

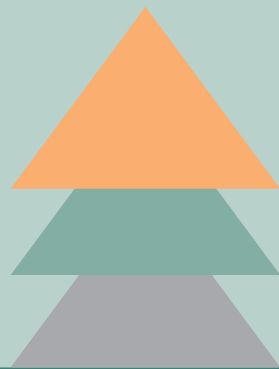
Religions and Development Research Programme

Mapping the Terrain: The Activities of Faith-based Organizations in Development in Pakistan

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Working Paper 24- 2008



Religions and Development

Research Programme

The Religions and Development Research Programme Consortium is an international research partnership that is exploring the relationships between several major world religions, development in low-income countries and poverty reduction. The programme is comprised of a series of comparative research projects that are addressing the following questions:

- How do religious values and beliefs drive the actions and interactions of individuals and faith-based organisations?
- How do religious values and beliefs and religious organisations influence the relationships between states and societies?
- In what ways do faith communities interact with development actors and what are the outcomes with respect to the achievement of development goals?

The research aims to provide knowledge and tools to enable dialogue between development partners and contribute to the achievement of development goals. We believe that our role as researchers is not to make judgements about the truth or desirability of particular values or beliefs, nor is it to urge a greater or lesser role for religion in achieving development objectives. Instead, our aim is to produce systematic and reliable knowledge and better understanding of the social world.

The research focuses on four countries (India, Pakistan, Nigeria and Tanzania), enabling the research team to study most of the major world religions: Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, Sikhism, Buddhism and African traditional belief systems. The research projects will compare two or more of the focus countries, regions within the countries, different religious traditions and selected development activities and policies.

The consortium consists of six research partner organisations, each of which is working with other researchers in the four focus countries:

- University of Birmingham, UK: International Development Department, Department of Theology and Religion, Centre for West African Studies, Centre for the Study of Global Ethics.
- University of Bath, UK: Centre for Development Studies.
- Indian Institute of Dalit Studies, New Delhi.
- Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research, Ibadan.
- University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.
- Lahore University of Management Sciences, Pakistan.

In addition to the research partners, links have been forged with non-academic and non-government bodies, including Islamic Relief.

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ISBN: 0 7044 2679 X

978 0 7044 2679 5

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DFID Department for
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This document is an output from a project funded by the UK Department for International Development (DFID) for the benefit of developing countries. The views expressed are not necessarily those of DFID.

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Contents

Glossary	1
Summary	2
1 Introduction	3
2 Definitions and typology	5
2.1 Definitions	5
2.2 Proposed typology	7
2.3 Methodology and major data sources	9
3 Political history and religious demography of Pakistan	12
4 The history of the faith-based nonprofit sector	15
4.1 Origin and early history	15
4.2 The era of Muslim rule	16
4.3 The colonial period	16
4.4 The faith-based sector (post-independence)	18
4.5 Relationships between religion and the state	19
5 The nature, scale and activities of FBOs in Pakistan	20
5.1 Islamic FBOs	20
5.2 Christian FBOs	34
5.3 FBOs run by other minorities	37
5.4 Summary	39
5.5 The role of international FBOs	40
6 Conclusion and emerging trends	42
6.1 FBOs: a source of informal social security	42
6.2 The changing nature of muslim fbos	43
6.3 The engagement of FBOs in public discourse	44
6.4 The lost momentum of Hindu and Parsi FBOs	45
6.5 Future areas for research	46
Annexure 1	47
Notes	48
References	51

List of tables

1	Population of Pakistan by religion (1998)	13
2	Number of FBOs in Pakistan	20
3	Madrasa Education Boards	21
4	Social base and religious ideology of Madrasa Education Boards	22
5	Madrasa education in the national context	23
6	Revenue sources of madrasa	24
7	Areas of operation of Islamic FBOs	27
8	Outreach of FBOs	27
9	Target groups of FBOs	27
10	Institutions run by the Al-Khidmat Foundation	30
11	Catholic Church institutions in Pakistan	36
12	Christian FBOs in Pakistan	36
13	Parsi FBOs in Karachi	38
14	Overall mapping of activities of local FBOs	39
15	International FBOs in Pakistan	41

List of acronyms

AKDN	Aga Khan Development Network
AWT	Alamgir Welfare Trust International
CNP	Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project (CNP)
DFID	Department for International Development (UK)
FATA	Federally Administered Tribal Areas
FBO	Faith-based Organization
GET	Ghazali Education Trust
GoP	Government of Pakistan
IPS	Institute of Policy Studies
JD	Jamaat-ud-Dawa
JHU	Johns Hopkins University
Jl	Jamaat-e-Islami
JUP	Jamiat-e-Umai-Pakistan
MMA	Mutahida Majilis-e-Amal
NPO	Nonprofit Organization
NWFP	North West Frontier Province
PIMA	Pakistan Islamic Medical Association
PRIA	Society for Participatory Research in Asia
SPDC	Social Policy and Development Centre
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF	United Nations Children Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

