir issue lies at the core of India-Pakistan conflicts since independence. The relations between the two states have mainly pivoted around this issue. It has not only been an important factor in shaping their divergent foreign policies but also has magnified and compounded their mutual fears and tensions. The Indian Premier Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru addressing to All India Congress Committee on July 6, 1951 stated, "Kashmir has been wrongly looked upon as a prize for India or Pakistan. People seem to forget that Kashmir is not a commodity for sale or to be bartered. It has an individual existence and its people must be the final arbiters of their future."⁷ But rather fixing the issue, India viciously annexed the Kashmir territory when the ruler of Kashmir acceded to India, neglecting the facts that the Vale was a Muslim majority region and Kashmiris longed to join Pakistan.

Lamentably, the Kashmir dilemma has always been viewed from territorial perspective. Kashmiris aspirations for self-determination and sovereign status have never been greeted by India but crushed brutally by the Indian state forces. Since beginning, political mobilization of the people has been viciously suppressed by the Indian forces. India's forceful annexation was contested by Pakistan. The first war between India and Pakistan took place over Kashmir. India took the issue to the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) in 1948. On January 1, 1949, a UN brokered ceasefire came into effect. In order to determine their fate, a right of self-determination was given to Kashmiris by the UN, but India never let the plebiscite took place. Both India and Pakistan had always declined each other's claim over Kashmir valley that resulted into conflict. Sadly enough, even after seven decades, Kashmiris had no plausible future. Since partition, both the states had waged two full-fledge wars, a military confrontation in 1999, and other border skirmishes over Kashmir. By turning a blind eye to what are the aspirations of local Kashmiri people, India has used repressive state

⁷ J. Naqvi, "How Nehru's partisans are subverting his Kashmir promise," *The Dawn*, November 28, 2010.

apparatus to rule the Kashmiris. The Kashmir conflict had generally been identified as Hindu-Muslim dispute that had been contested on ideological front. The Kashmiris' demand and their long walk for a sovereign status had been unheeded by Indian government. Paul underscores that India and Pakistan's disagreement over the Kashmir issue is a "persistent, fundamental and long-term incapability of goals" between both the states.⁸ Deplorably, Kashmir issue was left undecided by the international community to be bilaterally determined by both India and Pakistan.

Recently, after the killing of Burhan Wani by the Indian Security forces, a fresh wave of repression and brutality has been initiated by the Indian armed forces. The innocent Kashmiris have been brutally massacred and pelleted by the Indian state forces. Every time the Indian government responded heavy-handedly towards the Kashmiris' demand of sovereignty. At most, life has been stagnant in the valley. Almost every day, demonstrations have been observed in the Vale with the same zeal and the most awe-inspiring feature is that the youth of Kashmir has taken up their agenda to decide their fate themselves.

According to Lamb, the Kashmir tragedy has two dimensions (i.e., geo-political and human.) At first, India and Pakistan have been constantly engaged in a state of confrontation and conflict and has thrice engaged in overt warfare, a military clash at Kargil, and several near clashes. Secondly, India tries to rule repressively; tens of thousands of people have been slaughtered, abducted, and displaced. Even, the women are no exception. They have been the victims of molestation, torture, and other statutory offenses by Indian armed forces. There are thousands of mass and unmarked graves, and the snow has buried the history of these graves.

Indo-Pak discord over Kashmir had all along been a threat to peace and stability in the region. It had been holding up the economic progress and the wellbeing of the people of both countries. Lasting peace in the region cannot be achieved without the permanent

⁸ Paul, *The India-Pakistan conflict*.

resolution of Kashmir issue. However, it is a long way, but efforts to determine the status of Kashmir should be made by the International community along with the domestic audiences.

Indus Water Treaty (1960)

The water issue between India and Pakistan is a partition old agenda. Shortly after independence, Pakistan having an agrarian economy was confronted with obstruction of water by India. According to Benerjee, separation from India was the biggest priority of Pakistan, where partition not only separated people, lands, but also demarcated the flow of rivers in the territory.⁹ All the major rivers flow through Kashmir, which has remained the disputed territory between the two giant South Asian neighbors. Due to Indian obstinacy, the dispute over sharing water always cropped up as a concern for Pakistan. In order to resolve the water issue, Indus Water Treaty was signed in 1960. According to this treaty, the whole reserves to be split into two parts. India was supplied the water of Ravi, Sutlej, and Beas while Pakistan was granted the rivers of Indus, Chenab, and Jhelum. Overtly, the accord was meant for the permanent solution of water issue between India and Pakistan. However, from the very first day, India was furtively striving hard to enfeeble the newly flagged state economically. Afterwards, India violated the terms and conditions of treaty severely. She constructed many dams and planned to construct various hydro power projects in order to gain full control on western rivers. The construction of Wullar Barrage on Jhelum River, Baghliar Dam on Chenab River, the two hydroelectric projects Kishanganga on Neelum River, and Ratle on Chenab River are the serious Indus Water Treaty violations made by India. Thus, Pakistan is reliant on India for her water security. Pakistan took the issue to the International court of Justice (ICJ) for the peaceful resolution of the water terrorism, but India repudiated to negotiate uttering that the matter will be sorted out bilaterally by India and Pakistan.

⁹ S. Benerjee, *The History of Perpetual War: Indo-Pak Relations* (Kolkata: Parampara Prakashan, 2016).

Considering this, Pakistan should make efforts on constructing more dams in order to eliminate problems related to water security and power production. If Pakistan will not take this matter seriously that will ardently hearten India for her moves against Pakistan and will seriously affect Pakistan's posture on water resources.

Indo-Pak Nuclear Conundrum

Stephen P. Cohen asserts that the nuclearization of South Asia "is no longer merely a regional matter." Indeed, it has global dimensions. Considering that, a relatively small-scale nuclear exchange between India and Pakistan could cause a global "nuclear winter."¹⁰

Ever since the nuclearization of India and Pakistan, it is almost impossible to stabilize nuclear deterrence in the region. Due to the conventional nuclear and missile race between both South Asian rivals, they are failed to resolve their long standing issues including Kashmir. It is their terrible failure and their persistence that leads them towards the acquisition of nuclear weapons with no end in sight will potentially affect the entire world.¹¹ On the other hand, Paracha views that it is generally accredited that with the overt nuclearization in the region, India does not pose a threat to Pakistan anymore, nor does Pakistan pose a threat to India. However, many believe that India poses a threat to herself, and Pakistan poses a threat to herself as well.¹² Both the states have spent huge amount of money on their defence expenditures that have contributed a lot in dilapidating their economies and developmental structures. As far as deterrence is concerned, Michael Krepon notes, "Deterrence between India and

¹⁰ M. E. Carranza, *India-Pakistan Nuclear Diplomacy* (Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield Publishing Group, 2016).

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² N. F. Paracha, "Indo-Pak Relations: A Brief 'History,'" *The Dawn*, February 14, 2016.

Pakistan is becoming less stable with the passage of time and the increase in nuclear weapons capability.”¹³

China's acquisition of nuclear technology in 1964 became a prompting factor for India to conduct an underground nuclear test. After Indo-China border row in 1962, India developed strong anti-Chinese feelings and decided to conduct nuclear tests. Indian Premier, Indira Gandhi gave go ahead to nuclear explosions. India carried out her first ever nuclear tests of Pokhran-I in 1974, in the span of ten years from Chinese nuclear tests. To halt international denunciation of Pokhran-I, India characterized it a “peaceful nuclear explosion.”¹⁴ Agha Shahi is of the view that priding herself on her large and modernized army, her air armada and blue water navy, her nuclear weapons and equipments, rocket and upgraded satellite-launching capabilities, India assumes her place as a great power and also to assert a right to hegemony over the smaller next-door neighboring states in the region.¹⁵ Her ever-increasing military, diplomatic and nuclear power reveals her quest to be acknowledged and treated as a major regional power. India aspires to establish a security and strategic environment in which she would play the central role with the help of outside powers. It smacks hegemony and enforcement of "India's Monroe Doctrine."

