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Aga Khan Foundation
(Pakistan)

Nonprofit Sector in Pakistan: Historical Background

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SPDC Working Paper No.4

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Prepared by
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**THE JOHNS HOPKINS
COMPARATIVE NONPROFIT SECTOR PROJECT
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Prepared by
Social Policy and Development Centre
In collaboration with
Aga Khan Foundation (Pakistan) and
Center for Civil Society Studies, Johns Hopkins University, USA

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FOREWORD

This is one of a series of Working Papers being produced by the Social Policy and Development Centre (SPDC) as part of an international research initiative -the Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project spearheaded by the Centre for Civil Society Studies, Johns Hopkins University, USA. In Pakistan, this study is being undertaken by SPDC in collaboration with the Aga Khan Foundation Pakistan.

The objectives of this study are to: document the size, scope, internal structure, finance and legal position of the nonprofit sector in the country; examine the relations between the nonprofit sector and government and identify the ways in which this relationship can be improved; to improve public awareness of this sector; and provide a more reliable basis for designing policies toward it. The essential rationale for this study is to accelerate the maturation of nonprofit sector by providing comprehensive information and analysis about the dimensions of the sector. The study will also provide the first true baseline of the sector.

The Working Papers provide a vehicle for the initial dissemination of the work of the project to a wide range of audience including policy makers, scholars, development practitioners, policy analysts, international donor organizations and country-wide or regional nonprofit organizations. Working Papers are intermediary products, and they are released in the interest of timely distribution of Project results to stimulate scholarly discussion, and to inform policy debates.

The study has been supported by Aga Khan Foundation (Pakistan). The Foundation's support for this study builds upon AKF's own programmatic interest in strengthening civil society and building human capacity in Pakistan. The study has been funded through the Pakistan-Canada Social Institutions Development Programme, which is supported generously by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and the Aga Khan Foundation Canada. The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) through a grant to the Aga Khan Foundation U.S.A. under the Pakistan NGO Initiative, has funded the support received from the Johns Hopkins University.

We are pleased to be able to make the results of this project available in this form and welcome comments and inquiries about this paper or the project as a whole.



Dr. Kaiser Bengali
Managing Director

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NONPROFIT SECTOR IN PAKISTAN: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

INTRODUCTION

From hunter-gatherer collectivities to modern societies, human beings have carefully delineated the different sectors of social involvement. The government, nonprofit and community based involvement in providing collective good is a visible feature of societies. The world today is far more complex than before. We find vulgar displays of unlimited wealth alongside destitution. The divide between the rich and the poor, the haves and the have-nots has polarized beyond comprehension. This polarization has directly affected peoples' access to basic human needs such as water, food, housing, health care etc. In these conditions the basic question of survival has led to the development of increasingly complex networks of nonprofit activity both locally and internationally. From individual philanthropy to multinational non-governmental organizations, the nonprofit sector is dominating some of the traditional functions of the state.

Voluntary and philanthropic activities and initiative have a long history in the region, part of which is now Pakistan. These activities were manifest through the creation of trusts for supplementing state provision of social services in the field of education, health, social welfare and cultural activities. However, the role of nonprofit sector¹ has changed with the evolution of society itself.

The objectives of this working paper are: (a) to provide a brief description of the major periods of nonprofit development in the country, including a sketch of the earliest origins of philanthropy and nonprofit activity and an assessment of the role that nonprofit organizations (NPOs) played in each of several critical periods of national development and (b) to assess the extent to which the history of the nonprofit sector in the country confirms or refutes certain common notions about the factors that encourage or discourage nonprofit development. The methodology is based on existing, print and on-line materials alongside visits to various organizations.

This paper is organized in two parts. Part A traces the historical development of the nonprofit sector and philanthropy in Pakistan and assesses the role played by nonprofit organizations in different periods of historical development. Part B presents the analysis in the context of various theoretical notions.

It is important to note that this study focuses on the region that now comprises Pakistan. However, occasional references to general trends in the whole sub-

¹ See SPDC (2000a) and Pasha and Iqbal (2003) for a discussion on definitional issues regarding the nonprofit sector in Pakistan.

continent have been made to put the discussion in a broader context. Moreover, the study excludes details about the region now called Bangladesh that seceded from Pakistan in 1971.

PART A- HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

This part is sub-divided into eight sections corresponding to different periods of historical and political development in the country. Section I traces the historical evolution of nonprofit activity from ancient times up to the arrival of Muslims in the region, now called Pakistan. Section II covers the Muslim period including the rule of the sultans of Delhi and the Moghals. Section III presents a discussion of how Western ideals introduced new concepts of voluntarism and service to the region, and of local response to those concepts. Section IV studies the initial problems after Pakistan became independent in 1947 and the response of NPOs to the situation. Section V analyzes the development of the NPS from 1958 to 1971. This period is characterized by the first Martial Law (imposed by General Ayub Khan) in the country, the subsequent quasi-civilian rule and the second military regime of General Yehya Khan that ended with the break-up of Pakistan in 1971. Section VI studies the effect of the populist policies of the first elected Prime Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto on workings of the nonprofit sector. Section VII covers recent history of the nonprofit sector in Pakistan in the 1980s and the 1990s. Internal differences are discussed in Section VIII.

I- ORIGINS AND EARLY HISTORY

History of philanthropy, volunteerism and self-help activities goes back to 5000 years within the geographical boundaries that now constitute Pakistan. Religion has been the foremost driving force behind this phenomenon. Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, Christianity and Sikhism have provided a strong basis and incentive for their followers to cater to the needs of the poor, sick and under privileged sections of the society. Moreover, socio-cultural practices such as joint family system and community living have also been conducive to philanthropic activities.

Pakistan is the proud heir to one of the earliest sophisticated civilizations in the world- the Indus Valley Civilization. The flowering of the Indus Valley into a highly civilized system spread over almost the whole region of present Pakistan (and beyond) and is contemporaneous with the rise of the market economy. Goods produced in the Indus Valley reached the markets of Mesopotamia (present day Iraq) and Egypt. Spreading markets meant that the self-sufficiency of the village was neither possible nor desirable any longer. Agriculture and commerce complemented each other and both contributed to the prosperity of the cities. A class-based society came into being with swarming low income populations living around rich localities. What efforts, if any, were made for the relief of the poor and the helpless cannot be

told with surety until the language on the various seals and tablets of that time are deciphered. Nevertheless, town planning along with a strong emphasis on public conveniences indicates the possible existence of a welfare society.²

In the second millennium B.C., the Aryans overwhelmed the Indus Valley and established their own cultural mark. They brought with them their religion of Vedism. These beliefs mingled with the beliefs of indigenous Indian native. The result was Hinduism, believed to be the foremost religion of this region.

Religion has been main source of inspiration behind involvement of the people in welfare activities. Teachings of the Vedas and other sacred Hindu texts clearly encourage acts of charity and community service (PRIA, 2001)

From then on, nonprofit activity focused on three main fields, viz. (a) religious missions and services, (b) education, and (c) public works and community welfare. In all these fields, the state and society both seem to be active players. Kings, merchants, landlords and various corporate organizations vied with one another for advancing religion and strengthening community. They founded temples and monasteries, made endowments for their maintenance, constructed residences for monks and made appropriate grants for the supply of food, cloth, oil and other requisites to wandering ascetics, etc. (Mujundar, 1961). Monasteries, *dharmasalas* (free rest-houses) and *ashrams* (Hindu hermitages) appeared all over the region including in most of South Asia.

Moreover, religion had transformed into a more elaborate system of rituals including alms-giving ceremonies, offerings to gods and priests, and sacrificial rites. Due to these ceremonies, the temples soon transformed into repositories of wealth and power aside from being religious and educational institutions (Ahsan, 1996). Brahmins² played the role of intermediaries between the gods and the common people and emerged as leaders of a lucrative nonprofit sector.

The emergence of Buddhism in 600 B.C. provided a new approach to the concept of volunteerism and social welfare. The Buddhist founded *Sangha* or monastic order. Besides ministering to the spiritual needs of the people, members of the *Sangha* were engaged in service to the poor and needy (PRIA, 2001). The *Sangha* in addition to kings, became instrumental in Buddhist missionary expansion. Jataka stories Buddhist tales originating during 3rd century B.C. clearly show that charity and social service were the main features of Buddhist society (Mujundar, 1961).

² The presence of well planned roads, granaries, wells, drains, etc. point to the presence of a municipal authority.

³ Hindus of the priestly caste.

Arthashastra⁴ refers to construction work for public good by the joint efforts of the villagers. It also refers to a type of social work, which cares for the old or sick, barren women and orphans, in case they are without sympathetic guardians (Mujundar, 1961).

Asoka was the first South Asian ruler who as early as 3rd century BC, renounced violence and war as tools of enhancing power and concentrated on the welfare of his subjects. Asoka granted generous assistance in building facilities for pilgrims and monks of all religions. Shaded roads, wells, inns, monasteries, dispensaries, etc., were a notable feature of his reign. He took great pains to inculcate the duties of compassion to all, kind treatment of slaves and servants, and almsgiving and tolerance for all creeds (Smith, 1981). This was instrumental in the promotion of non-profit activity among both monks and the common people.

Hence, from Asoka's reign onwards Buddhist monasteries along with Hindu ashrams served as centres of religion and education. Community assistance became a main factor of growth and progress in education and new centres of learning emerged. The city of Taxila was one such centre, which attracted students from all parts and sections of the country to avail the benefits of free education. Taxila soon became a university town, where celebrities in various fields of knowledge lived and taught (Smith, 1981).

II- THE ERA OF MUSLIM RULE: (8th to 18th Century)

With the advent of Islam, new dimensions were added to already existing practices of philanthropy and social welfare. Though the economy of the region remained predominantly agrarian, it was now integrated with the markets of Persia, Central Asia, the Middle East and Europe through the caravan routes of the north-west. Nevertheless, the fields of religion, education and community welfare remained the main concerns of the nonprofit sector. Mosques, *madaris*⁵ and *Khanqahs* (Sufi monasteries) are examples of philanthropic institutions of this period.

Although Muslim rulers remained pre-occupied with defence, empire building and consolidation of power, they played an important role in the development of these institutions and many rulers and members of the Muslim aristocracy took personal interest in public welfare. These efforts of the state also contributed to the growth of voluntary and philanthropic activity in society at large. Local elite gave generous donations for construction of mosques and *madaris* and for the establishment of the *Waqf* (religious endowment) to make them sustainable. The concentration on mosques and *madaris* continues to this day. Two major motives can be mentioned in this context:

⁴ Arthashastra is the treatise on state craft written by Kautilya Chankya who was a resident of Taxila (a historical city adjacent to present day Islamabad, the capital of Pakistan) and was advisor to Chandragupta Mauriya who ruled India in the 4th Century BC.

⁵ Plural of *madrasah*, Islamic religious schools.

- a) **Religion** - The concept of “Haqooq-ul-Ibad” (human rights) forms the cornerstone of Islamic society. Moreover, a belief in the after life where every single good deed is rewarded generously encourages Muslims to engage in social welfare. One fundamental injunction of Islamic faith revolves around the circulation of wealth through *Zakat* (a form of mandated religious charity), which is traditionally collected and distributed or spent for the welfare of needy people.
- b) **Political** – Given that the then Muslim political rulers had foreign origins, there appeared to be a need to inculcate a sense of loyalty among the multitudes of natives through works of charity and welfare. Hence, state sponsored social welfare became an instrument for gaining political legitimacy⁶.

Consequently, Muslim rulers like Nasiruddin Mehmood, Feroze Shah Tughlaq, Sher Shah, Akbar and Aurangzeb ensured the well-being and safety of their subjects. *Diwan-i-Khairat* of Feroze Shah is one example of state’s welfare organization. In the 14th Century, Sultan Feroz Shah established an organization called the *Diwan-e-Khairat* for the financial help for marriage of poor girls. The royal example was based on customary practices followed by the people. Building of mosques with attached schools and colleges was regarded as a pious act and was commonly adopted by upper class Muslims.

As for the official administration of non-profit activity, one important institution was the *Sadr us Sudur*. It was an office that was maintained both by the Sultans of Delhi and the Moghal emperors. The *Sadr* helped maintain mosques where the local community was not able to do so. Other forms of charity included, occasional aid in the form of cash or goods, regular stipends and grants of land especially to *maktabs* and *madaris*⁷. Moreover, leading religious and spiritual leaders as well as scholars also received grants through the office of *Sadr*.