Glossary

ashram: A Hindu place of spiritual retreat and meditation

dawah: Generally refers to the proselytizing of Islam

dharamshala: A rest house, which often serves as a charitable home

fiqh: Islamic jurisprudence

gurdwara: Sikh place of worship

jihad: Literally meaning 'struggle' in Arabic, *jihad* may refer to a violent struggle waged by Muslims against an oppressive force.

khanqah: Buildings often attached to *Sufi* shrines, which serve as places for spiritual retreat or as rest-houses for travellers

madrasa: The Arabic word for any type of school. In Pakistan, this usually refers to an Islamic school. Often these schools also teach non-religious subjects.

pir: A *Sufi* teacher or spiritual leader

sadqah: In Islam this refers to voluntary charitable donations

sangha: In Buddhism, a monastic order

sharia: The body of Islamic law

stupa: Buddhist place of worship

Sufism: The mystical practice of Islam, practitioners of which are known as '*Sufis*'

ulema: Muslim religious clerics or scholars

waqf (plural auqaf): Islamic charitable trust

zakat: A compulsory form of Islamic charity, which is also the third pillar in Islam.

Summary

Faith-based organizations (FBOs) play a key role in processes of development in many parts of the world. However, very little systematic research has been conducted on the development or impact of this growing sector. This report is part of the Religions and Development Research Programme's wider interest in understanding the impact of FBOs on processes of development, and looks particularly at FBO activities in Pakistan. Drawing on secondary sources, as well as interviews with key informants, the report provides a broad overview of FBOs and their activities in various development-related areas, including education, healthcare, social welfare and the alleviation of poverty. First, a working definition and typology of FBOs that is appropriate to the Pakistani context is provided, and the methodology employed in the study described. For the purpose of this study, FBOs are defined as a subset of the nonprofit sector. They are nonprofit organizations that deliver at least one social service, including advocacy; moreover, they identify themselves as FBOs, as manifested in their mission/objectives statements, or are affiliated with a religious congregation in some manner, or are engaged in promoting religious beliefs and administering religious services and rituals alongside their development-related activities. Defining the boundaries of this subset is problematic in a context where religion, especially Islam, underlies the motivations and social activities of many organizations and individuals, but also where some organizations apparently associated with a particular religious tradition choose not to define themselves as 'faith-based'.

Some contextual background for the study is given, outlining the political history and religious demography of Pakistan. The historical development of the faith-based sector in Pakistan is then described, beginning with the pre-colonial period. Using the above definition, it is estimated that FBOs comprise one-third of the country's non-profit sector. Empirical data about the presence and scope of FBOs in Pakistan, looking specifically at Muslim, Christian, Hindu and Parsi FBOs that are involved in development-related activities, is presented and the role of international FBOs considered briefly. The report concludes by pointing to emerging trends amongst FBOs, as well as looking at how the faith-based sector is changing.

1 Introduction

In many parts of the world, faith-based organizations (FBOs) play a critical role in processes of development, delivering a variety of services to the public and asserting themselves as important actors in the field of human development¹. In many developing countries, including Pakistan, faith-based organizations appear to be a significant segment of the civil society sector², in terms of providing services such as education, health, social welfare and relief. They have also played a key role in advocacy with respect to a variety of socio-political issues. FBOs are therefore significant actors in processes of development at multiple societal levels and in various contexts (Marshall, 2001; Shelledy, 2002; Clarke, 2005; Hovland, 2005).

In spite of this, the contribution of faith-based organizations has largely been ignored in the discourse of international development and is seen in isolation from mainstream secular thought and practice. According to Marshall (2001), this neglect of religion can be attributed to the largely secular nature of development theory as well as its foundation in 'modernization' theories, which emphasize the decreasing role of religion in modern societies. The limited links between multilateral development institutions and FBOs are also due to differences of approach and strategy, which further complicate communication (*ibid.*).

However, the tide is slowly turning as international development practitioners and donors increasingly recognize the contribution and role of faith-based organizations in development and service delivery. For this reason, 'secular' development agencies are ever more interested in understanding the nature of FBO activities in processes of development, for example in fighting poverty, resolving conflict, promoting inter-faith dialogue, voicing gender-related concerns and issues to do with reproductive rights, and combating sectarianism.

This report has been prepared as part of a wider research programme on the relationships between religions and development. It aims to map the nature, scale and activities of faith-based organizations in Pakistan. Similar studies are being conducted in India, Tanzania and Nigeria. The research aims to provide contextual information about the operation of FBOs and thus to inform future research projects in the countries concerned. In the context of Pakistan, the report aims to provide a national overview of the activities of FBOs, as well as highlighting emerging trends and identifying issues for future research. We regard the study as preliminary, an impressionistic overview based on a country-wide review of existing secondary material and interviews with a number of key informants.