Pakistan's nuclear phenomenon of 1998 is India-centric.¹⁶ Pakistan established her nuclear program under the enthusiastic leadership of Z. A. Bhutto. At that time, he was minister of fuel, power, and natural resources. He deemed India's nuclear program as

¹³ M. Krepon, "Pakistan Nuclear Strategy and Deterrence Stability," in *Deterrence Stability and Escalation Control in South Asia*, eds. M. Krepon and J. Thompson J. (Washington DC: The Stimson Centre, 2013).

¹⁴ I. Marie and O. Shinichi, "The Nuclear Policy of India and Pakistan," *NIDS Security Reports*, No. 4. (2003), http://www.nids.mod.go.jp/english/publication/kiyo/pdf/bulletin_e2002_3.pdf.

¹⁵ S. P. Cohen and S. Dasgupta, *Arming without Aiming: India's Military Modernization* (Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2010).

¹⁶ I. Khalid, *Pakistan-India Conflicts: An Application of Crisis Decision Making* (Lahore: Peace Publications, 2013).

“intimidating Pakistan and establishing hegemony in the sub-continent.”¹⁷ Deeming it fateful to Pakistan’s homeland security, Bhutto stated that “we will eat grass, but we will make a nuclear bomb.”¹⁸ Later on, the Pakistani President General Zia ul Haq also declared that Pakistan has embarked on the journey towards acquisition of nuclear development program. Mitra maintains that Indo-Pak relationship describes their antagonistic relations with tit-for-tat nuclear tests, allegations of spying on each other, all have contributed enough in making the situation more and more worse.¹⁹ Bahera asserts Pakistan’s decision to go nuclear following the nuclear tests in India in 1998 in order to seek parity with India and secondly to counter India’s hegemonic designs and as an attempt to restore the balance of power in the region.²⁰ General K.M. Arif asserts that Pakistan’s strategic notion of parity vis-à-vis India is “to counter a threat, you must possess the same capability as the opponent enjoys. We must have a nuclear device against a nuclear device, a missile against a missile, a plane against a plane and a tank against a tank.”²¹ Pakistan conducted her nuclear tests in May 1998. It has been ascertained that Pakistan’s nuclear program served to accelerate nuclear development in India. Immediately after Indian nuclear test of May 1998, Indian Premier Vajpayee corresponds to President Clinton, implying that China caused a danger, averring that “we have an overt nuclear weapons state on our borders, a state which committed armed aggression against India in 1962.”²² Indian effort to validate her nuclear testing owing to “China threat” was deemed absurd by the global community. Afterwards, the Indian government

¹⁷ H. N. Akhtar, *If The Truth Be Told: An Alternate History of Pakistan* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2007).

¹⁸ Ibid .

¹⁹ S. K. Mitra, "War and Peace in South Asia: a revisionist view of India-Pakistan relations," *Contemporary South Asia* 10 no. 3, (2001): 361-379, DOI: 10.1080/09584930120109568.

²⁰ Bahera, "Involving Stakeholders in Conflict Resolution."

²¹ Ibid.

²² Marie and Shinichi, "The Nuclear Policy of India and Pakistan."

reviewed its stance on China threat and imparted an official view that “it was not China’s nuclear arms that were so much the cause for concern, but rather the transfer of nuclear and missile technology from China to Pakistan that contributed to a deterioration of the security environment of India.”²³ Perhaps, India considered herself to be sandwiched between the two nuclear weapon powers states, China and Pakistan.

Acquisition of Missile Technology of Indo-Pak

After the nuclear jingoism, both the states initiated missile testing. India initiated her space launch program in the early 1960s, and by 1979 she attempted her first launch of a satellite abroad – an indigenously produced space launch vehicle. Abdul Kalam is considered as the father of Indian missile program. “The ballistic missiles of India include the Prithvi (range of 350 kilometers); its naval version, Dhanush; the underwater-launched ballistic missiles, and the Agni series with ranges between 1,000 and 5,000 kilometers. The latest arrow in this quiver, the Agni V, will enter operational service as a canisterised, road-mobile missile that can deliver nuclear warheads to targets across south, south-east, central, and west Asia, China, most of Europe and large parts of Africa. Simultaneously, development has begun on Agni V's successor, the Agni VI. This intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM), with a range of over 6,000 km, will carry a massive three- ton payload (current Agni payloads weigh one ton).”²⁴ Initiatives in Pakistan to acquire an equivalent missile program existed in India began in 1987. The program focused towards developing a short to medium range missiles with a proper computer guidance system. Pakistan considered the acquisition of missile technology essential in order to achieve military parity with India. It is also acquiesced that Pakistan transmitted her nuclear weapon technology to North Korea, and she in turn was provided

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ A. Shukla, "India's missiles story," *Business Standard*, September 20, 2013, http://www.businessstandard.com/article/beyondbusiness/india-s-missiles-story-113092001166_1.html.

with missile technology. China too, has played a vital role in Pakistan's nuclear and missile programs. Initially, the Hatf missiles were made feasible as well as developing the Ghauri missile program. In the decade of 2000s, further development led to the introduction of ballistics and cruise missiles by different scientific organizations.

As India and Pakistan are two nuclear states in the region, any clash between the two states can bring them toe-to-toe and can accelerate a nuclear warfare. It has been looked with a great apprehension by the world community that both the states have been engaged in four wars and several near conflicts in the past, and their nuclear capability continues to grow and diversify. The region can be a very dangerous nuclear flashpoint if the conflicts and aggravation in the ties between India and Pakistan would not fall short.

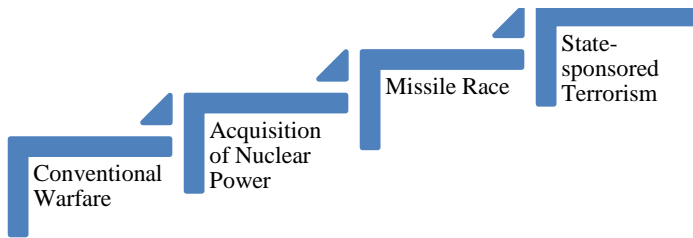
Indo-Pak Conflictual Relations: Post-9/11

After the fateful terrorist incident of 9/11 on the World Trade Centre in New York, the world has been changed overnight. Terrorism became the world's foremost and 'uni-focal' challenge outdoing all other preoccupations with concerns of peace, security and development. Within a few hours of the attack, the United States quickly accused al-Qaida for carrying out the terror attacks.²⁵

In the post 9/11 Indo-Pak ties, one more dimension of state-sponsoring terrorism added with the forgoing maneuvers that were conventional warfare, nuclear and missile race between the two persisting foes (i.e., India and Pakistan) in the region.

²⁵ H.S. Rothstein, *Afghanistan and the Troubled Future of Unconventional Warfare* (New Delhi: Manas Publications, 2006).

Figure No. 1



Source: By author

In the post 9/11 epoch, the accusations of major terrorist blow on both sides of the frontier are as followed.

Indian Allegations of Cross-border Terrorism

Following the violent episode of 9/11, the global phenomenon of terrorism initiated the new phase of conflictual relations between India and Pakistan. Soon after the taking place of terrorist attack on Indian Parliament on December 13, 2001, India started lifting her voice against Pakistan's hand in escalating cross border terrorism. India accused the perpetrators belong to Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) and Jaish-e-Mohammad (JeM), operating mainly from Pakistan, for their alleged involvement in the attack on Indian Parliament. She also accused these organizations for uprising in the Indian held Kashmir. Owing to the attack, the diplomatic relations between Pakistan and India paralyzed along with the suspension of all transit links between the two. She also increased pressure on Pakistan and demanded that:

- ✓ Terrorism should be banned with all its manifestations,
- ✓ support to terrorist factions working against India should be dismissed,
- ✓ All physical infrastructure and training sites of terrorism in Pakistan should be shut down.

While denying all the charges, Pakistan immediately banned the militant organizations that are said to be involved in the attack.