Sufism - an institution of the nonprofit sector: Aside from state efforts mentioned above, the most striking trend in the field of charity and social welfare emerges from a mystical movement within Muslims called *Sufism*⁸. The humanist teachings of the

⁶ From Kautilya Chankiya and Firdausi to Machiavilli, all have advised the rulers that if they want to consolidate their rule and power, they should perform acts of charity and social welfare.

⁷ Schools and high level education institutions of Muslims where predominantly religious education was imparted. However, related disciplines as well as some secular subjects like mathematics, philosophy etc. were also taught.

⁸ Sufism is mystical movement within Islam that seeks to find divine love and knowledge through direct personal experience of God. It consists of a variety of mystical paths that are designed to ascertain the nature of mankind and God and to facilitate the experience of divine love and wisdom in the world. Sufism arose as an organized movement among different groups who found orthodox Islam to be spiritually stifling. The practices of contemporary Sufi orders and suborders vary, but most include the recitation of the name of God or of certain phrases from the Quran as a way to enable the soul to experience the higher reality. Though Sufi practitioners have often been at odds with the mainstream of Islamic theology and law, the importance of Sufism in the history

Sufis, brotherhood of all mankind and peace for all, have been influential in promoting a spirit of tolerance and love of fellow humans leading to philanthropic activities in society. The *Sufis* used to live among the masses, preaching and serving them regardless of their caste, creed and social status.

Mainstream *Sufi* influence entered the sub-continent from West and Central Asia through the region now called Pakistan, but unlike orthodox religion, Sufism took root immediately. Sheikh Ali Hujwari, (commonly known as Data Ganj Baksh) was among the earliest Muslim mystics who propagated Islam and education in the Punjab region. Sheikh Ali Hujwari stayed in Lahore between 1072 and 1079 A.D. He emphasized the acquisition of knowledge as a religious obligation for both men and women and laid down certain principles in this regard, insisting on a selfless devotion to God and the people. Various anecdotes told by the Sheikh to his *Murids* (disciples) are filled with directions for general welfare and peace (Nizami, 1987). Southern Punjab and Sindh became centres of missionary activities of the Sufis.

KHANQAH: A VIBRANT NONPROFIT INSTITUTION OF MEDIEVAL ERA

The Khanqah (a monastery where the Sufis lived along with their disciples) evolved as a nonprofit institution in the beginning of 11th Century A.D. and became a centre of spirituality, learning and social service. Most of the Sufis belonged to one or the other order, like Suhrawardia, Chistiya, Qadriya, etc. Apart from spiritual exercises and religious education, community living was also an important part of Khanqah life. The Khanqah subsisted on gifts, donations and charity. Food and charity would never be refused to anyone regardless of his caste, creed and race. For this purpose a regular open kitchen (Langar) was established which at times fed thousands of people.

Usually a *madrasah* was associated with the Khanqah, where religious education as well as related disciplines like philosophy, jurisprudence, mathematics etc., were taught. Teachers and students were often provided with necessary facilities like free food, medical treatment, clothes and shoes, etc.

Apart from preaching, these Sufis were known for their efforts in the moral training of people and social welfare at large. In this context, it is interesting to note that the *Suhrawardi* Sufis believed that they could perform their own functions more effectively by cultivating good relations with political authority. Sheikh Ruknuddin of Multan, for instance, was a frequent visitor to the court of Delhi. On each visit, the roof of his palanquin was loaded with petitions and documents of the needy people to be presented to the Sultan (Mujeeb, n.d.). Similarly, the *Chistis* emphasized the importance of social service, devoting themselves to the care of the poor and needy (Encyclopedia of Asian History, 1988, volume IV).

of Islam is incalculable. Sufi literature, especially poetry depicting the love of God, represents a golden age in Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and Urdu languages. (Source: The Britannica Concise at www.yahoo.education.com)

Another striking role played by some Sufis, though not frequently, is creating awareness among the masses regarding the oppressive role of the feudal aristocracy. For instance, the revolutionary movement of Shah Inayat and his *hari* (peasants) disciples in 1617 against the exploitation of poor farmers, demanded the abolition of private landed property and establishment of collective farming. This struggle was crushed by force and the Sufi leader lost his own life. However, his struggle against the status-quo created a strong wave of revolutionary thought in the region (Khaddarposh, 1948).

From the discussion above, it appears that three factors contributed to the development of the nonprofit sector in that period viz., political interest, religious spirit and noblesse oblige. The pattern of society was more or less feudal though feudalism as it existed in medieval Europe, (permanent land holdings) had yet to develop in this region. In such conditions, two different trends of nonprofit activity are visible:

1. Interest in philanthropy and welfare on the part of the aristocracy and well-to-do families, motivated by religious teachings as well as political interests. It is important to note that the fabulous wealth of South Asia that attracted the Europeans was concentrated in the hands of a minority.
2. On the other hand, the poor masses gathered round spiritual and religious centers, which gave them sanctuary from socio-political injustices. In this way, the Khanqah, the *madrasah* and the *ashram* played an important role. As channels of social mobility, these institutions gave birth to a nascent middle class.

Concurrently, at the rural level, the self-sufficiency of the village was preserved. Self-help, barter, mutual effort towards well-being and conflict resolution through the *jirga* or *panchayat*⁹ and *biradari*¹⁰ continued to generate nonprofit activity.

III- COLONIAL PERIOD: NEW IDEAS AND LOCAL RESPONSE

During the colonial period, new trends from the west permeated the socio-political fabric of this region and had far-reaching impacts. Development of the nonprofit sector during this period is characterized by the local response to imperialist ideas of social welfare, development of a secular approach to nonprofit activity, and evolution of nationalism and mass-mobilization of the people to achieve freedom.

The establishment of the British Empire in South Asia was facilitated by the East India Company. During the early phase of the company's rule, power without responsibility and maximum attainment of profit through revenue and trade was the motto of the Company's officers. British thinkers (perhaps compelled by a sense of guilt and fear of retaliation from the local people) presented lofty theories about the

⁹ A council of elders of a village in tribal societies, that used to deliberate and decide in the various important matters and problems of the community.

¹⁰ More or less equivalent to a clan.

role of British Imperial governments in the colonies. Edmund Burke's ideal of Trusteeship signified that the (colonial) government was a trust meant primarily for the benefit of the natives and the moment the government ignored this, the contract would be broken. On the other hand, Jeremy Bentham's concept of utilitarianism insisted on a model of government based on mutual benefit and utility for both rulers and the ruled. The Platonic concept of the ruler acting as the guardian of his subjects was also applied.

However, the ideas of trusteeship and guardianship degenerated into arrogant notions that only the trustees or the guardians were capable of looking after the locals who were believed to be either inefficient or corrupt and incapable of self-rule. The utilitarians, though, insisted on socio-economic remodeling of society to bring the benefits of laissez faire ideology to the sub-continent. These ideas did lead to initiation of voluntary activity on the part of British Governors as well as Christian missionaries. The British embarked upon the task of social reform in the sub-continent; and the locals strove to respond either positively or negatively to these new theories and policies. The process of social reform included revamping the economy, restoring law and order, developing a uniform system of law and punishment and social welfare programs based on the promotion of western education and rational thought.

British rule initiated institutionalization of voluntary organizations. Various laws regarding the registration and regulation of philanthropic and voluntary organizations were introduced to provide legal basis for their activities. The prime motives of the attempt to institutionalize voluntary organizations appear to be (1) to keep a check on these organizations so that they would not indulge in activities that could undermine colonial rule and (2) to encourage philanthropists to come forward and share the responsibility of the provision of social service in order to lessen the burden on the government. In a bid to regulate voluntary associations, the Societies Registration Act was promulgated in 1860 followed by the Religious Endowment Act of 1863. Another important development on the legislative front was the introduction of Trust Act in 1882 in recognition of the philanthropic nature of charity in South Asia. This period witnessed the emergence of a large number of voluntary and nonprofit organizations

Christian Missionary Work

Christianity came to some parts of Western India even before the Moghals established their empire here. Portuguese missionaries first arrived in 1498, and established Christian churches on the Western coast of Goa, Diu, and Daman. Christian missionaries entered Punjab (Northern India) for the first time during the reign of Akbar. In answer to Akbar's invitation, a mission of Jesuits from Goa visited the Moghal Court during 1579-81, spending part of their time at Fatehpur-Sikri and part at Lahore. Akbar's successor, Jahangir, allowed some Portuguese Jesuits to build a church and establish a mission at Lahore, and assigned a salary for their maintenance. This favor was, however, withdrawn by the next Mogul emperor, Shah Jahan (Knight, 2003).

During the early phase of the East India Company's rule, Christian missions were not officially welcomed due to the fear of retaliation from the locals. However, by the advent of 19th Century, British power was firmly established and Christian missions were officially allowed to work.

"The efforts made by Christian missionaries in the field of education and healthcare constituted another form of NPO intervention. Although, their religious activities caused concern among non-Christians, their social service activities elicited considerable admiration. Many contemporary social reform movements were influenced and inspired by the efforts made by missionaries and initiated a wide range of social activities" (PRIA, 2001).

Punjab, Sind and NWFP became the main centres of missionary activity in Pakistan. In Baluchistan, the British administered regions of Quetta, Mastung etc. received Christian missions but the princely state of Qalat and its smaller dependencies Makran, Kharan, Lasbela etc. provided little opportunity for missionary activity (Gopal, 1994).

These missions played an important role in the promotion of education, healthcare and awareness of the vices prevalent in Indian society. Some of the earliest mission schools and girls convents included, Edwardes Church Mission school of Peshawar (1855), Jesus & Mary Convent of Sialkot (1858) and St. Joseph's Convent of Karachi. The missions also established hospitals, dispensaries, orphanages, hostels, infirmaries and seminaries and continued their work after independence in 1947.

The impact of Christianity and western education was far-reaching. "If in the pre-British days, large numbers of the population changed their religion without a major altering of their habits, in the British period, large numbers of men changed their general outlook without changing their religion." (Mujundar, 1961). Conversions and changed outlooks of the new generation alarmed native minds, and gave rise to a variety of responses, which include retreat, revival and modernism.

In addition to Christian missionaries, the Parsi community also made significant contribution through charitable, social and community services. Several schools were established in the early nineteenth century, which provided good quality modern education to the people. For instance, B.V.S. Parsi School and Mama Parsi Girls School were set up in Karachi, which are still counted among the prestigious educational institutions in Pakistan. Similarly, in the field of technical education, the NED Engineering College was established in 1924 through a Parsi endowment that has now become the NED University of Engineering and Technology.¹¹

¹¹ This institution was initially founded as Prince of Wales Engineering College with the donations of the citizens of Karachi to commemorate the visit of the Prince of Wales in 1921. The College was renamed as NED Engineering College in 1924 in memory of Mr. Nadirshaw Edulji Dinshaw,

Retreat and Reaction

The first response was a defeatist acceptance of social and political downfall as a fait-accompli. This led to withdrawal and isolationism in society. This was more so among the Muslims, as the British had defeated and taken power from a Muslim ruling elite. However, Hindus were not unaffected either. The ideas of western renaissance created fears and doubts and created a nostalgic veneration of earlier times. The traditional forms of nonprofit associations continued to work, though in an increasingly difficult atmosphere (Qureshi, 1977) without making any effort to adapt to new conditions.

Revivalism

The revivalists went a few steps backward with the idea of looking within for the secret of renewal. This attitude gave rise to a number of ideologies like nativism, millenarism, and religious revivalism. For instance, the Arya Samaj established in Punjab in 1875 by Dyanand Saraswati raised the slogan “back to the Vedas”. It was a regressive attempt to restore the ancient and “purer” form of Hinduism. Its two-fold approach was sharp criticism of many existing Hindi practices (idolatry and polytheism, child marriage, taboos on widow remarriage and foreign travel, Brahmin dominance and multiplicity of castes based on birth alone) combined with an extremely aggressive assertion of the superiority of purified Hinduism based on Vedic infallibility over all other faiths – Christianity, Islam or Sikhism (PRIA, 2001). The Arya Samaj initiated its own brand of reform and several *dharamsalas*, *Sanskrit pathsalas* (schools) and *Kaniya pathsalas* (girl schools) were established.