The other major Mumbai terror attack of 26/11 again dented the ties between India and Pakistan. On November 26, 2008, the ten terrorist outfits carried out a series of twelve coordinated shooting

and bombing attacks at various places in Mumbai which left in its wake 164 dead and at least 308 injured. Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) was accused for the attack. It was mapped as India's 9/11. India reacted more strongly and wanted Pakistan to dismantle the terrorist activities being sponsored from her soil. Also, India wanted Pakistan to conclude the prosecution of 26/11 sooner so that the culprits should be brought to accountability and meted out penalty. Initially, Pakistan denied the charges, saying India ought to provide her required evidence first. According to Indian authorities, Ajmal Kasab, the lone surviving gunman of Mumbai attack was arrested by the police and hanged to death in Yerwada jail on November 21, 2012. The attacks drew the global condemnation.

Another attack that mired the relationship between Pakistan and India took place on January 2, 2016. A heavily armed faction attacked the Indian Air Force Base at Pathankot a few days following the Indian Premier visited his Pakistani counterpart. The offenders who were wearing Indian army outfits were suspected to belong to Pakistani based Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM). The attack was fabricated to derail the fragile peace process. In response, Pakistan rejected the baseless allegations. She also complained that India after every terror attack on her territory accused Pakistan for carrying out attack that fuse to tarnish her image at international stage. Besides this, Pakistan committed to crash down the alleged terrorist networks.

On September 18, 2016, four heavily armed terrorist outfits conducted an attack on Indian security forces near the town of Uri in the Indian occupied Kashmir that further soured the ties between India and Pakistan. Pakistani originated faction, Jaish-e-Mohammad (JeM) was supposed of being involved in the preparation and execution of the attack. In retaliation, India cancelled her participation in the 19th SAARC summit to be held in Islamabad, Pakistan. A few days later, Indian armed forces created the false drama of surgical strike against alleged militant outfits in Pakistani administered Kashmir region. Rejecting the claim, Pakistan stated that India held a cross border firing upon Pakistan. She also called the attack "unprovoked" and termed it a "naked aggression." Also, Pakistan responded militarily to the attack.

Indian Subversive Activities in Pakistan

Ample doubts remains between Pakistan and India over Indian involvement and occupations in Afghanistan. Pakistan is very apprehensive about India's securing of smart ends with her huge presence and considerable investments including soft aid and developmental projects in economic and security areas in Afghanistan. Additionally, India deliberately attempts to encircle and isolate Pakistan and putting an end to her strategic depth in Afghanistan in order to avoid two 'hot fronts'. The growing Indo-U.S. partnership has also given an upturn to India's increasing engagement and supremacy in Afghanistan that has made Pakistan's western abut extremely snagged. The Government of Pakistan has many a time voiced Indian embassy and four consulates in Afghanistan for operating undercover activities against Pakistan's tribal territory and her fidgety Baluchistan province. India provides weapons and finances to Baloch dissenters and Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) that have been involved in carrying out terrorist activities inside Pakistan. India's real objective has always been to destabilize Pakistan. Rizwan Zeb, a senior analyst at the Islamabad-based Institute of Regional Studies, Pakistan, says that "it has been reported many times by Islamabad and also provided a proof to Afghanistan about the role of Indian consulates in Jalalabad, Kandahar, Mazar-e-Sharif and Herat in fueling violence and terrorism in Pakistan especially Balochistan."²⁶ The ex-premier of Pakistan Yousuf Raza Gillani told US Senator John Kerry that "India had to decrease its footprint in Afghanistan and stop interfering in Balochistan" in order to achieve confidence. Pakistan has often been vocalized about the military intelligence agency of India, RAW, for sending intelligence personnel into Afghanistan in the pretext of engineers and doctors with the motive to provide armed support to militant faction, Balochistan Liberation Army (BLA) that is involved in carrying out attacks on civilians and security personnel in Pakistan (India's Role in Afghanistan, 2011). On March 3, 2016, Kulbhushan Yadev, the Retired Naval Officer was arrested near the Pak-Iran frontier in Balochistan region during the counter-intelligence operation on

²⁶ R. Zeb, "Cross Border Terrorism Issues Plaguing Pakistan-Afghanistan Relations," *China and Eurasia Forum Quarterly* 4, no.2, (2006).

allegations of terrorism and spying for RAW. Yadev in a video broadcast acknowledged that "his goal was to disrupt development of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), with Gwadar port as a special target."²⁷ RAW also provided arms and support to extremist and terrorist outfits, carrying out subversive attacks, and covert operations to destabilize the internal security situation of Pakistan.

Conflict Resolution Mechanism (CRM) in South Asia

There is an acute need of conflict resolution mechanism owing to the intractable conflicts present between India and Pakistan, which has become the cause of intense bitterness in the region. Conflict resolution involves the process of reduction, elimination, and eventual termination of all conflicts between conflicting parties. Confidence building and peace building are the important steps to resolve the major disputes between two or more warring parties or nations.

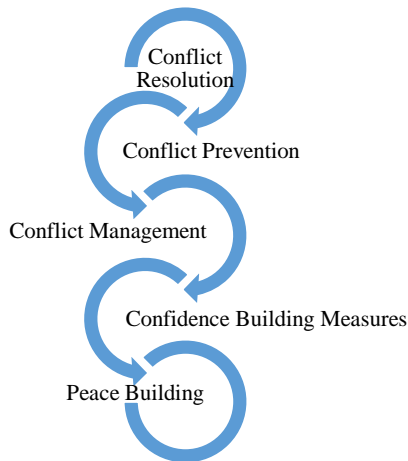
The management and resolution of conflict takes place primarily as a result of an agreement reached between disputing parties or states. Diplomacy, negotiations, mediation, arbitration, and coercion are the important tools which are used in the process of conflict termination. The conflict resolution measures are few and have never been continued for a sustainable period of time. Pakistan and India's conflict resolution efforts have always been hindered by some border clashes, wars, and non-state actors' terrorism etc.²⁸

²⁷ *The Dawn*, March 29, 2016.

²⁸ M. Ahmar, "A Conflict Resolution Mechanism for Pakistan. Conflict Resolution in South Asia," in *South Asian Policy Analysis Network* ed. Imtiaz Alam (Lahore: 2006).

Following are the steps of conflict resolution:

Figure No. 2



Source: By author

In Western cultures, practices of effective conflict resolution generally involve facilitating, communication, and coordination among conflicting parties. The procedure is solving issues and conflicts, drafting agreements, and finding out a mutually agreeable solution for the disputing parties involved. In South Asian culture, many a times, conflicts have been resolved through third party intervention that sometimes delays the process conflict resolution.

Conflict Prevention (CP): The initial stage of conflict resolution is conflict prevention. In this stage, certain steps are being carried out that are meant to avoid conflicts and wars. The states, regional organizations, and the international community must adopt certain conflict preventive strategies that would help prevent any issue transforming in to wide-ranging conflict. Especially in the case of Pakistan and India, it is a complex stage owing to the phenomenon that the historical ties between both the states have remained tainted by deep rooted suspicion.

Conflict Management (CM): Conflict Management is the process through which one can manage, limit, or mitigate the conflict in non-aggressive and non-violent ways. Conflict Management is a term that denotes conflicts which are long-term and that cannot be resolved quickly. Also, the idea of conflict management implies the

objective to lessen and contain the volatility rather than tackling the actual cause of conflicts.²⁹ Negotiation, arbitration, and settlement are the various steps towards conflict management.

Conflict Management curtails the negative effects of conflict and fosters the optimistic results with the aim to improve learning in an organization.³⁰ Properly managed conflicts can improve group outcomes.³¹

The active dialogue process is an essential step to address the India-Pakistan durable hitches that will further lead towards building confidence between the two. The door of dialogue and negotiation between India and Pakistan will gradually open up the course towards resolving their mutual enduring issues such as Kashmir, terrorism, and reducing the necessity of acquiring more and more nuclear weapons.

Trust and Confidence Building Measures (TCBMs): In the process of conflict management and conflict resolution, trust and confidence building measures (TCBMs) are direly needed. In the contemporary era, no one can bicker the essentiality and significance of TCBMs between two hostile parties or nations.³² TCBMs are the

²⁹ S. Malik, "The dynamics of Conflict and Conflict Resolution in *South Asia. Different Perceptions on Conflict Resolution: Need for an Alternate Approach*, ed. M. Ahmar (University of Karachi: Bureau of Composition, Compilation & Translation Press, 2005).

³⁰ M. A. Rahim, "Toward a theory of managing organizational conflict," *The International Journal of Conflict Management* 13, no. 2 (2002).

³¹ S. Alper, D. Tjosvold and K.S. Law, "Conflict management, efficacy, and performance in organizational teams," *Personnel Psychology* 53, (2000): 625 – 642; A. M. Bodtger and J. K. Jameson, "Emotion in conflict formation and its transformation: Application to organizational conflict management," *The International Journal of Conflict Management* 3 (2001):259 –275; T. Kuhn and M. S. Poole, "Do conflict management styles affect group decision making?" *Human Communication Research* 26 (2000): 558–590.

³² I. P. Cheema, "Confidence Building Measures in South Asia," *Regional Centre for Strategic Studies*, (Colombo: 1999).

source of cessation of anxiety and trouble in different regions of the world and perceived as a prerequisite for the management and resolution of conflicts. Building of trust and confidence has short and long-term benefits. It removes significant hitches from confrontation to cooperation. Cheema asserts that “a bilateral or multilateral measure that builds confidence, arrests the undesirable drift towards open hostilities, reduces tensions, and encourages the adversaries to make contact for negotiations without taxing too much the operative policy pursuits.”³³

According to Johan Jorgen Holst, "Confidence building measures (CBMs) may be defined as arrangements designed to enhance assurance of mind and belief in the trust-worthiness of states—confidence is the product of much broader patterns of relations than those which relate to military security. In fact, the latter have to be woven into a complex texture of economic, cultural, technical and social relationships.”³⁴ CBMs are the mechanism to shun war, emergent conflicts, and the resolution of outstanding conflicts between regional actors and organizations. The utility of the CBMs is to gradually create the environment conducive for mutual trust, precision, and certainty. These are the tools to subvert conflicts and confrontation that have emerged and provoked hostile outstanding issues between the conflicting states. These are proposed in political instability between the two antagonistic parties or states. Almost in all peace negotiations, Pakistan contends in favor of all their bilateral enduring conflicts including Kashmir issue, and then moves towards peace process with India. Since the mutual ties between India and Pakistan are entwined with security concerns, this will further include the stage of building security “Confidence and Security Building Measures” (CSBMs) in order to attain lasting peace in the region.³⁵ Quite a lot of time, owing to impediments in the normalization of ties, negotiation, and peace process terminated between the both,

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ J.J. Holst, “Confidence Building Measures: A Conceptual Framework,” *Survival* 25, no. 1 (1983).

³⁵ K. Subrahmanyam, "Capping, Managing or Eliminating Nuclear Weapons?" in *South Asia after the Cold War*, eds. Kanti P. Bajpai and Stephen P. Cohen (Boulder Westview Press, Inc., 1993).

especially in the post 2008 Mumbai terror attacks. Both the states are faced with the phenomenon of post-modern terrorism. Many a time, it has been observed in the trajectory of peace negotiations that some ilk of terrorist activity has been carried out. Simultaneously, blame game, politics of allegations, and trust deficit came as a stumbling block between both the states. Adopting a long-standing joint security strategy can abate the risk of terrorism.

Peace Building (PB): The final stage of conflict resolution is to strengthen peace when devising CBMs. After war is being avoided, and peace negotiations are successfully established, the boosting up of trade relations, people to people contacts, and improving cultural relations can benefit in this regard. It has been considered a post-war or post-conflict stage after the dialogue is facilitated, and conflict is transformed. Peace building activities deal with the core causes of violence, create a peaceful conflict resolution strategy, and stabilize society politically and socio-economically. Effective peace building activities create an environment conducive for self-sustaining, durable peace; reconciliation, and prevention of conflict from resuming.

In 2007, the UN Secretary-General's Policy Committee defined peace building as:

Peace building involves a range of measures targeted to reduce the risk of lapsing or relapsing into conflict by strengthening national capacities at all levels for conflict management, and to lay the foundations for sustainable peace and sustainable development. Peace building strategies must be coherent and tailored to specific needs of the country concerned, based on national ownership, and should comprise a carefully prioritized, sequenced, and therefore relatively narrow set of activities aimed at achieving the above objectives.³⁶

³⁶ J. C. Hopkins, *UN Peace building: An Orientation* (United Nations Peace building Support Office, September, 2010), <http://www.un.org/>

There are two broad approaches to peace building.

First, peace building can refer to direct work that intentionally focuses on addressing the factors driving or mitigating conflicts. Second, the term peace building can also refer to efforts to coordinate a multi-level, multi-sectorial strategy, and ensuring that there is funding and proper communication and coordination mechanisms.

Conclusion

India and Pakistan are neighbors, and neighbors cannot be changed. Thus, it is in the better interest of both the nations that they may bring all the issues and conflicts on the spotlight and resolve them amicably. To maintain peace in the region, India and Pakistan must evolve a policy of mutual trust, confidence, and cooperation. As cooperation is far better than the conflict, both the parties should work in collaboration to resolve their outstanding bilateral conflicts. Resuming dialogue process is the only trajectory to ameliorate their issues and conflicts bilaterally. Since both of them are nuclear-powered states, and this phenomenon bothers the world that these weapons must be used in further deterioration of ties between them. The issues that have come to surface between both of them cannot be settled overnight, but sincere efforts have to be made along with optimistic and onward-looking approach to various problems.

Policy Guidelines for the Resolution of India-Pakistan Conflicts

- ✓ The mechanism for resolving conflicts and building peace is different in every region of the world. In South Asian Region, normalization of ties is essential for peace process. Confidence and Security Building Measures (CSBMs) can be fruitful in this regard which can be achieved through enhancing people-to-people contacts, cultural, and economic ties. Also, in order to diffuse tension, state-to-state relations should be improved. SAARC should play an effective role in this regard.

en/peacebuilding/pbso/pdf/peacebuilding_orientation.pdf.

- ✓ In the post 9/11 era, terrorism emerged as a worldwide reality. A comprehensive, multi-pronged, and sustained strategy should be evolved to resolve the phenomenon of terrorism with all its dimensions, bilaterally and multilaterally. Instead of imputing Pakistan as a state sponsoring terrorism, India should support, cooperate, and coordinate with Pakistan in this regard. Pakistan alone cannot crash down the menace of terrorism with all its facets.
- ✓ India should stop carrying out aggressive brutal activities in Indian held Kashmir that has emerged to be an impasse between India and Pakistan. The international community must take strict notice of using repressive state apparatus in Indian Occupied Kashmir and must offer its support in resolving the conflict according to the aspirations of Kashmiris – a right to plebiscite. The Kashmiris should be given the right to participate in the negotiations to choose their own fate along with other parties at regional and international level.
- ✓ The aggressive security doctrines that increase the possibility of nuclear conflict should be shunned to improve strategic stability in the region. A joint agreement to discontinue the acquisition of more and more nuclear weapons should be brought to fore.
- ✓ As Afghanistan has emerged to be a second Kashmir between India and Pakistan. By involving in Afghanistan's security, stability, and developmental affairs, India should not destabilize Pakistan's internal security fabric. She must obstruct providing arms and funding, and exploiting the terrorist faction – Balochistan Liberation Front (BLF).

IMMIGRATION AND CHANGING PERCEPTIONS IN BRITAIN

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Abstract: *Until recently, Britain established its image as an open society promoting culture of inclusion. The narratives of multiculturalism were prevalent in debates spanning across various state functions from granting visas, employment opportunities, granting citizenship status to migrant community, societal attitudes towards marrying foreign spouses, inter-religious harmony, cravings for great potpourri of world-wide cuisines, and learning diverse languages. Perceptions of society are constructed with everyday experiences, and ideas play important role in this regard. The debate is contextualized in British society that has been experiencing transforming attitudes from being more open to integration of migrants in past to considering immigrants as a source of rising insecurity. The study establishes that the threat discourse related to surge of immigrants cannot be understood without unfolding the concept of security as spanning across societal, criminological, economic, and political gamut on one hand, and nexus between societal perceptions and state policy on the other hand.*

Keywords: Immigration, Britain, perceptions, threat discourse, politics, economy, crime, identity.