Among the Muslims, the revivalist approach gained popularity after the failure of the war of independence of 1857. Edicts for *Jihad* (call for war as religious obligation for Muslims) were issued¹². The edict carried the signature of 34 *Ulema* (Muslim religious leaders). The move failed and Muslim leaders became the main target of state’s oppression and persecution. In this backdrop, Maulana Qasim Nanautvi (who was among the fighters in 1857) established a *madrasah* at Deoband (U.P. province) in 1866. The *madrasah* was named as Darul Uloom Deoband. The purpose of establishing Darul Uloom was outlined by its founder as follows:

“The English have perpetrated boundless acts of tyranny against the Muslims for their fault, if at all it was a fault, of the uprising in 1857 and their relentless endeavor for the independence of this country thereafter. They have left no stone unturned to plunder and obliterate Islamic arts and

a well known philanthropist, whose heirs made substantial donations for its development at the time of his first death anniversary.

¹² The first edict for *Jihad* against British rulers was issued by Shah Abdul Aziz in 1803 that proclaimed: “Our country has been enslaved. To struggle for independence and put an end to the slavery is our duty.” (Qasmi, 2001)

science, Muslim culture and civilization. Endowments of Muslim educational institutions have been confiscated and as a result state funded schools have been virtually closed. It is therefore, necessary to adopt other method instead of relying upon the old system of endowments. (Qasmi, 2001)”

The aims and objectives of the Darul Uloom included religiosity and freedom from foreign yoke through moral reform acquired by means of academic excellence. Soon, Darul Uloom Deoband became a central institution in India for promoting religio-political ideology of these *Ulema*. It focused on religious brand of education and freedom fighting. Recognizing the religio-political role of Darul Uloom, Qasmi (2001) notes: “Darul Uloom Deoband not only played a very important role in saving Muslims from spiritual and political abyss and discomfiture, but also produced tens of thousands of educated and well-trained freedom fighters who struggled and laid their lives for the sake of the liberation of this great nation.” Over the years this radical Islamic institution spread a network of *madaris* under its administrative and ideological guidance all over the sub-continent.

Some other movements among Muslims included the Fara’zis, Ahl-I-Hadith and Tariqah-I-Muhammadiyah. Fara’zi movement was the most prominent among these, which started in East Bengal in 1830. Founder of this movement was Haji Shariatullah. He asked his followers to give up un-Islamic customs and practices and to act upon the teachings of Islam. The movement basically targeted the Muslims belonging to worker/ peasant class. The movement addressed both religious and economic issues and was directed against British rulers and local feudal elite. The movement acquired great influence among the Muslim peasants and craftsmen and set path for peasant movement in the subcontinent.

Reform through Modernization

The futility of a direct clash with British power led to third, more accommodating approach. Western education brought the spirit of European Renaissance and Enlightenment to the young educated elite. Rationalism, pragmatism and secularism attracted modern minds. A number of modernist movements appeared that affected the socio-political scene in the region. These movements included the Brahma Samaj, Ramakrishna Mission, and Aligarh Movement.

The Brahma Samaj: The Brahma Samaj (Society of God) of Ram Mohan Roy of Bengal was based on the idea of applying western rationalism to Hindu philosophy. The Samaj, established in 1828, emphasized the unity of God and oneness of all faiths and pursued the goal of cleansing Hindu society of irrational practices like idol worship, caste system, *Sati*¹³, child marriage, etc. Incidentally this was largely the agenda of the Arya Samaj as well. The difference in the two organizations was one of outlook and approach. While the Arya Samaj was retrogressive and shunned

¹³ Ancient Hindu tradition of burning the widow on the deceased husband’s funeral pyre.

modernity, the Brahmo Samaj was progressive and put forth its programme in enlightened terms. One of the successes of the Brahmo Samaj was the adoption of their social reform agenda by the British Government, such as the regulation declaring the practice of *Sati* illegal (1829), Widow Remarriage Act (1856), Age of Consent Act (1891), etc.

The Brahmo Samaj reached Punjab in 1856 through the efforts of the two successors of Ram Mohan Roy, Devendranath Tagore and Keshub Chander Sen, and a group of Bengali officers¹⁴ posted in Punjab. The movement gained staunch converts here in the persons of Dyal Singh Majithia, Raja Harbans Singh, Lala Harkishen Lal, Lala Lajpat Rai, etc. Among this group, perhaps Dyal Singh, a scion of an aristocratic Sikh family, was the most prominent. Post-Ranjeet Singh Punjab presented him with an opportunity to learn the virtues of Sikhism, Hinduism, Islam and Christianity and embark on a general programme of social reform. His financial contributions to Brahmo Samaj and later to the "Sadheran Brahmo Samaj"¹⁵ show his devotion to the cause. Dyal Singh and his comrades actively worked for the ends of establishing a free press and an industrial base in Punjab and elsewhere. The launch of the Tribune in Lahore in 1881, that soon became the mouthpiece of the "mute masses" (Gopal, 1994), was one such valuable contribution.

This was also the time when the Industrial Age started in the sub-continent. Dyal Singh's group initiated a vigorous movement for industrialization and thousands of rupees were raised for this purpose. In the field of education, his efforts in the establishment of Punjab University are worth mentioning. After his death, the trust formed by him completed the college, the library and an Anglo-Vedic college in Lahore according to his will (Gopal, 1994)

In Sindh, Hindus mobilized for modernization earlier than Muslims. Philanthropy was considered a noble mission¹⁶ but modernism made it more constructive and target-oriented. People like Dyaram Jethmal of Karachi are worth mentioning whose efforts led to the establishment of the first college of Sind - D.J. Sind College. Many Hindus donated their full monthly salaries for this purpose. Dyaram Giddumal, District Session Judge, whose activities exceeded the boundaries of Sind helped created D.G. College Hyderabad, Mitharam Hospital Karachi¹⁷, a sanitarium at Simla, a library at Amritsar and many other institutions.

Brahmo Samraj was popularized in Sindh mainly by the activities of two brothers Nol Rai and Hiranand and their comrades. These activities included the establishment of

¹⁴ For instance, J.C. Bose and P.C. Chatterjee.

¹⁵ A schism appeared in Brahmo Samaj due to ideological and structural differences. Sadharan Brahmo Samaj was one such division.

¹⁶ For instance, wealthy businessmen like Bhojomal Hootchand have been reported to spend thousands on charity and relief work especially during the famine of 1911-12. See Aaj: Karachi ki Kahani (Urdu) edited by Ajmal Kamal, 1995, p.30.

¹⁷ The land for which was provided by his brother Mitharam.

the first Brahmo Mandir in Hyderabad, a model school called N.H. School, first girls school, a hospital for lepers in Karachi, an orphanage in Shikarpur and so on.

Aligarh Movement: While Hindus, Sikhs and Parsis were all turning toward a more secular approach to voluntarism, Muslims preferred their old traditions. However, a major change came in the form of the Aligarh movement. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan played a key role in bringing Muslim society into the socio-political milieu and the main tools in his struggle were westernized education and rational thought. In 1870, he established the Committee for the Better Diffusion and Advancement of Learning among Muhammadans of India. In 1875, he founded Mohammadan Anglo Oriental (MAO) College at Aligarh and also established a Scientific Society at Ghazipur. The establishment of MAO college was described by Lord Lytton as an epoch in the social program of India. Several decades later Sir Hamilton Gibb, characterized the college as the first modernist institution of Muslims in India (U.P. Portal, 2000). MAO College became a full-fledged university¹⁸ in 1922 and played an important role in the independence movement.

This approach appealed to the emerging Muslim generation who felt lost amidst Hindu reformist movements. The followers of Sir Syed carried on the Aligarh mission to the areas that are now included in Pakistan. The Sindh Madrasa-tul-Islam in Karachi, Anjuman-e-Himayat-e-Islam, Lahore and Islamia College, Peshawar are testament to this development. The Sindh Madrasah established by Hasan Ali Afandi, played an important role in creating a Muslim middle class in Sindh. Anjuman-e-Himayat-e-Islam served the same purpose in Punjab. The greatest catalyst of Islamic modernism in a conservative Pashtoon society was Sahibzada Abdul Qayum Khan who set up the Darul Ulum Islamia (1909) and the Islamia College and the collegiate school (1913) in Peshawar.

Another contemporary reform movement in NWFP called Khudai Khidmatgar --the servants of god—was founded by Dr. Khan and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan in 1929. This movement, which eventually involved more than 100,000 Pashtuns, was dedicated to social reform and to ending the rule of the British. The movement called for social change, more equitable land distribution, and religious harmony. Leaders of this movement traveled village to village speaking about social reform and the values of nonviolence (Pal, 2002). Many welfare oriented organizations were set up under the umbrella of this movement.

One important aspect of the evolution of voluntary services is community and caste based work. Since earliest times, self-help activity within castes, *biradaries* and classes is a common societal feature. In the 19th and 20th centuries this trend continued in the sub-continent.

¹⁸ For an analysis of Aligarh movement see Hameed (1971)

SIND HARI COMMITTEE – A REFORM ORGANIZATION OF SINDH

Amidst prevailing Muslim conservatism, a revolutionary wave appeared in the 1920s in the form of the *Hari* Movement against the feudal excesses in Sindh. The living conditions of the down-trodden *haris* (landless peasants) were deteriorating on account of feudal pressures and there were no sign of reform on the Government front.

With the combined efforts of G. M. Syed, Jamshed Nusrwanji and Jethmal Parasram, a Hari Conference was organized in 1930 in Mirpurkhas. This conference laid the foundation for the formation of the Sindh Hari Committee. This committee waged a protracted struggle for the emancipation of haris, for securing tenancy rights for them, and for educating them. It later emerged as a major political force under the leadership of Comrade Haider Bakhsh Jatoi.

The struggle bore fruit when about 150,000 acres of land were allotted to poor haris. Another success was on the legal front when some dislocated peasants were given back their hereditary lands. The Kisan Rally organized by the Committee in Hyderabad in 1943 resulted in the official acceptance of the peasants' grievances vis-a-vis the feudal system. However, the preoccupation of the Government with the war and later the deliberations on the transfer of power in India, precluded any progress in this matter.

Nevertheless, the Committee gained strength with increasing membership in rural Sind and the support of the All India Kisan Sabha. On the eve of elections in 1946, the Muslim League realized the importance of the Hari vote and promised to support their cause after the elections. Unfortunately, these promises were broken and feudalism survived. (Khaddarposh, 1948; Dawn, 1995).

National Movements

The last and expected development of the revival and reform process was the emergence of nationalism. Every school of thought mentioned above produced political parties to represent themselves on various political fronts. Many Brahmo Samajist, Arya Samajists, etc. entered the Indian National Congress established in 1885, and a large pantheon of Aligarians joined the All India Muslim League upon its establishment in 1906.

The Nonprofit sector was politicized and the Anjuman-e-Himayat-e-Islam (AHI) and Islamia College Peshawar provided an effective platform for the Muslim League's activities in NWFP and Punjab. For example, the Islamia College Peshawar served as the nucleus of Pashtoon intelligentsia during the freedom movement.

While conservative religious Muslim leadership was represented in the Jamiat-e-Ulama-e-Hind, established in 1919, the Hindu revivalist trends were reflected in Rashtria Swayem Sewak Sangh (RSS), Hindu Mahasabha, etc. All these groups demanded freedom from British rule but within their respective ideological parameters. In this struggle two parties emerged as umbrella organizations, embracing all diverse groups and fighting their war for freedom - the Congress and the Muslim League. Both of them fought for India and Pakistan but their freedom struggles brought with them difficult decisions, compromises and bitter memories.

At the same time, some political parties also played their role in creating political awareness about the issues related to women's empowerment. This led to establishment of *Nari Sabhas* (women associations) that were run by politically conscious women. Similarly, Mr. G. M. Syed joined forces with Ms. Hommie Mehta and Ms. Rukmani Advani to found a rural women's association in Sindh. According to Dawn (1995) Mr. Syed was probably the first male politician of Sindh to see women's rights as integral to the rights of the masses at large.