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Introduction

Several disciplines within the social sciences have been addressing that why people begin to migrate, who are migrating, and the results of migration on receiving and sending countries. In addition to economists and political scientists, anthropologists and sociologists address issues concerning migration, spanning across themes as the change of location for labor, and shifting the production factor from the spaces of departure to the spaces of arrival. Anthropologists tend to focus more directly on migrants, and their abilities to find the way across the structures, both left and adopted, in which they operate.¹ Anthropologists also engage with theories that focus on an exploitative relationship between developing and developed countries through global capitalism, such as dependency theory and dual labor market theory.² Research in the discipline of Sociology has been concentrating on the interactions of migrants through the migration process, from origin to transit to destination. Sociologists focus particularly on the various structures with which migrants community interact which include institutions, community expectations, and relationships such as social networks that affect migration and also on how migration itself affects the structures in

¹ C. Brettell, *Anthropology and Migration: Essays on Transnationalism, Ethnicity, and Identity* (Rowman Altamira, 2003); Steven Vertovec, "Introduction: New directions in the anthropology of migration and multiculturalism," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 30, no. 6 (2007): 961–978; Brooke Larson, Olivia Harris, and Enrique Tandeter, eds. *Ethnicity, markets, and migration in the Andes: at the crossroads of history and anthropology*. (Duke University Press, 1995); Michael Kearney, "From the invisible hand to visible feet: anthropological studies of migration and development," *Annual review of anthropology* 15, no. 1 (1986): 331–361; Jon Mitchell, "The politics of multiculturalism in the New Europe: racism, identity and community," (2000): 552–54.

² Brettell, *Anthropology and Migration*; Hein De Haas, "Migration and development: A theoretical perspective," *International migration review* 44, no. 1 (2010): 227–264; Kearney, "From the invisible hand to visible feet."

which migrants negotiate.³ Political scientists are primarily concerned with explaining formulation implementation of state regulations, the mechanism and drivers in that context, with unfolding the debate about politics of migration at state and international level, and debating citizenship in this context.⁴ Economists integrate various theories to explain who chooses to move, why they move, and the economic effect of mobility on sending and receiving countries. One section argues that the international migration is caused by geographic variations in labor supply and demand.⁵ Each discipline

³ Heisler S. Barbara, "The sociology of immigration," in *Migration Theory: Talking across Disciplines*, ed. Caroline Brettell, James Frank Hollifield (New York: 2000): 80–84; Peggy Levitt, "Building bridges: what migration scholarship and cultural sociology have to say to each other," *Poetics* 33, no. 1 (2005): 49–62; Stephen Castles, "Twenty-first-century migration as a challenge to sociology," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 33, no. 3 (2007): 351–371; Alejandro Portes, "The hidden abode: Sociology as analysis of the unexpected?," *American Sociological Review* 65, no. 1 (2000): 1.

⁴ Gary P. Freeman, "Political science and comparative immigration politics," *International migration research: Constructions, omissions and the promises of interdisciplinarity* (2005): 111–28; James F. Hollifield, "The emerging migration state," *International migration review* 38, no. 3 (2004): 885–912; Linda Bosniak, "Persons and citizens in constitutional thought," *International Journal of Constitutional Law* 8, no. 1 (2010): 9–29; Kenneth L. Karst, *Belonging to America: Equal citizenship and the constitution*, (Yale University Press, 1989); Kymlicka, Will, and Wayne Norman, "Return of the citizen: A survey of recent work on citizenship theory," *Ethics* 104, no. 2 (1994): 352–381; David Miller, "Citizenship and national identity," *Democracy: A Reader* (2016): 447; Gershon Shafir, *The citizenship debates: A reader*, (Choice Publishing Co., Ltd., 1998); Charles Tilly, "Citizenship, identity and social history," *International review of social history* 40, no. S3 (1995): 1–17.

⁵ Miranda Lewis, *Asylum: Understanding public attitudes*, (Institute for Public Policy Research, 2005); Ernst Georg Ravenstein, "The

within social sciences adds an important piece to the puzzle of understanding migration processes. While today's migration flows are relatively well understood; issues such as why migration patterns exist, what alters these patterns, and how changes occur are less likely to be holistically incorporated into analysis and policy considerations without bridging the gap between these disciplines – the scope of present research.

The paper seeks to explore migration related perceptions in British society in the recent years and to unfold entwinement of society, perceptions, and political choices on issue of migration in the UK. The paper highlights the drivers of change in perceptions related to migration in the UK while engaging with the questions focusing on the sources of change in British society's culture of in-ward looking nationalism in recent years, how the societal perceptions related to immigrants are shaped and presented in the UK, and how they are embodied in insecurity paradigm.

laws of migration," *Journal of the statistical society of London* 48, no. 2 (1885): 167-235; Michael P. Todaro, "A model of labor migration and urban unemployment in less developed countries," *The American economic review* 59, no. 1 (1969): 138-148; Everett S. Lee, "A theory of migration," *Demography* 3, no. 1 (1966): 47-57; Larry A. Sjaastad, "The costs and returns of human migration," *Journal of political Economy* 70, no. 5, Part 2 (1962): 80-93; Oded Stark and Bloom E. David, "The new economics of labor migration," *The American Economic review* 75, no. 2 (1985): 173-178; Edward J. Taylor, "The new economics of labour migration and the role of remittances in the migration process," *International migration* 37, no. 1 (1999): 63-88; Douglas S. Massey et al., "Theories of international migration: A review and appraisal," *Population and development review* (1993): 431-466.

Research Methodology

The present research follows the qualitative method having interpretive research design. Historical evidences consisting of primary historical data are used to scrutinize the various points of view related to research topic because historical research enables solutions to contemporary problems to be sought in the past, and it also highlights the present and future trends in certain issues. For this, both primary and secondary data sources are used. Various primary data sources and different national survey reports like British Crime Survey, British Social Attitudes Survey, and National Centre for Social Research are used to measure and map the changing trends in social attitudes towards Immigrants. To get the statistical and numerical data on Immigration, publications from Office for National Statistics (UK) and Migration Watch (UK) are used.

To trace the corresponding changes in political parties discourses related to immigration, the manifestos of mainstream political parties are incorporated. For that purpose, Conservative Party, Labour Party, United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP), and British National Party's (BNP) manifestos are given due consideration to build theoretical argument with help of these primary empirical sources. To enrich primary empirical data, the media reports in British National newspapers are used. To balance the argument right and centre-right, news sites like BBC, and conservative newspapers like The Daily Telegraph and more left wing oriented and progressive news agencies like Guardian and the Observer are used as sources to effectively generate an unbiased and value free critical evaluation of the phenomenon. News agencies like The Times and Daily Herald are also among news reporting agencies consulted for the current study. All these primary sources along with secondary sources helped interpret data and to reach a logical and realistic conclusion.

This study incorporates method of Documentary Analysis. Document analysis is a systematic procedure that helps researcher in unfolding hidden meanings of text consulted and proves to be a

necessary tool in interpretive paradigm⁶. The study used policies documents related to the immigration policies. While analyzing the documents, thematic document analysis technique has been used.

Immigration and Britain

The securitization and anti-immigration hostilities is largely missing in the existing literature while several authors talk about how immigrants related negative perceptions are off-shoot of different factors such as economic, cultural, and increasing crime rate etc.

The immigrants related negative perceptions are largely attributed to economic factors.⁷ It is pointed out that although the restricted working class that faces the jobs going out of their hands dilemma but the group psyche and crowd behavior results into making immigrants largely a threat for British while citizens.⁸

The link of perceptions towards immigrants and the growing crime rate has been the scope of a few studies where scholars have tried to develop the theoretical basis on the topic.⁹ The scholarship related to criminal law is focused on measuring the utilization of

⁶ Anselm Strauss and Juliet Corbin, "*Basics of qualitative research: Procedures and techniques for developing grounded theory*," (1998); Glenn A. Bowen, "Document analysis as a qualitative research method," *Qualitative research journal* 9, no. 2 (2009): 27–40.