IV- FREEDOM WRAPPED IN INSECURITIES (1947-58)

Pakistan came into being on August 14, 1947, to form the largest Muslim state in the world. The new country comprised two wings. West Pakistan comprised the contiguous Muslim-majority provinces of present-day Pakistan; East Pakistan consisted of what is now Bangladesh. The creation of Pakistan was catalyst to the largest demographic movement in recorded history in so short a time span. Nearly seventeen million people-Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs-are reported to have moved in both directions between India and the two wings of Pakistan, setting in a chain of problems. The evolution of nonprofit sector in Pakistan, by and large, coincides with the changing socio-political environment since 1947.

When Pakistan came into existence, it was a nation engaged in the process of becoming unified. Though the enthusiasm of the freedom movement did produce a feeling of unity. The task of nation building had yet to be undertaken. Unfortunately, nation building was sacrificed at the altar of state building under the pretext of urgent problems and state insecurities. Hence, right from its inception the state was strengthened with the help of bureaucratic power at the expense of civil society. The emerging citizen sector, which had gained impetus during the freedom movement, looked for a purpose in the new state. Grave problems of refugees pouring in from India, alongside unemployment, poverty, illiteracy, etc. threatened to overwhelm the new state. The nonprofit sector, trained to some extent in the field of education, healthcare and relief work was ready to share this responsibility with the state. It responded to the social welfare needs of the new country in the process of rehabilitation and socio-economic transformation.

The state was over-extended and, finding it impossible to address these problems on its own, looked for a partner. Despite a jerky start, state and civil society joined hands to ameliorate the problems of the population. The selfless devotion of philanthropists and relief workers fueled this process. A welfare state that was the promise of Pakistan and the dream of those who opted for it became the mission of many.

During its early phase the partnership seemed to work well. A number of dedicated workers, men and women (in fact women were more prominent) embarked upon a mission and the state provided comprehensive support to encourage them. The

altered socio-political, economic and demographic scenario posed multiple challenges. Society was going through great changes. The previous pattern of urban and rural demography was altered by the arrival of millions of immigrants who were not just refugees, but were there to stay. The down trodden rural population was looking towards the echelons of power in the big cities, expecting a miracle to change their lives. Various nonprofit associations sprang up and stood to face the challenge.

For the first few years after independence, the focus of voluntary organizations remained resettlement of migrants and providing them basic necessities of life. Other areas of nonprofit activity in the period included poverty alleviation, education, healthcare, relief for workers and peasants, women's issues and population control.

Refugees: Refugee rehabilitation, the most urgent problem of the time, attracted the attention of all the NPOs existing at the time. The educated urban women, mostly family members of the leaders of the Muslim League and government officials, were among the most active. The first and foremost was the wife of the first prime minister of Pakistan, begum Rana Liaquat Ali Khan. In 1948, she established the Women's Volunteer Service (WVS) to help in refugees' rehabilitation. Many women responded to the need of the time, even those who had never come out of their homes before. The services provided by the WVS included supplying food, medicines, first aid, establishment of an employment exchange bureau, a widow's home, a marriage bureau, a lost and found bureau, an abducted women's home,¹⁹ etc. (Miles, 1963). The success of these initiatives created a favorable environment for establishment of other voluntary organizations (NGORC, 1999).

In 1948, Rana Liaquat Ali initiated All Pakistan Women's Association (APWA) in order to channel women's energies on a permanent and long-term basis even after the settlement of refugees. APWA proved to be a highly successful, popular and effective umbrella organization from which a number of sub-organizations originated and serve till today.

Other important organizations include the Family Welfare Cooperative Society of Lahore (founded by Mrs. Mumtaz Umer Karamat), Women's Refugees Rehabilitation Society Karachi (founded by Begum Hafiz) and so on.

In this context, the services of the Pakistan Red Cross Society (founded 1947), which later became a member of International League of Red Cross Societies (1948) is also worth mentioning. A number of other organizations sprang up in all parts of country but Karachi, Lahore, and to some extent, Hyderabad and Peshawar remained the main centers of refugee relief work.

¹⁹ About 60,000 Muslim women and girls were abducted during the upheaval of partition. See Kay Miles (1963).

LADIES WITH LAMPS

The first decade of non-profit activity in Pakistan was characterized by the work of extraordinarily devoted, talented and daring ladies whose efforts towards social services and mass uplift made a significant difference. Most of them belonged to well-to-do families and many were family members of the leaders of Muslim League and government officials. These women were prominent in almost every field of social work.

Starting with Fatima Jinnah and Begum Rana Liaquat, there is a long list of women working in all the big cities of Pakistan. Fatima Jinnah was very active in rehabilitation of refugees, poverty alleviation and health care. She also contributed actively to the Girls Guide Organization, which was established in 1947 with Begum G. A. Khan as its first commissioner. Rana Liaquat declared that "this is not the time for forty million women of Pakistan to sit quietly in their homes. They have to come out ... to learn to work and then to teach others to do so." (Mumtaz and Shaheed, 1987). Rana Liaquat was engaged in a spectrum of activities from relief and welfare work to women's empowerment efforts. She founded the Pakistan Women's National Guides (PWNG) and Pakistan Women's Naval Reserves (PWNR) in 1949.

In the field of politics, Jahan Ara Shahnawaz and Shaista Ikramullah were the only two women representatives in the first legislature of Pakistan. Meanwhile other members of the Muslim League Women's Committee successfully promoted the rights of Pakistani women in the national and local assemblies.

Begum S.A. Hafeez worked for refugees' rehabilitation. Experienced in social work and political mobilization in pre-independence Lucknow, she supervised the construction of a residential project for refugees in Karachi. Similarly, Begum Mumtaz Karamat in Lahore and lady Hidayatullah in Karachi, along with many others carried on the work of helping the disadvantaged.

Christian and Parsi women were more active in social work as they did not have to face the conservative attitude prevalent in Muslim society. Gool Minwala who was engaged in social work since pre-Pakistan days played a leading role in those critical times. Sister Berenice Vargas and Mary Doyle helped leprosy patients in Pakistan when they had been abandoned. Dr. Ruth Pfao (from Germany) cancelled her pre-planned work in India and decided to join the war against leprosy in Pakistan.

The first signs of a conflict between conservative and liberal sections of society also began to appear. These women were, frequently criticized by reactionary sections of society and derided as "Begamat" (rich women) who were found a pass time in welfare work. They were accused of being "Westernized" and even "character-less" and of conspiring to destroy the moral values of an Islamic society. (Mumtaz and Shaheed, 1987, P, 53-54). Despite all these criticism, however, they continued their work for their cause.

Karachi was, in most cases, the final destination for the migrants from India and was the focal point of relief work and philanthropy. In 1949, the Karachi Social Work Group was initiated under the leadership of Jamshed Nusravanji Metha (the then president of Karachi Municipality). Work for rehabilitation of refugees was started and Jamshed Quarters along with some other colonies providing shelter to many displaced persons were constructed. Many philanthropists joined in these efforts. However, nonprofit activity related to rehabilitation of migrants was not confined to big cities. All over the country, including in smaller cities and towns, NPOs were enthusiastically active in reception and settlement of migrants.

Poverty Alleviation: Individual philanthropy in the form of Zakat, Khairat (charity in Islam) and Dan (Charity in Hindi) etc. has been a common feature of subcontinental society. However, organized action to eliminate the roots of poverty was a new idea. Imbued with nationalist and humanitarian fervor, this task was readily undertaken by the nonprofit sector. The establishment of Pakistan Cottage Industry Association (1948) and Rana Liaqat Craftsman Colony in Karachi (again by Begum Rana Liaqat) are evidence of this fervour. The latter was initiated in particular to provide a good and healthy living and work environment to poor handicraft workers.

An employment exchange bureau had already been setup for women. Gul-e-Rana Nusrat Industrial home in Karachi and a number of other similar institutions in other cities were established, where poor unskilled women learned various skills and vocations to earn money, and skilled women could sell their handicrafts. It is interesting to note that the Prime Minister's House became a center of social welfare activities especially helping with the sale of handicrafts made by poor women. Similarly, a proliferation of vocational institutes, industrial homes, free technical training institutes for men and women lessened the burden of the state. Milli Takniki Idara (National Technical Institute) of Lahore is an example, where a number of qualified engineers and technicians taught vocational trades to the poor.

Education: The majority of the population living in the rural areas had limited access to education because of poverty, ignorance, as well as apathy of the feudal leadership that considered mass education a threat to their power and influence. Moreover, conservative sections of the elite including some religious parties, disapproved of female education.

Despite these odds, a number of dedicated educational institutions were working in different provinces. The much-honored institutions set up during the colonial period were already working throughout Pakistan, for example, Edwardes Church Mission School Peshawar, St. Joseph's Convent Karachi, Islamia College Lahore, Sindh Madrasa-tu-Islam Karachi, etc. New schools were established by NPOs mainly in urban areas.

Religious education spread as well. Some renowned *Ulema* (religious scholars) contributed to the spread of religious disciplines through a new batch of *madaris* in almost all the important cities and some rural areas as well. Many of them were inspired by Deoband movement and they carried out their mission of religious revivalism in Pakistan. For example, Jamia Ashrafia was established in 1947 in Lahore. Maulana Abdul Haq, who had previously taught at Darul Uloom Deoband, founded Darul Uloom Haqqania at Akora Khattak, near Peshawar. Similarly, Jamia Uloom-e-Islami was founded by Moulana Yousuf Binori in Karachi. Subsequently, a large number of *madaris* sprang up all over the country. These *madaris* followed the "Dars-e-Nizami", the curriculum prescribed by the conservative *Ulama*, with little or no emphasis on modern sciences. The *Madaris* catered to the needs of backward

and deprived sections of society who could not afford modern education. They were of considerable service to poor masses, mainly of rural origin, who were at least gaining essential qualifications for being employed as imams (prayers leaders).

Health Care: The pre-independence health-care institutions were quite active, particularly in regions most affected by refugee influx. Thousands of helpless migrants were in urgent need of health services and medical care. A large number of new dispensaries, maternity homes, infirmaries, and general hospitals were setup by conscientious members of society. Doctors and paramedical staff delivered free services to all who needed them. The Girl Guides, Red Cross and National Guard were active around the clock. APWA, Family Welfare Cooperative Housing Society Lahore, Social Welfare Society Lahore, and many others worked for this cause.

In Karachi, an order of Catholic Nuns, Daughters of the Heart of Mary, started a Leprosy Aid program in 1956. The sustained efforts of these nuns eventually led to the founding of the Marie Adelaide Leprosy Centre under the leadership of Dr. Ruth Pfao. The center not only provided medical aid and medicines to the patients but also helped in their rehabilitation through a number of projects. Meanwhile, a number of institutions for the rehabilitation of disabled children and adults emerged in the big cities. A pre-independence institute called Ida Riu school for the disabled continued its help and rehabilitation of deaf and dumb children.

Worker and Peasant Problems: In 1947, about 85 percent of the total population of Pakistan lived in rural areas and over one half of the GDP was contributed by the agriculture sector. Industrial activity was limited to a few large sugar and cotton processing and manufacturing units as well as a number of small establishments processing and manufacturing consumer goods (Khan, 1998).

In the agriculture sector, farmer cooperatives were operating since 1904. However, in the absence of land reforms they were controlled by the feudal elite. On the other hand, the hopes of the *haris* of Sindh, who had mobilized during the 1930s and 1940s under the banner of the Sindh Hari Committee, were dampened by the Muslim League's Hari Enquiry Committee report produced in 1948²⁰. It was a bitter document in which *haris* were held responsible for their deprivation while the feudal elite was hailed as having the *hari's* best interests at heart. Consequently, no change in the basic social structure was deemed necessary. Meanwhile, the Hari Committee continued its protests and demonstrations, demanding the end of the feudal system.

At the same time, industrial workers began to organize themselves in the form of trade unions. Most of the pre-existing trade unions were virtually dead because of the exodus of many active Hindu trade unionists to India. By the end of 1947, the

²⁰ The members of the committee included feudals like Roger Thomas (Tharparkar), Ghulam Rasool Keher (Larkana) and bureaucrats like M. Masood, Nooruddin Siddiqui and Aga Shahi. M. Masood wrote a 37 page note of dissent to this report, see Khadarposh (1948).

West Pakistan Labor Federation was established with its headquarters in Karachi. The Federation helped unite and strengthen small unions that eventually joined the Pakistan Trade Unions Federation (PTUF) in 1948. In 1951, the PTUF split into the United Trade Union Federation and the All Pakistan Labor Confederation.

A great majority of trade unions leaders and activist belonged to or had sympathies with progressive movements, including the Communist Party. Many local trade unions including the Association of Primary School Teachers, Post Office employees, bank employees, tram-drivers, textile workers, etc., actively participated in this movement. For the first time in Pakistan May Day celebrations were organized with rallies, walks, demonstrations, and awareness creation programs.

The rapid organization of a potentially powerful section of civil society alarmed the conservative sections of the state. A two-pronged approach was used. One, the repressive arm of the government was brought into action. Mirza Ibrahim, President of PTUF was arrested in 1948 and its secretary, Faiz Ahmed Faiz²¹, was arrested in 1951. The latter along with eleven military officers and two other civilians was charged with conspiracy²² to overthrow the government and was sentenced to imprisonment. A series of other arrests followed and became a regular hazard of that union activity. Second, a process of disintegrating the trade unions was put in place. The state infiltrated trade unions and began to create dissensions, and employers created puppet unions within their enterprises and, at times, physically ousted the legitimate unions. Simultaneously, laws were changed and new ones enacted to severely limit the scope and ability of trade unions to be able to organize effectively.

There were organized groups among students as well. The Muslim Student Federation (a wing of Muslim League) had been on the forefront of student activities during the independence movement. The MSF was now challenged by new student unions affiliated with new political parties.

January 1953 marked the beginning of a progressive student movement under the leadership of the Democratic Students Federation (DSF). The DSF demanded free and better educational facilities, increase in the number of hostels and protested against corruption and misuse of power by the government and bureaucratic circles.

Women's Empowerment: It was an achievement of the female members of the Muslim League (ML) to overcome social and cultural restrictions during the freedom movement. However, after independence was achieved, the conservative and reactionary forces prepared to push them back into their homes.

²¹ Who was also a famous revolutionary poet.

²² Commonly known as Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case 1951, eleven military officers and three civilians were accused of planning a military coup. Details of the conspiracy were never made public. The trial was completed in 18 months and the accused sentenced 1 to 12 years rigorous imprisonment (Shehab, 1995).

The founding of Pakistan Women's National Guards (PWNG), Pakistan Women's Naval Reserves (PWNR), Business and Professional Women's Club, and University Women's Federation were the steps taken against great odds. Their activities involved dealing with strangers, and gaining economic independence and threatened the foundations of established social norms and traditions. Generally, women were only allowed by their families to work in welfare and relief oriented assignments, which were presumed to be an extension of their domestic role. Consequently many girls withdrew from PWNG and PWNR due to family pressures. Eventually in 1954, both organizations were disbanded. However, the struggle did not end and, in 1955, Begum Jahan Ara Shahnawaz established the United Front for Women's Rights (UFWR).

The struggle within the legislatures was carried on by Muslim League's Women's Committee. The first issue of economic rights of women came up in the budget session of 1948. After a long and tedious struggle including debates, protest marches and demonstrations, the Muslim Personal Law was enacted, which recognized a woman's right to inherit property (including agricultural property), and equality of status, opportunity and remuneration. Another success came in the form of acceptance of 3 percent quota of reserved seats for women in the legislatures. Finally, the 1956 Constitution accepted the principle of female suffrage.

Family Planning: Another sensitive matter was population control, which was a taboo particularly for the religious elite. In 1953, a nonprofit organization, the Pakistan Family Planning Association, was founded by a group of citizens, which pioneered the family planning movement in Pakistan. The government also lent its support to this movement.

Government's Role: The government was generally supportive of the nonprofit organizations engaged in social service delivery. In 1951, government approached the United Nations Technical Assistance Administration for training and technical assistance of social workers in Pakistan. This led to the arrival of a number of UN advisors and the introduction of short term service training courses, and two urban community projects in Karachi to provide practical experience to the trainees. Similar projects were later introduced in Dacca, Lahore and other cities. Interest and support at the state level led to rapid increases in the number of voluntary organizations.

The government also felt the need for coordinating the activities of these voluntary organizations and established the National Council of Social Welfare in 1958. The function of the council included making inquiries regarding the needs and requirements of social welfare organizations, financial aid to deserving institutions, evaluating projects and plans of various aided agencies, coordinating social welfare responsibilities of various departments of both the central and provincial governments and the promotion of welfare organizations in remote deprived areas. The Council consisted of 32 members from public and voluntary agencies and was

presided over by the minister of works (Minwalla, 1956). Later, the field work of the Council was taken over by the Directorate General of Social Welfare and the Council remained functional as an advisory body.

V- UNDER MARITAL LAW: (1958-71)

After Pakistan formally became a republic in 1956, it faced an array of serious threats to its political stability on accounts of the machinations of vested interests who had an interest in keeping civil society out of the affairs of the state. In October 1958, the army chief General Ayub Khan seized power and declared himself President. He was removed from power by another General a decade later in 1968. The defining feature of this era was suppression of political rights on the one hand, and growth of the nonprofit organizations engaged in service delivery on the other.

The military government put a ban over political parties and all political activities. Some trade unions were banned and their offices sealed. The Ministry of Social Welfare had many public leaders and activists, with strong political affiliations, working with the National and Provincial Councils of Social Welfare. Their work was inhibited by downsizing of these Councils and the expulsion of non-official members. From then on, nonprofit activity was propelled, not through concerted efforts of state and society, but through legal ordinances.

The Industrial Dispute Ordinance was promulgated in 1959. "It resulted in a severe curtailment of the right to strike and collective bargaining and sought to render the trade unions ineffective. Besides other provisions obstructing free trade unionism, the Ordinance drastically enlarged the list of 'Public Utility Services' to cover almost all major categories of industries (FES, 1991, p.125)". This Ordinance was further amended in 1960 to preclude 'outsiders' from becoming trade union office-bearers. The 'outsiders' were usually those employees who had been dismissed due to trade union activities.

In 1961, the Voluntary Social Welfare Agencies (Registration and Control) Ordinance was promulgated to keep an official eye on the activities of nonprofit organizations. According to this Ordinance, a voluntary social welfare agency is defined as an organization, association or undertaking established by persons of their own free will for the purpose of rendering welfare services and depending for its resources on public subscription, donations or Government aid. The fields of welfare services for which registration is compulsory include child welfare, youth welfare, women's welfare, welfare for handicapped, family planning, social education, training of social work, etc. (Ali and Ali, 1998).

The Ordinance required that all organizations engaged in social welfare or charitable works must be registered with the Social Welfare Departments of the provincial governments. It also prohibited establishing or continuing a social welfare agency without registration. The political agenda of the military government also included

developing a closely monitored and controlled system of local governments. The term Basic Democracy was used for this system. A number of social welfare functions were assigned to local government, which included: establishment of welfare homes, orphanages, widow homes and other institutions for the relief of the distress; burial and cremation of papers found dead in local areas; promotion of social, civic and patriotic virtues; organization of social service volunteers; organization of legal aid for the poor; adoption of measures for the promotion of the welfare of women, backward classes and children and families of the persons serving in the Armed Forces. (Aziz, 1966).

Nonprofit organizations were thus encouraged to play a supplementary role in the provision of social welfare services. The Grant in-Aid Program was initiated to support NPOs, under which the West Pakistan Council for Social Work sponsored various projects such as the West Pakistan Society for the Welfare of the Crippled, Recreation Association for West Pakistan, Children's Home, and many other socio-economic projects (Abbas, 1969). This encouraged the formation and registration of new organizations engaged in social service delivery.

At the same time, government took over the Sufi shrines and *Auqaf* (endowment and trust) related to these Shrines. These were given under the control of the Ministry of Religious Affairs. One possible explanation of this take-over could be that congregation of masses at these shrines might have posed a potential threat to the military government, as these gatherings could have been used by politicians as an opportunity to carry out political activities. This action affected the volume and flow of charities due to the lack of confidence of the people (donors) in the government officials appointed to look after the shrines. The situation led to establishment of a number of voluntary associations and organization by the custodians and followers of shrines all over the country. People having reservations about the official control felt at ease in giving charities to such private nonprofit religious organizations.

Reflecting the desire for social service among the young educated members of the population, a number of Graduate Associations emerged in various parts of the country since the late 1960s. For instance, the Sindh Graduate Association aimed at people's empowerment through awareness creation and trained people in participatory methods. Various services provided by these organizations included formal and informal education, health care, human resource development, poverty alleviation, rural development and income generation.

Women's Empowerment: The atmosphere under Ayub Khan's regime was favorable for enhancing women's social activities. The promulgation of the Family Laws Ordinance (1961) in particular was a milestone in women's empowerment. It gave wide ranging rights to women by discouraging polygamy and regulating divorce by prescribing legal procedures. (Mumtaz and Shahid, 1987). The Ordinance was a great success for women activists who had been struggling for such reforms.

Women's organizations that had been created during the first decade bore the main responsibility of guiding and advancing women's cause. APWA supplemented its social welfare activities with a low profile advocacy role. The APWA College in Karachi provided middle and lower middle class girls access to higher education. Similarly, another group of women established the Sir Syed College and some other educational institutions for women. A few new organizations such as Behbud (1967) appeared and began work in education, health, community development, family planning, credit provision and income generation.

On the other hand, the government whose attitude was supportive towards service delivery NPOs showed its hostility towards organizations engaged in advocacy and human rights. The United Front for Women's Rights (UFWR), the first NPO exclusively advocating women's rights, was banned under Martial Law.

In 1968, protests erupted against the Ayub Khan regime. Trade unions and students organizations started the movement with an essentially economic rights agenda. Soon religious groups joined in with their agenda against the Family Laws Ordinance of 1961, family planning programs, and takeover of shrines by the Auqaf Department. The emerging conflict between the progressive and conservative section of society was becoming apparent.

After failing to handle the situation, General Ayub Khan handed over power to General Muhammad Yahya Khan, the then Commander-in-Chief of the army, on March 25, 1969. General Yahya Khan's military regime (1969-71) was marked by three fateful events: elections, civil war in East Pakistan, and the war between India and Pakistan.

During the period of wars, the nonprofit sector played its role in relief activities. A number of voluntary organizations including APWA, Red Cross Society, Girls Guides and various community based organizations including Memon, Ismaili and Punjabi Sodagran (Traders) associations helped in the war relief efforts. These efforts were supplemented by individual philanthropists who actively worked to gather donations to help victims of war and violence, and to support the war efforts.

VI- THE FIRST TASTE OF DEMOCRACY (1971-77)

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto assumed power in December 1971 as the first democratically elected leader of the country. His government ushered in significant changes in the economic and social spheres. The overall attitude of the government in the 1950's and the 1960's implied a partnership between the state and the NPS in welfare and social work. In the 1970's this model was altered to denote the state's dominant responsibility to provide essential services to its citizens.

"Bhutto's policies of expanding the state's role in economic, educational and cultural spheres, through nationalization of industries, schools, colleges, etc. eroded the

institutional base of the modern component of civil society. Leading industrialists were ousted. Professors, writers and opinion leaders were turned into public servants, as private schools/colleges and cultural associations were nationalized” (Qadeer, 1997). The nationalization of educational institutions set up and run by voluntary organizations, trusts and foundations was a major setback for the nonprofit sector in Pakistan.

Highly popular and credible organizations like the Anjuman-e-Himayat-e-Islam, Aga Khan Education Services and various Christian missions lost their premises, resources, and some small NPOs even lost the incentive to serve. However, many of these organizations did not give up and set up other institutions. For example, 12 schools and colleges run by Anjuman Himayat-e-Islam (AHI) were nationalized under that policy. But the AHI has established 18 new institutions since then²³. The policy of nationalization was reverted in the 1980, and some (not all) organization got their institutions handover to them by government.

Trade Unionism: From 1972, trade union activity regained momentum after passing through a difficult period during the 1960's. The environment which was not conducive to voluntary organizations fostered trade unions instead, which grew both strong and powerful (NGORC, 1999). Several umbrella organizations emerged in order to coordinate the activities of like-minded unions all over the country, e.g., the Pakistan Trade Union Federation, Pakistan Workers' Federation, Pakistan National Worker's Trade Union Federation and National Progressive Workers' Federation. In addition to these, a number of regional and provincial federations were also operating. “In 1951, the number of registered trade unions was 209 with a total membership of 393,000. Towards the end of the Z.A. Bhutto government in 1977, the number of registered trade unions has risen to 8,332 with a membership of more than 1,050,000” (FES, 1991).