⁷ Frances Webber, "Extending immigration policing and exclusion in the UK," *Race & Class* 55, no. 3 (2014): 86-92; Lauren McLaren and Mark Johnson, "Resources, group conflict and symbols: explaining anti-immigration hostility in Britain," *Political Studies* 55, no. 4 (2007): 709–732.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ana Aliverti, "Making people criminal: The role of the criminal law in immigration enforcement," *Theoretical Criminology* 16, no. 4 (2012): 417–434; Paul Bagguley and Yasmin Hussain, *Riotous citizens: ethnic conflict in multicultural Britain* (Routledge, 2016).

criminal law in administration of immigration. For this purpose, the criminal law has symbolic role to play. The author makes a case for the use of criminal law to earn appreciation from a body of voters. The target group for appeasement purposes might be media and the canaille opposing immigration¹⁰.

The symbolic threats to cultural identity and Britishness are also given due space in existing pool of scholarly literature.¹¹ Many studies while highlighting different factors claim that this is end of multiculturalism.¹² While putting forward the claims, some studies are of the view that it never existed and was more like a political rhetoric to advance neo-colonial structures just to soothe British nostalgia for its imperial past.¹³

Migration and Threat Discourse: A Retrospection of Change

Various national statistical surveys represent that perceptions of people on the issue of influx of immigrants is getting more severe and disturbed. The British society needed migrants in post-war period to satisfy its imperial legacy, to address challenges of ageing population, to feed its workforce vacuum and although by 1960s, the government stance was getting restrictive, migrants were not

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Will Kymlicka, "Immigration, citizenship, multiculturalism: exploring the links," *The Political Quarterly* 74, no. 1 (2003): 195–208; Ian Cook, Philip Crang and Mark Thorpe, "Eating into Britishness: multicultural imaginaries and the identity politics of food," in *Practising identities*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999): 223–248; Timothy J. Hatton and Massimiliano Tani, "Immigration and Inter-Regional Mobility in the UK, 1982–2000" *The Economic Journal* 115, no. 507 (2005).

¹² Jon Mitchell, *The politics of multiculturalism*, 552–554; Hatton and Tani, Immigration and Inter-Regional Mobility in the UK; Ziauddin Sardar, *Balti Britain: A journey through the British Asian experience* (UK: Granta, 2008).

¹³ Ibid.

considered to pose security threat to Britain and British-ness until recently.

Until recently, the nature of coexistence and multiculturalism seen in the UK had been remarkably different from assimilation. The immigrants have contributed to British society in every sector spanning across economy to culture and languages. The expansion of British textile industry owes much to the contribution from Asian immigrants. The food is one of such examples too. British cuisine is heavily influenced by aromatic additions from across globe and that has become part of the "British-ness." Interestingly, British national dish is considered to be none other but "curry." The music legacy holds tunes and melodies linking their origin to Caribbean. Reggae is classical example of British society with legacy of being thriving on norms and values of multiculturalism along multiple societal axes. Although, the attitudes and perceptions started transforming amid 1960s racial riots related problems. Yet, it was not until recently when perceptions got overwhelmingly negative about the influx of immigrants. The evidence is change of policy towards immigration in 1990s. The Labour government was with more liberal stance towards immigrants and won the elections. Entry into European Union was also an important driver causing the influx of migrants.

Societal and political discourses and policies related to immigration have changed considerably in the recent years in Britain. Changes in societal discourses also reflect more favorable circumstances with respect to a particular policy choice. The current political response to concern about immigration and the rise of UKIP specifically, more restrictive rhetoric and policies across parties, seems set to continue. The following graphs will present the trends in migration and changing perception in UK.

Figure 1: Immigration to the UK by citizenship, 2006 to 2018 (year ending Spetember 2016)

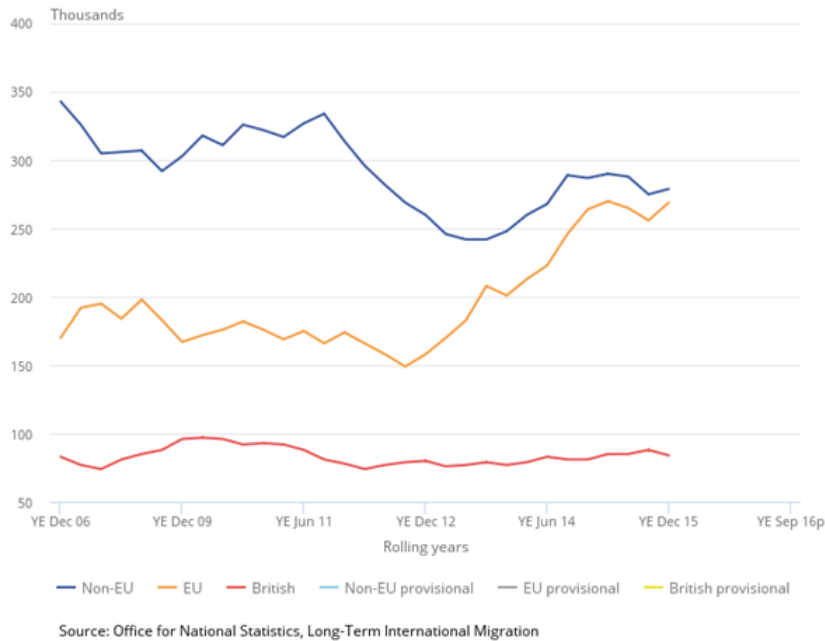


Figure 2: Net Long-Term International Migration by citizenship, UK, 1975 to 2016 (year ending September 2016)

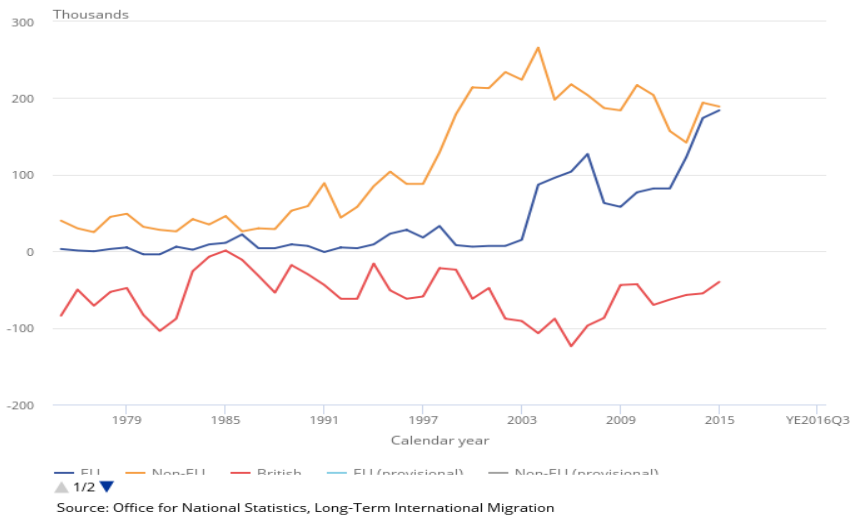
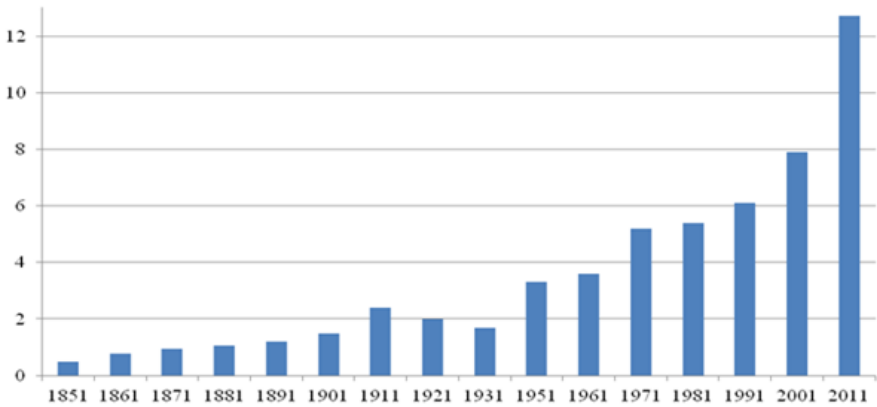
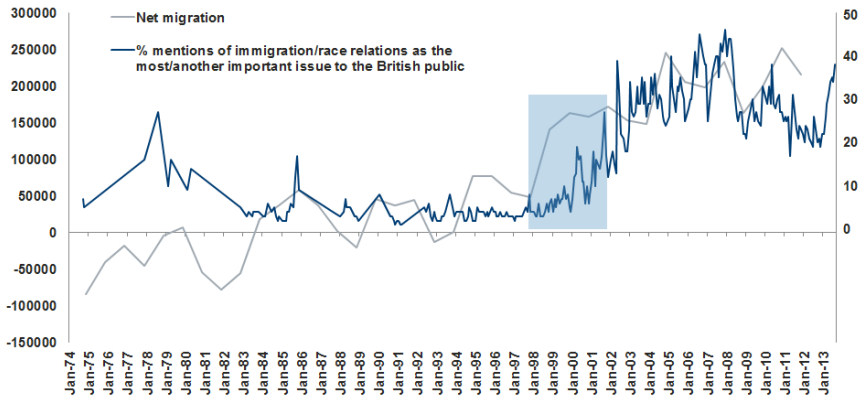


Figure 3: Percentage the population of England and Wales that was foreign born, 1851-2011*Figure No. 4***Immigration/race relations as an important issue facing country by UK net migration, 1974 - 2013**

Sources: Office for National Statistics; Ipsos MORI Issues Index

Ipsos MORI
Social Research Institute
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Source: Ipsos MORI Social Research Institute

The above graph represents a clear picture that how seriously public think immigration problem in Britain can be. The upwards trend after 2001 is indicator of rise in public resentment against state accommodating too many immigrants. The events and phenomena

like London Bombing (2005) and Financial Crisis (2008–10) accelerated such perceptions. Before focusing on how perceptions and everyday experiences reciprocate each other and with an in-depth analysis of phenomenon, the coming section explores theoretical basis of the current study.

Theorizing Anti-immigration Drift: Interweaving Individual Perceptions, Interests of States and State Identities

The traditional and western connotations of International Relations' discipline overwhelmingly engage with security paradigms centered on state survival. Immigration by default gets expunged from traditional state security debates in the field as it does not put a direct threat to survival of the state. For understanding immigration with reference to insecurity paradigm, this research capitalizes on Copenhagen School of thought.

The work of Barry Buzan and Ole Weaver refer to state identity determining nature of perceptions about threats to state security in context of influx of immigrants.¹⁴ The authors hold that the immigration as debated across insecurity paradigm is equated with threat to identity, culture, norms, and values of a particular society. The societal perceptions while associating threat to immigrants create a strong demarcation between "us" and "them." This societal identity nexus is one of the different dimensions of security as perceived by the state.

The second important gamut is criminological connotation of threat discourse linked with immigrants. The immigrants are associated with the rise of crime. This phenomenon is ostensibly debated especially after 9/11. The debate about differences between "us" and "them" is also relevant when it comes to natives versus immigrants. The surge of immigrants is believed to enable newly arriving individuals to access and misuse resources from their homelands, and eventually adding to the crimes committed in host countries. Therefore, when foreigners commit or are involved in

¹⁴ Ole Weaver et al., *Identity migration and the new security agenda in Europe* (1993).

some criminal or terrorist activity, they are highly hyped in both print and electronic media.

Migrants are also considered a source of economic threat. The rising unemployment and sluggish economic growth naturally develops threat discourse related to immigrants. The nexus more effectively establishes when it comes to welfare provisions. The immigrants are considered as resources snatchers from the natives and unfair reliant of readily available funds and services which otherwise are meant to serve the natives first. Hence, as a result the prejudices arise. The negative economic impact of immigrants on host countries is a controversial debate, yet perceptions within society tend to develop negatively relying even on symbolic threats to resources.

The political nexus develops when political parties struggle with responding to the challenge of accommodating inward movement of migrants, and by doing that the support from the electorate is threatened. The growing threat perceptions within society add to the failures of incompetent policy making and immigrants' representation. The following section compartmentalizes the threat discourse linked with immigrants presented along economic, societal, criminological and political axis of British society.

Resource-based Interests and Growing Prejudices

The pursuit of self-interest tends to shape one's attitude and opinion. This substantiates popular hostility about immigrants who are already seemed as a threat to jobs for the locals. It also bears out the fact that individual-level competition for resources serves as an impetus for the animosity towards immigrants. The dispute between ethnic or racial groups can be portrayed with reference to such competition¹⁵. Gibson asserts that the exploitation of resources by

¹⁵ Lawrence Bobo, "Whites' opposition to busing: Symbolic racism or realistic group conflict?." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 45, no. 6 (1983): 1196.

immigrants results in the exiguity of resources for the natives, and this instigates the manifestation of invidious prejudice among them.¹⁶

Research about the US and Europe provides strong evidence that personal interests forge negative perceptions about immigrants, impact their jobs, social mores, and crime rates.¹⁷ It is often argued that the natives have to face the predicament of scarcity of jobs on one hand, and the blight in the form of immigrants on the other hand. Hostility to immigration becomes more vivid, moving from higher levels of education and income to lower levels. Those who are at the lowest socioeconomic status fear competition for jobs, subsistence, education, and other privileges.¹⁸

Immigrants are often discerned as unqualified workers who are inclined to work for lower wages than the locals, portending unemployment for the latter.¹⁹ Burn and Gimpel maintain that the affluent are less prone to the economic pressure of the influx of immigrants. Thus, appertaining to self-interest arguments, those who are less educated and unskilled are more averse to immigration and are more distressed about migrants.²⁰

¹⁶ Rachel K. Gibson, *The growth of anti-immigrant parties in Western Europe* (Edwin Mellen Press, 2002).

¹⁷ Joel S. Fetzer, *Public attitudes toward immigration in the United States, France, and Germany* (Cambridge University Press, 2000); Thomas J. Espenshade and Katherine Hempstead, "Contemporary American attitudes toward US immigration," *International Migration Review* (1996): 535–570; Hendrik P. Van Dalen and Kene Henkens, "The rationality behind immigration policy preferences," *De Economist* 153, no. 1 (2005): 67–83.

¹⁸ Rita J. Simon, "Immigration and American attitudes," *Public Opinion* 10, no. 2 (1987): 47–50.

¹⁹ Espenshade and Hempstead. "Contemporary American attitudes toward US immigration."

²⁰ Peter Burns and James G. Gimpel, "Economic insecurity, prejudicial stereotypes, and public opinion on immigration policy," *Political science quarterly* 115, no. 2 (2000): 201–225

Perception Building and Economic Resources for 'In-Group'

Although it is often asserted that self-interest serves as a premise for prevalent stance about social and political policies, a substantial research contends that a plethora of attitudes are based on the consideration of the social effects of the policies.²¹ Realization of social interests together with a modicum of self-interests tends to develop the attitudes regarding government-sponsored social welfare programs.²²

It may be noted that only a scintilla of economic self-interest plays its role while determining the voting behavior which have a tendency to be influenced by the national economic outlook. This endorses the significance of society rather than personal interest.²³

Various researches led to the conclusion that socio-tropic concerns serve as an impetus for anti-immigration enmity.²⁴ The

²¹ David O. Sears and Carolyn L. Funk, *Self-interest in Americans' political opinions*, (1990).