The main factor behind this active labor movement were populist slogans emerging from the Bhutto government. Despite this apparent advance, the basic social structure, the power of the ruling elite based on feudal loyalties, remained unaltered. The general disillusionment led to a new wave of protests, strikes, lockouts, hunger strikes, etc. This wave of labor protest reached it's peak in 1973, but periodic upsurges continued during 1974 and 1975 due to rising prices. These upsurges were punctuated by several sets of labor reforms introduced by the government especially after the promulgation of the new constitution of Pakistan in August 1973. Several commissions were set up for the reconciliation of the labor conflict and several concessions were doled out to the working classes.

Student Organizations: The wave of politicization also affected the student community and student unions became more active in various educational

²³ The policy of nationalization was reverted in 1980, and some (not all) organizations got their institutions handover to them by government.

institutions across the country. The educational reforms of 1972 were welcomed by most students groups. The nationalization of schools and colleges was hailed by progressive student unions; however, the exemption of several elite educational institutions was criticized. Most student unions were affiliated with various political parties. For instance, the People's Student Federation (PSF) belonged to the ruling Pakistan People's Party, while the Muslim Student Federation (MSF) was a wing of the Pakistan Muslim League. Religious parties also had their student wings. The Islami Jamiat Talba (IJT) and Anjuman-e-Talba-e-Islam were the student wings of Jamaat-e-Islami and Jamiat-e-Ulma-e-Pakistan, respectively. Apart from these mainstream organizations, there were also several regional and ethnic organizations like the Jiye Sindh Student Federation, Mohajir Talba Mahaz (representing Urdu speaking students), the Baloch Student Organization (BSO) and Pukhtun Student Federation. While religious organizations demanded the foundation of an Islamic order, progressive groups like PSF and Nation Student Federation (NSF) made demands for economic justice and better educational facilities accessible to all.

Women's Movement: The constitution of 1973 gave women more rights and safeguards, which included equality before law, equal opportunities, induction of women to civil services and reserved seats in assemblies, etc.

Several other steps were also taken that indicated a positive attitude of government towards women. For instance women were appointed to certain high administrative posts, which had hitherto been reserved for men²⁴. Many Civil service departments like the Foreign Service and District Management Group were now open to women. These measures gave encouragement to women's movement in general.

Apart from a few organizations that called for greater awareness of women's issues and rights, and social justice for women, the main focus of women's organizations remained welfare but featured a marked interest in development. APWA's policy reflected this change and emphasized women's integration into the development process.

Meanwhile, the UN declared 1975 as the International Year for women, followed by a decade for women from 1976-1985. A number of women's organizations appeared on the scene in the later half of the decade such as Aurat (1976), Shirkatgah (1975), Women's Front and Pakistan Women's Lawyers Association (1980). The United Front for Women's Rights that had been suspended by General Ayub Khan was revived and it struggled for women's representation in parliament.

Aurat (Urdu word for woman) emerged in 1976. It was led by university teachers, students and working women. It focused on creating general awareness of the

²⁴ Rana Liaqat Ali was appointed governor of the province of Sindh. Ashraf Abbasi elected deputy speaker of the National Assembly, and Kaniz Fatima because the Vice Chancellor of a national University.

“double oppression” of working class women, who were victims of both class-based society as well as the patriarchal traditions of their own class. The main organ of the organizations was the newsletter "Aurat" in Urdu that aimed at spreading awareness regarding women's struggle both within and outside Pakistan. (Mumtaz and Shaheed, 1987, p65-66).

Shirkatgah, was established as a Women's Resource Center in 1975. It was initiated by a group of young and educated professional women. The center's activities included: research and publication; work as a pressure group, safeguard women's rights, work as a reference agency and consultancy for both employed and unemployed women, keep directories of women who needed accommodation and employment, establish day-care centers for their children, and help develop the skills of working women. A hostel for working women was established in Islamabad as well as various centers to provide medical and legal aid to working women in Karachi, Lahore and Islamabad.

The Women's Front (WF) was a small but very active group of students and some teachers at the Punjab University that fought for equal rights and opportunities for women through seminars, lectures and discussions and occasional street demonstrations. The WF also became popular in other cities of Punjab.

Service Delivery NPOs: Apart from formal educational services, NPOs engaged in social service delivery continued their work and many new organizations emerged in this period. For instance, the SOS Children's Village, Adult Basic Education Society and Graduate Associations in Sindh, Punjab and NWFP are worth mentioning.

The SOS Children's Village of Pakistan is a social welfare organization founded in the 1970s in affiliation with SOS Kinderdorf International. The aim of SOS villages is to provide security, care, education and skill developing facilities to orphans or abandoned children in a home-like environment.

Another addition was the Nirali Kitabain²⁵ program launched by the Adult Basic Education Society in 1972. It was the first private publishing organization committed to providing books and teaching aids to organizations (including those run by the government) involved in basic adult education.

The 1970s also witnessed a growth of some non-political youth organizations that aimed at empowering youth through education, developing skills, fighting drug addiction and providing social services.

²⁵ A close translation of Urdu word *Nirali Kitabain* could be 'distinctive or unique books'.

VII- RECENT HISTORY (the 1980s and the 1990s)

Under 'Islamized' Dictatorship (1977-1988)

General Zia ul Haq assumed power in 1977 and during the decade that followed the nonprofit sector in Pakistan went through significant and multidimensional changes. The backdrop was provided by the Islamization drive, the Afghan War (1979-89), and liberal flow of foreign funds. It also coincided with the general perception of people and development practitioners that the government had failed to provide adequate basic social services to the masses and self-help was the answer. This decade witnessed a rapid growth in small, intermediary and large nonprofit organization working in almost every sphere of life. All fields of nonprofit activity ranging from charitable endowments to individual philanthropy, religious and secular welfare services, development, advocacy and human rights activism flourished in an unprecedented manner. Some organizations grew due to state patronage while others emerged in response to state coercion.

The Islamization Drive: General Zia placed demands made by Islamic parties and groups at the crux of state ideology, offering them a power-sharing arrangement in which the state would act as the senior partner and the Islamic forces would gain state patronage (Rais, 1997). This gave great impetus to at least one section of the NPS i.e., the religious organizations and their students and women's wings dominated educational and social institutions.

Apart from increased welfare activities of religious organization, two significant phenomena emerged. First, a high degree of militancy was exhibited by religious organizations that were involved in Afghan War. Second, differences among various religious sects soon became evident leading to intolerance and sectarian violence, which disrupted the pattern of society. This trend led to a proliferation of sectarian organizations like the Anjuman Sipah-e-Sahaba, Tehrik-e-Fiq-e-Jaffriah, Pakistan Sunni Tehrik, etc. Sectarianism continued to grow in the post Zia period.

The Afghan War: The Afghan War also played an important role in shaping the development of nonprofit sector in Pakistan. The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan (1979) and the subsequent Afghans resistance, led to a massive Afghan refugee influx of about 3.5 million to Pakistan. Their initial destination were the refugee camps set up by the government of Pakistan in various areas of NWFP and Balochistan provinces bordering Afghanistan. This opened a vast field of activity for the nonprofit sector in Pakistan. Over 200 relief and emergency international donor and nonprofit organizations set up headquarters in NWFP and Balochistan. Some of the organizations that had come specifically to aid Afghan refugees diversified and expanded their activities into other parts of Pakistan (NGORC, 1999).

The Afghan War also contributed to the growth and strengthening of religious organizations, which received US support to fight against the Soviet Union in

Afghanistan. These organizations focused their attention on relief and welfare activities in refugee camps and established religious schools and welfare institutions in the country where they provided shelter, food, education and healthcare services to the needy. However, there were political implications as well. NGORC (1999) notes:

“A negative impact upon the citizen sector that resulted in this proliferation of NGOs was that many were suspected of carrying out undercover activities. This is partly supported by the fact that the US and Saudi Arabia provided covert aid to Afghan *Mujahideen* from 1979 and overt aid from 1986 onwards ... Coupled with suspicions of foreign underground funding and undercover support of *Jihad* movements, this gave a negative connotation to the perception of the mosque as a community centre. Peaceable communities began to look elsewhere for support and within themselves for citizen based solutions”

Human Rights Issues and Advocacy Organizations: It is interesting to note that a significant growth of advocacy oriented NPOs came about during a period when civil liberties were non-existent. Zia, like all unrepresentative rulers, suppressed all forms of opposition, from un-cooperative political parties to non-conformists members of intelligentsia. Further, the Islamization drive placed severe restrictions on the already marginalized sections of the society including women and, minorities. Under these conditions, the NPS undertook the responsibility of creating awareness and articulating civil society's response. Trade and student unions, advocacy oriented NGOs and women's fora were most prominent in these efforts.

Concurrently, a number of NGOs working in the field of advocacy and promoting awareness regarding human rights and individual and civil liberties emerged. The establishment of the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP) in 1986 was a landmark. Founded on the basis of the International Declaration of Human Rights and related charters, covenants, protocols, resolutions, recommendations and internationally adapted norms, it worked with well-established chapters in all the provinces of Pakistan. The HRCP worked in wide range of fields from those related to democracy, constitution, judicial and legal matters to rights of women, children, minorities, labor, etc.

The Pakistan Institute of Labour Education and Research (PILER) was founded in 1982 by a number of concerned individuals belonging to the trade union movement, academia and professionals from all walks of life. It has focused on research and advocacy of issues related to workers' rights. Its role has been to inform, motivate and mobilize workers through intellectual and social action. The Institute runs an educational program for workers all over the country and also operates Working Children Centres (WCCs) in Karachi to provide basic education and recreational facilities to working children.

Another endeavor worth mentioning is the struggle of the Ansar Burney Trust founded by a Karachi based advocate. The trust resisted inhuman treatment of prisoners. Ansar Burney himself faced detention on political grounds a few times after the imposition of military rule and the experience led him to work for the rights of prisoners, which was a novel idea at the time.

The women's movement became more strong and vocal in this period. This came as result of two concurrent developments: increased suppression of women through state's policies; and increased international interest in women's rights (NGORC, 1999). Women's organizations were the most prominent during the anti-Zia and anti-Islamization protests. The controversial Hudood Ordinance (1979), law of evidence, venomous speeches of some religious scholars from state sponsored media, and the attempt to confine women to *Chadar and Chardiwari*²⁶ openly spoke of severe limits on women's liberty and rights. (Mumtaz and Shaheed, 1987)

As a reaction to this, many new organizations were created, while existing ones became more active and increased the scope of their activities. At the forefront were organizations like Shirkatgah, Women's Action Forum and Aurat Foundation. A key role in this movement was played by the Women's Action Forum (WAF), which emerged in 1981 as a result of the restrictive ordinances. It then functioned as a platform for about 20 women's organizations from where women could speak out against repression and demand social reform (NGORC, 1999).

Some religious organizations, however, have highly criticized, and even resisted, the kind of agenda being pursued by the NGOs like the campaigns against blasphemy law, honor killing, women's empowerment, etc. In the case of service delivery, efforts of NGOs related to reproductive health have been under attack. This inflamed tension between secular and religious nonprofit organization flared in the 1980s and continues till today.

Service Delivery Organizations: The 1980s witnessed a robust growth in the number service delivery NPOs. According to the estimates of a survey of about 2000 nonprofit organization (conducted by Social Policy & Development Centre in 2001), over 27 percent of currently active organizations surveyed were established during 1978 to 1987.

An important aspect of this phenomenon was the emergence of special purpose and interest based development NGOs in the modern-urban sector. Various factors are believed to have contributed to this development such as state's failure to provide adequate basic social services to the masses and availability of public grants and international aid. There was also a change in development thinking globally that the

²⁶ Chadar is a large piece of cloth worn over the normal dress while Chardiwari meant the confines of four walls of one's home. This was the symbolism used to define the perfect model of modest women.

state alone cannot deliver. Development was now seen as a participatory process involving both the government and civil society.

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF NPOS ESTABLISHED IN SINCE 1947

Broad Category	1947-1958	1959-1971	1972-1977	1978-1987	1988-2001
Madarsa and other religious education	27	26	23	21	20
Social welfare	16	13	17	20	21
Primary and secondary education	9	5	13	14	10
Vocational/technical education	0	7	19	5	4
Campaigning or lobbying (for civic amenities)	7	11	15	12	14
Health	16	9	4	6	8
Community and neighbourhood improvement	2	1	5	4	4
Religious activities, preaching	7	3	1	2	3
Civil rights promotion	0	1	0	1	2
Others	18	24	3	15	14
Total	100	100	100	100	100
NPOs by Year of Establishment (%)	1.3	3.0	9.0	27.4	54.4

Note: These estimates are based on the survey of nonprofit organizations conducted as part of CNP Project, Pakistan.

In response to the perceived failure of government, the nonprofit sector extended its role to fill the gap. Some large nonprofit organization came into prominence. These included the Aga Khan Rural Support Program (AKRSP) working on rural development in the Northern areas of Pakistan and the Orangi Pilot Project (OPP), which focused on water and sanitation problems in urban slums of Karachi. They adopted participatory approaches for community development. AKRSP is a project of the Aga Khan Foundation. The Aga Khan Foundation (Pakistan) [AKF(P)], established in 1969, is a private, international development agency committed to supporting disadvantaged communities irrespective of origin, gender, religious affiliation or political persuasion. As part of the Aga Khan Development Network (AKDN), AKF(P) aims to promote effective change in social sector development in Pakistan. AKF(P), like other AKDN members, works with a host of organizations seeking to involve communities in the development process. Through its projects, it addresses selected issues of health care, education, rural development and institutional strengthening of civil society and within these areas, pays special attention to gender equity, human resource development and public awareness.

At the same time, the Edhi Trust, a welfare organization, which was primarily based on indigenous resources and was established in 1951, emerged as legendary social welfare organization due to its tremendous contribution in the area of emergency relief and rehabilitation. Edhi Foundation runs the largest nonprofit ambulance service in the country. Other services of Edhi's network include healthcare, destitute homes, graveyard services, prisoner's aid, refugee assistance, etc. Along with these large organizations, there appeared a rapid growth in medium and small-scale organizations.

THE EDHI FOUNDATION

If you hear a siren at night in Karachi, Pakistan's largest city, the odds are that it is neither a police van nor a fire engine. It is most probably the ambulance of the Edhi Foundation run by Abdul Sattar Edhi. Edhi Foundation is one of the dynamic NPOs in Pakistan with hundreds of branches spread throughout the country. Edhi began his work by shifting injured people to hospitals, and has since developed a service, which attracts private funds of over \$5 million per year. It does not accept any government assistance.

Edhi's first mass-contract service was in 1957, when he rented tents on credit and put up camps all over Karachi to help the victims of a deadly influenza epidemic. A businessman impressed with Edhi's work donated Rs 20,000 (\$ 4,000 at the time). Edhi bought his first van and began his social work.

Major activities of the Foundation include: emergency services such as field ambulance, air ambulance, marine/coastal services, emergency check posts, etc.; medical facilities such as hospitals, dispensaries, drug rehabilitation centers; welfare activities such as baby cradles, destitute homes, services for missing persons (especially children), prisoner's aid, graveyard services, etc.

Foundation's radio-linked network includes 500 ambulances throughout Pakistan. Other facilities include 300 relief centres, 3 air ambulances, 24 hospitals and 3 drug rehabilitation centres. Further, there are women's centres, free dispensaries, adoption programmes, and soup kitchens that feed up to 100,000 people a month. The Foundation has about 2000 employees besides thousands of volunteers.

The Edhi Foundation is a remarkable example of one man's life-long selfless struggle to alleviate the suffering of his fellow human beings. (Haq, 1997; SPDC, 2002)

Liberalization (1988- Onwards)

After the death of Zia ul Haq in 1988, a party-based democratic system was revived in the country. During the 1990s, the nonprofit sector of Pakistan continued to develop almost on the same pattern as of 1980s, with a rapid growth in the number of organizations working in almost every field of nonprofit activity. According to SPDC estimates, more than 54 percent of organizations surveyed were established during this period (1988-2001). Liberalization policies of government have been conducive to the growth of NPS. Important developments regarding the NPS during this period include increased government support for service delivery NPOs, increased international funding for NPOs and emphasis of donor agencies in promoting the role of the NPS, and internal changes in the NPS such as emergence of NGO coalitions. On the other hand, government attitude towards advocacy NPOs remained hostile as was in the past, and tension between secular and religious organization continued to grow over the time.

However, the developments of the 1980s have led to a general acceptance of the role of the nonprofit sector as a major actor in the development process. Partly this was due to emerging fiscal crunch and a general failure of the government in social

service delivery, partly to the influence of international donor agencies to enhance the role of NPS, and partly to the increased visibility of NPO in the development process due to spectacular successes achieved by some organizations like OPP and AKRSP.

In the 1990s, government initiatives to support the NPOs and encourage their participation in government efforts of social service delivery included the Social Action Program, the Rural Support Programs, the Pakistan Poverty Alleviation Fund, etc. The Social Action Program (SAP) was launched in 1992 by government to improve the coverage, quality, efficiency and effectiveness of social service delivery, particularly in the fields of primary education, health, water supply and sanitation and family planning. As part of SAP, the Participatory Development Program was setup to foster strong linkages among communities, NGOs, private sector and government. It provided substantial project funding for NGOs.

A new development in the 1990's was the setting up of government organized nonprofit entities. The National Rural Support Program (NRSP) was set up in 1991 as a nonprofit company with an endowment fund provided by government. The NRSP is modeled on the successful experience of the AKRSP. The main objective of NRSP is to foster a countrywide network of grassroots level organizations to enable rural communities to plan, implement and manage developmental activities and programmes for the purpose of ensuring productive employment, alleviation of poverty and improvement in the quality of life. The establishment of NRSP was followed by provincial rural support programs, for example, Sarhad Rural Support Programme (NWFP), Punjab Rural Support Programme and Balochistan Rural Support Programme.

Another government initiative of 1990 was the establishment of education and health foundations as semi-autonomous institutions for making grants and loans to nonprofit organization e.g. Sindh Education Foundation. It opened up a potentially significant source for financing capital costs of new facilities like schools and hospitals by NPOs. Similarly, the Trust for Voluntary Organizations (TVO) was setup in 1990 by the government on the basis of an endowment fund provided by USAID. TVO provides project funding to nonprofit organizations. In 1997, the Pakistan Poverty Alleviation Fund (PPAF) was setup as a nonprofit and autonomous private company to mobilize and assist poor communities in developing income-generating activities through human resource development and micro-credit programs. All these government initiatives have contributed to the growth of nonprofit organizations engaged in social service delivery.

Various advocacy oriented NGOs that emerged in the previous decade continued with their set portfolios regarding human rights and civil liberties. However, their actions remained unwelcome and frequently unheard, as the governments claiming to represent the people considered these NGOs threatening. Nonetheless, despite

this hostility, NGOs like HRCP have taken up the task of creating awareness about human rights and providing information on violations of human rights in the country. Some important additions to this group are Lawyers for Human Rights and Legal Aid (LHRLA) (established in 1990 with assistance of another NPO, the Edhi Trust) committed to providing free legal assistance to marginalized classes, specifically women and children. An important achievement of the LHRLA was a law banning the use of children in camel races in the UAE²⁷. A sister association of LHRLA named the Working Women Support Centre (WWSC) is also very active in providing security to and helping working women. The Society for the Protection of the Rights of the Child (SPARC), Aurat Foundation, AGHS-Legal Aid Cell, and many more have joined this effort. However, the general apathy in government circles vis-à-vis this section of the NPS continues and the response is mostly critical and even hostile on occasion.

The emergence of support organizations helped foster the growth of small and community based NPOs. These organizations were setup to guide, develop, train and generally build capacities of the organization destined to bring change at micro level (NGORC, 1999). Organization such as the South Asia Partnership (SAP-PK), the NGO Resource Centre, Strengthening Participatory Organization (SPO), Sindh Rural Workers, etc. began working at the grass roots, either mobilizing communities or working with small nonprofit organizations.

The Rise of NPO coalitions and networks is another important phenomenon of the 1990s, which initially emerged in response to government policies/actions aimed at securing control over the nonprofit sector, for example, de-registration of NGOs and proposal of introducing the NGO Bill. In 1996, government proposed a law regarding registration and working of nonprofit organizations. It is generally known the NGO Bill. There was a strong suspicion among non-governmental organizations that the Bill represented primarily an attempt by government to acquire greater control over nonprofits. Consequently, the NGO sector organized itself and agitated to prevent the promulgation of the Bill. The Pakistan NGO forum (PNF) was established at the national level with four provincial apex bodies as its members. These apex bodies were composed of a number of local/district level NGO coalitions. In addition, certain other groups also developed on the basis of their objectives and fields of action, for example, Advocacy and Development Network, Voluntary Health and Nutrition Agencies, etc. A recent example is the establishment of Pakistan Microfinance Network (PMN). The seven current members of PMN are a group of practitioners, sharing experiences, networking and influencing the policy environment in the area of microcredit, thereby reaching numerous community-based organizations and providing access to low mark-up credit.

²⁷ Camel race has been a source of entertainment in the Emirates and neighboring areas in which small children abducted from far off regions like Pakistan are kept half nourished and used as jockeys in the race. At times the children also lose their lives during the game.

Another significant development is the emergence of non-governmental think tanks in Pakistan, who have begun to exert some influence on the evolution of government policies. The Sustainable Development Policy Institute (SDPI) has played a major role in the development of environment policy. The Social Policy and Development Centre (SPDC) has been influential in policy formulation in areas like tax reforms, fiscal federalism, social service provision and poverty reduction. And the Pakistan Institute for Labor Education and Research (PILER) has been contributing to labor policies and to labor empowerment.

VIII- INTERNAL DIFFERENCES

The most significant internal difference, which has adversely affected the development of the nonprofit sector in Pakistan, is the polarization that exists between religious and secular organizations. During the 1980's the tension between religious and secular NGOs increased significantly and continues to grow till today. The conflict is more visible in advocacy of human rights, particularly women's issues. There have been controversies in the field of service provision too, for example, in providing education to girls in a co-educational system and in pursuing family planning programs. On occasions, this tension has culminated in ideological/ political attacks on the nonprofit organizations that are working for advocacy of social and political rights.

This ideological divide stems from different worldviews that leaders of religious and secular NPOs possess. Issues relating to women's rights are at core of this contention. Pakistan has a complex socio-cultural setup where traditional values are mixed with religious beliefs. While Islam has very clear pronouncements on women's rights, the religious elite, tribal mentality and local customs limit opportunities for women in the society. Thus, modern concepts of women's rights (including freedom of expression, freedom of movement, and economic emancipation) are at odds with the interpretation of Islamic teachings about women's rights that has been presented by conservative religious scholars in Pakistan.

In the recent history of Pakistan, the conflict began to appear in early the 1980's. This period witnessed the emergence of a number of development and advocacy organizations that were engaged in promoting awareness regarding human rights (with particular focus on women's rights) and individual and civil liberties. Most of these organizations are funded by international donor agencies. These organizations have been vocal regarding the issues in social and political advocacy, for example, blasphemy law, honor killing, etc.

Religious organizations have developed a strong antagonism and have taken a head on confrontation in particular with organizations challenging the orthodox Islamic position with regard to the status of women. The former have argued that such nonprofit organizations pursue an alien western agenda aimed at transforming

Pakistan from an Islamic state to a secular state on the basis of patronage and funding from international entities. Several campaigns have been launched to either ban such organizations or bring them under government control. Even the lives and security of leaders of some controversial non-governmental organizations have been threatened.

Describing the viewpoint of conservative religious groups, Ali (2003) states:

“The conservatives are of the opinion that these NGOs are foreign agents and are trying to subvert our traditional and religious value system. In its place, they want to introduce western cultural practices and values some aspects of which, according to the conservatives, are obscene and vulgar, and therefore, a threat to our way of life.”

In some cases, pursuit of the advocacy role by NPOs has implied resort to legal action. Many of the NPOs that campaign against honor killings of women have been instrumental in obtaining protection from the courts for women who were under threat. This has placed many of the leaders of such NPOs under the risk of retaliation by conservative groups and families of women who have sought justice.