²² Carolyn L. Funk, "The dual influence of self-interest and societal interest in public opinion," *Political Research Quarterly* 53, no. 1 (2000): 37–62; John Gelissen, "Popular support for institutionalised solidarity: a comparison between European welfare states," *International Journal of Social Welfare* 9, no. 4 (2000): 285–300

²³ W. Arthur Lewis, "Economic development with unlimited supplies of labour," *The manchester school* 22, no. 2 (1954): 139–191; D. Roderick Kiewiet and Douglas Rivers, "A retrospective on retrospective voting," *Political behavior* 6, no. 4 (1984): 369–393; Donald R. Kinder and D. Roderick Kiewiet, "Economic discontent and political behavior: The role of personal grievances and collective economic judgments in congressional voting," *American Journal of Political Science* (1979): 495–527.

²⁴ Thomas J. Espenshade and Katherine Hempstead, "Contemporary American attitudes toward US immigration," *International Migration Review* (1996): 535–570; Jack Citrin et. al., "Public

attitude of the locals in Britain about immigrants and asylum seekers may similarly be forged by group interest. The enmity against immigrants may be contingent on exiguity of resources of one's in group. The consideration of jobs, housing, subsistence, education, healthcare and other privileges for one's in group may instill enmity in the locals even if they are not personally in threat of the competition. This approach, group conflict theory, hypothesize that the minority exploits the resources that belong to one in group because the immigrants lead to the scarcity of jobs and threaten the socio-economic rights of the native citizens.²⁵

Threat to British-Ness: Symbols, Identity and Race

The immigrants and asylum seekers also pose a symbolic threat concomitant to resources-based threat. It has its origins in the perception about bastardization of social norms and principals of life by the immigrants. In the United States, an inclination towards racial integration and multi-cultural oriented affirmative attitudes depended also on the symbolic aspects rather than self-interest.²⁶ Besides, holding of an official position by the minority candidate may threaten the interests, identities, or status of the majority, and those who feel this sense more profoundly tend to pose more opposition to migration. This "symbolic racism" and not racial threat to one's life account for negative public attitude towards minority candidates. Likewise, symbolic aspects about bastardization of cultural integrity result in other-ing of immigrants in western and central Europe because they tend to threaten cultural distinctiveness rather than posing a threat to economic opportunities for the individuals.²⁷ Identities are vital to individuals even if they have no subtle effect on

opinion toward immigration reform: The role of economic motivations," *The Journal of Politics* 59, no. 3 (1997): 858–881.

²⁵ Herbert Blumer, "Race prejudice as a sense of group position," *Pacific Sociological Review* 1, no. 1 (1958): 3–7.

²⁶ Bobo, "Whites' opposition to busing."

²⁷ Rachel K. Gibson, *The growth of anti-immigrant parties in western Europe* (Edwin Mellen Press, 2002); Fetzer, *Public attitudes toward immigration in the United States, France, and Germany*.

individuals' lives, and no financial advantage is derived from them. This fundamental classification of immigrants as an exclusive group with different social values and norms, and as a potential threat to Britain's cultural integrity and social distinctiveness is based on popular perception of immigrants as a threat to Britain's identity and values. The immigrants have their own distinctive religious faiths and practices which may raise a concern for the majority in Britain whose religious values and traditions differ from those of the immigrants. Majority of the natives are averse to the religion of the immigrants and consider it a threat to Western liberal democracy.

The social mores of the immigrants are incongruent with those of the natives. For instance, arranged marriages are prevalent in the Muslim society, but the concept of arranged marriages is not consistent with western values and is considered anachronistic.²⁸ There is more hostility among the natives against the non-Anglo immigrants. It is quite vivid that the natives were more skeptical towards the immigrants from the non-European descent during the decades following the end of Second World War. For instance, non-white immigrants were perceived as the cause of racial violence, and it was assumed that curbing their immigration would mitigate situation in the United Kingdom.²⁹ Likewise, the officialdom in the 1950s asserted that the workers from immigrant communities had low output and lacked the same sort of work ethic and cultural traits that allowed other western Europeans to progress. It was also contended that they were shirkers and had mercurial temperament which led them to breach of discipline. They were assumed to be more inclined towards violence and aggression which is certainly not required from the employees in Britain.³⁰ It is readily believed that the immigrants act as parasites who exploit the resources meant to be leveraged by the locals. This leads to inequitable distribution of resources and consequently to the drain of wealth.

²⁸ Lewis, *Asylum: Understanding public attitudes*.

²⁹ Ian RG Spencer, *British immigration policy since 1939: The making of multi-racial Britain*, (Routledge, 2002).

³⁰ Paul and Hussain, *Riotous citizens*.

Criminological Connections and Insecurity Paradigm

Concomitant with the perception of immigrants as a symbolic threat, there is a view that immigrants and minorities perpetrate criminal activities that lead to the breach of peace and social upheaval. Symbolically speaking, immigrants are often perceived to be guilty of flouting a law. This perception serves as an impetus for increased concerns regarding falling victim to a crime.

Researches show that the British people are more distressed about the criminological connections to immigration than they should be. In this era of post-truth politics, the means by which information reach the general public also tends to shape the public opinion about immigrants and minorities. After the September 11 attacks and with the incipient War on Terror, the public perception about the immigrants began to change. According to the report of British Crime Survey (BCS) for 2002–3, seventy three percent of people thought that the situation has aggravated because of the inflated rate of crimes, despite of a steady decrease in the crime rate since 1995.

Threat Discourse and Its Representations at Political Stage

The containment of immigration was discussed while dealing with the internal affairs by most political parties in 2005 eliciting the fact that immigration had to be restrained to some extent. Immigration was shortlisted with other matters of crime and public security that had to be dealt with by the Labour Party in 2005. According to Labour Party's stance on immigration, immigrants prompt economic growth and prosperity in the region but rampant immigration should be restricted so as to avoid inequitable distribution of resources and economic drain. To implement this manifesto, secure borders were impertinent.

In 2005, the Conservative Party's stance on immigration was also based on two sharply contrasting approaches. It was discussed with other matters like healthcare, infection and diseases, crime and security, and the fear instigated by immigrants in the locals. Health examination was made mandatory for immigrants upon arrival in the country by Conservative Party. The immigration system was termed to be in great turmoil and a major reason of terrorist threats with no

checks on immigrants. However, a subtle indication was made towards the economic and social benefits of immigrants that led to multiculturalism and soaring economy.

The UKIP, being a smaller party, has to cater for a narrow range of voters with a common view and has a more vivid stance on the system of immigration than the two main parties. The UKIP's stance on immigration is stern and unrelenting demanding immediate steps to restrain immigrants along with rigorous deportation procedure. The BNP is even more stringent about the matter and consider immigration blight not only for the economic resources but also for the social values and harmony.

During the recent years, both the Labour and Conservative parties have made it arduous for non-European immigrant workers to get hired by implementing various policies. But still many natives are skeptical of government's capability to limit immigrants and asylum seekers. The UKIP's victory in the local elections threatens the political hegemony of the Labour Party more than that of Conservative Party. In contrast to Labour Party's manifesto, the UKIP's manifesto tends to deal with the obstacles drawn up by the immigration along with renouncing multiculturalism. But the Labour Party is rather elusive and vague on the issue because of its capitalization on progressivism as opposed to conservatism. In the wake of reduced economic resources and threatened job opportunities, the blue-collar workers offer a strong support for the UKIP and not the Labour Party. In the May local elections, the victory of the UKIP reflects a great support for the party based on its stern stance regarding immigration. This also highlights the fact that the major political parties in UK are wanting in this regard by eluding the issue of immigration and not coping with it.

Conclusion

The recent change in state policies towards receiving immigrants, one of the significant drivers of Brexit, is discussed to establish a holistic understanding of the phenomenon. The Migrant community is perceived to be a threat on political, social, religious and cultural levels by British society. The generation of threat

discourses along these lines and perceptions eventually getting presented in the British society had major repercussions for alternative policy measures on part of state while tackling the issue of immigrants.

The paper concludes that national identities of states are fluid. In line with Barry Buzan and Ole Weaver's conceptual framework, the paper holds that national identities develop as boundaries between state and society intermingle with each other making distinctions between the both blurred. Migration and patterns of change in UK both at state and at societal level are an important case to test how identities of states transform culminating into transformed debates related to how national interest as a representation of individual interests is presented and eventually helps generate and change state policies.

Notes for Authors

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