Occasionally, this tension has also been fuelled by hostile attitude of the government towards advocacy NPOs. For example, in 1998, the Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif addressing religious leaders at the National Consultative Convention on the Implementation of Islamic *Shariah* said: “You should spread all over the country and stand against all the forces which are opposing the Bill (proposed Islamic law). You have been asking me to implement the Islamic system, I have done my job and now it is your turn to play your part ... My entire government and its machinery is now at your disposal ...you should launch a movement to force those opposing it to retreat and repent for their mistakes.” (The News, Sept 6, 1998).

More recently, after the US attack on Afghanistan, numerous incidences of attacking these NGOs were reported, particularly in NWFP province. Their offices were burnt and their equipments, furniture and vehicles were destroyed.

Within civil society, an important source of this conflict is the education system in Pakistan, which is stratified according to socio-economic class and is expressed roughly in terms of media of instruction or type of educational institution. At one extreme, there are elitist English-medium schools that cater for the upper classes. On the other end of the spectrum are the *madaris*, which cater for very poor children mostly from rural and urban working class localities. In the middle, there are non-elitist Urdu medium schools catering for lower-middle and middle class children. The worldview of the students of these institutions is so different from each other that they seem to live in different worlds. The most acute polarization is between the students of *madaris* and of elitist English-medium schools. The former are deprived

but they express their anger ---the rage of dispossessed--- in the idiom of religion. This brings them in conflict with the Westernized elite which looks down upon them in contempt (Rehman, 2003).

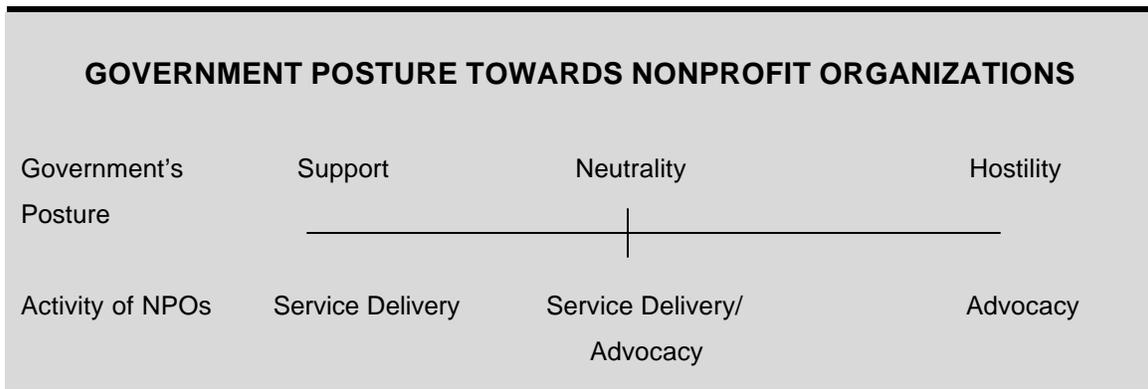
In summary, the ideological conflict between religious and secular organizations has had restraining impact on the development of nonprofit sector in Pakistan. Given the current state of polarization and a situation where there does not appear any form of compromise between two ideologies, this pattern of discord is more likely to prevail at least in the nearer future.

PART B: NONPROFIT THEORIES: SOME REFLECTIONS

Role of the State

It has been argued that an inherent conflict exists between the state and the voluntary sector. That the expansion of the state inevitably implies the weakening of nonprofit organizations, and that nonprofit organizations by their very nature stand in opposition to the state. Alternatively, it has also emphasized the extensive cooperation that exists between the state and the nonprofit sector (CNP, 1997).

The historical development of the nonprofit sector in Pakistan is characterized by both conflict and coordination depending upon the nature of activities of the NPOs. On the whole, the relationship between state and the nonprofit sector is illustrated most aptly by dichotomous attitude of the government towards nonprofits regarding the issues of service delivery vs. advocacy. With few exceptions, such as the nationalization policy of the Bhutto government in 1970s, the government’s posture towards nonprofit sector ranges from support to neutrality for NPOs engaged in service delivery and from neutrality to hostility for NPOs engaged in social or political advocacy.



The implicit government policy appears to be that the nonprofit sector should preferably stay away from issues that impinge on national security or upon strategic interests and relations with other countries. Also, the advocacy role of NPOs in the

context of sensitive social, religious and political issues has generally been discouraged by the state (SPDC, 2002). A number of government actions mentioned in previous sections, against labor unions, human rights NPOs, women rights NPOs, etc., indicate a hostile attitude towards advocacy organizations.

On the other hand, the government has encouraged the complementary role of nonprofit sector in service delivery and social welfare. For this purpose, fiscal incentives have been provided, a system of partial grant funding and, more recently, a more liberal approach towards public-private partnerships have been put in place to enhance the role of nonprofit organizations²⁸.

Role of Religion

Religion and religiousness have been of major importance to the nonprofit sector of Pakistan. The sector's early origin can be traced to social welfare activities of nonprofit organizations inspired by religious considerations. Since independence, there has been a persistent growth in the number of religious organizations in the country. Almost all religious parties and groups have welfare work on their agenda and they have setup voluntary organizations that are involved in the provision of collective goods like education, health, funeral and other welfare services. In most of the religiously motivated organizations, sectarian division is prominent though they are not known to discriminate on religious basis while providing services. The most important activity of religious organizations is provision of religious education as they run a parallel system of education in the country. SPDC (2002a) estimates that about 30 percent of nonprofit organizations in Pakistan are primarily involved in providing religious education²⁹.

Relations between religious organizations and the state have for the most part remained complementary. Apart from sharing state's responsibility in providing welfare services, they have seldom challenged the state. Rather, they have helped maintain political and social status-quo. Interestingly, religious organizations have always had good relations with the state during the periods of authoritarian military regimes. The period of General Zia's rule (1980s) present an illuminating example of this when the state co-opted religious organizations in order to perpetuate an unconstitutional regime.

General Musharraf's military regime has also retained the state's relationship with religious organization. This is indicated by the fact that rhetoric apart, the Musharraf regime has failed to remove any of the legal and institutional structures that were

²⁸ See SPDC (2002) for a detailed discussion on government's financial support and other policies regarding NPOs.

²⁹ Religious education refers to education of the Holy Quran and other curriculum of Islamic Law. It may or may not include primary education and does not necessarily lead to the award of a degree. Field experience, however, suggests that the majority of registered entities also provide primary education.

introduced by the Zia regime under the influence of religious organizations and which impact harshly on women, minorities, etc.

The Social Origins Theory

The social origins theory attempts to explain the development of nonprofit sector in the context of various social and political forces that reflect the broad social and political environment in which these organizations are embedded. Salamon and Anheier (1996) identify four models of nonprofit development, each characterized by a particular relationship between government social welfare spending and size and scope of nonprofit sector, each reflecting a particular constellation of underlying social forces and developments.

These include the *liberal* model, the *social democratic* model, the *corporatist* model and the *statist* model. The *liberal* model is characterized by relatively limited government social welfare spending and a relatively large nonprofit sector. In the *social democratic* model, the state-sponsored and state-delivered social welfare activities are quite extensive and the room left for nonprofit sector is limited. The *corporatist* model is characterized by relatively high levels of both government social welfare spending and nonprofit expenditures. Finally, the *statist* model is characterized by low levels of both government social welfare spending and nonprofit expenditures.

The nonprofit sector development in Pakistan can best be described in the context of the *statist* model. The nonprofit sector in Pakistan remains relatively small and underdeveloped in terms of its size and scope. The share of NPS employment in total non-agricultural employment is only 2.3 percent. Volunteers' activity accounts for 1.9 percent of non-agricultural employment. The contribution of nonprofit sector to Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in term of its operating expenditure is 0.4 percent. Further, service delivery dominates nonprofit activity in Pakistan as only 2 percent of the NPOs in Pakistan are engaged in the promotion of civil rights (SPDC, 2000a).

At the same time, social sector has never been a priority of the government in terms of spending on social services. The level of public sector spending on social services has traditionally been low. Currently, it is less than 4 percent of GNP; most of it goes to education and health services. In the past, social sector spending has been even lower except in the early 1990s when under Social Action Program public spending on social services slightly improved but still remained below 5 percent of GNP. The share of social services in total public sector expenditure is less than 15 percent while about a quarter of the public expenditure is consumed by military spending. It indicates the level of government's commitment to social development in Pakistan.

The state of the nonprofit sector in Pakistan thus conforms to the *statist* model of social origins theory, which states that "this outcome is most likely where no effective

social forces emerge to channel the power of a relatively independent state or a state controlled by a narrow business or landed elite. In such settings, elites are able to keep government social welfare protection limited without feeling obliged to create a sizeable private, nonprofit sector either” (CNP, 1997).

In the case of Pakistan, the state has been controlled by a narrow elite. Major stakeholders in the state business have been feudal and military elite. The feudal elite plays an authoritative role in the affairs of the state. Since 1947, the feudal class has provided the bulk of Pakistan’s parliamentarians; have dominated party politics in the country and, through matrimonial and economic alliances, have assumed the role of a trans-regional elite (Malik, 1997). There are large areas where feudalists are living today with the same authority as in the seventh and eighth centuries in Europe.

The feudal class is extremely conservative, oppressively status-quo-oriented, and in nearly all cases it is totally resistant to change. At least on the local level, the worst and the most coercive form of feudalism reflects itself in the treatment of tenants, *kammis* (low-caste professionals and artisans), women and other dependents. Similarly, they are averse to politicization of masses or any such retransformation in the social sector (Malik, 1997). They do not encourage self-help initiatives (unless these initiative are taken under their patronage) as it may prove to be a threat to their self-preservation. In this way, dominance of feudal elite in the state affairs has played a restrictive role in the development of nonprofit sector in Pakistan.

Under the circumstances, the emergence of a voluntary, participative and democratic nonprofit activity has been stymied in most parts of the country. The feudal elites and religious organizations have generally tended to act as support bases for undemocratic, military regimes. It is thus not a coincidence that the political history of Pakistan has been one of military rule interspersed with quasi-civilian rule. There have been 4 military takeovers in 1958, 1969, 1977 and 1999. With the exception of the 1969-71 Martial Law, all military regimes were followed by “managed” civilian regimes, where the military continued to exercise significant control over key areas of policy.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AHI	Anjuman-e-Himayat-e-Islam
AKDN	Aga Khan Development Network
AKF (P)	Aga Khan Foundation (Pakistan)
AKRSP	Aga Khan Rural Support Programme
APWA	All Pakistan Women's Association
BSO	Baloch Student Organization
CBO	Community Based Organization
DSF	Democratic Students Federation
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	Gross National Product
HRCF	Human Rights Commission of Pakistan
IJT	Islami Jamiat Talba
LHRLA	Lawyers for Human Rights and Legal Aid
MAO	Mohammadan Anglo Oriental
ML	Muslim League
MSF	Muslim Students Federation
NGO	Nongovernmental Organization
NGORC	NGO Resource Centre
NPO	Nonprofit Organization
NPS	Nonprofit Sector
NRSP	National Rural Support Programme
NSF	Nation Student Federation
NWFP	North West Frontier Province
OPP	Orangi Pilot Project
PILER	Pakistan Institute for Labor Education and Research
PMN	Pakistan Microfinance Network
PNF	Pakistan NGO forum
PPAF	Pakistan Poverty Alleviation Fund
PSF	People's Student Federation
PTUF	Pakistan Trade Unions Federation
PWNG	Pakistan Women's National Guides
PWNR	Pakistan Women's Naval Reserves
RSS	Rashtria Swayem Sewak Sangh
SAP	Social Action Program
SAP-PK	South Asia Partnership, Pakistan
SDPI	Sustainable Development Policy Institute
SPARC	Society for the Protection of the Rights of the Child
SPDC	Social Policy and Development Centre
SPO	Strengthening Participatory Organization
TVO	Trust for Voluntary Organizations
UN	United Nations
UFWR	United Front for Women's Rights
UP	Uttar Pradesh
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WAF	Women's Action Forum
WCCs	Working Children Centres
WF	Women's Front
WVS	Women's Volunteer Service
WWSC	Working Women Support Centre