The report is organized into six thematic sections. Section 2 explores definitional issues related to faith-based organizations in Pakistan and also outlines the methodology utilised in this study. Section 3 provides a brief political history of Pakistan, as well as broadly sketching its religious demography. This is followed in Section 4 by a more focused discussion of the historical background of faith-based organizations in Pakistan. Section 5 of the report provides a map of the scale and nature of the activities of faith-based organizations in relation to processes of development. Finally, Section 6 draws out some of the major trends emerging from this national map of FBO activities and looks ahead to possible areas for research on the relationships between FBOs and development in Pakistan.

2 Definitions and typology

2.1 Defining FBOs

Although the study of faith-based organizations is relatively new, there are multiple ways in which they have been described and theorized in academic discourse. Before looking specifically at the role of FBOs in development, it is important to arrive at a working definition and typology that can be applied in the Pakistani context.

Faith-based organizations form an important part of the nonprofit sector in Pakistan. Therefore, it is useful to begin by broadly defining non-profit organizations. The Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project (CNP) outlines key characteristics of non-profit organizations and includes FBOs in this definition. NPOs:³

- have an institutional presence and structure;
- are institutionally separate from the state;
- do not return profits to their members, managers or directors;
- are fundamentally in control of their own affairs;
- attract some level of voluntary contribution of time or money, although their membership does not need to be legally registered.

FBOs can be conceptualized as particular forms of non-profit organisation, requiring a more specific definition. Broadly speaking, an FBO:

- (1) defines itself as faith-based;
- (2) delivers at least one social service, including advocacy;
- (3) is affiliated with one or more than one religious congregation; but
- (4) is independent inasmuch as it has its own board of directors. (Ebaugh, Chafetz and Pipes, 2006, p. 2262)

The Global Health Council, in its study of FBOs' involvement in HIV/AIDS campaigning, defines these organizations as "religious and religious-based organisations, places of religious worship or congregations, specialised religious institutions, and registered and unregistered non-profit institutions that have religious character or missions" (Woldehanna et al, 2005, p. 27).

Devised for multi-religious settings, the appropriateness of these definitions must be considered in the context of Pakistan. For the purposes of this study, we have adopted the following definition: FBOs are a subset of the nonprofit sector, which

- are nonprofit organizations;
- deliver at least one social service, including advocacy

Furthermore, we argue that FBOs:

- i. identify themselves as FBOs, as manifested in their mission/objectives statements; or
- ii. are affiliated with a religious congregation in some manner; or
- iii. are engaged in promoting religious beliefs and administering religious services and rituals alongside development-related activities.

Application of this definition to categorize organizations as faith-based is not unproblematic; it implies a number of additional decisions about which organizations to include or exclude. For example, it is important to note at the outset that there are several religiously-affiliated groups that we have deliberately excluded from our definition of FBOs, but which may perform development-related functions. For example, we have not included mosques, temples, churches and other places of worship in this study. However, organizations *affiliated* with religious institutions are included, such as *madrasas*⁴ and church-affiliated organizations. In addition, Sufi shrines have been excluded, as they are controlled by the government and are hence not institutionally separate from the state. However, trusts related to these shrines are run independently and are therefore included as part of this report. Finally, although religious political parties are not considered to be civil society organizations, the welfare wings of these parties are included.

It is worth noting that there are several groups in Pakistan that, according to our definition, may appear to be FBOs but that do not identify themselves as such. For example, the Edhi Foundation, which is the largest humanitarian welfare organization in the country, has repeatedly emphasized that it is motivated by religious values to serve the poor and needy but refuses to identify itself as a faith-based organization. Similarly, the Aga Khan Development Network (AKN) is an internationally renowned non-governmental network patronised by Prince Aga Khan, the spiritual and religious leader of the Ismaili faith. The organization has a long history of philanthropy and social service both internationally and in

Pakistan in particular. However, the AKN management explicitly refutes being a faith-based organization. In fact, a survey of the 20 largest voluntary welfare organizations in Pakistan shows that in 80 per cent, the initiators were religiously inspired but did not explicitly define themselves as 'faith-based', nor were they viewed as such by the public (Bano, 2005). Therefore, defining FBOs in Pakistan is complicated, and there are several groups that do not fit neatly within this category.

2.2 Proposed typology

In order to effectively analyze the role of FBOs in development, it is important to begin with a framework for classifying this diverse group of organizations. Clarke (2005) develops a broad classification framework in his study of the growing role of FBOs in international development. He identifies five types of FBOs:

Faith-based representative organizations or apex bodies that rule on doctrinal matters, govern the faithful and represent them through engagement with the state and other actors;⁵

Faith-based charitable or development organizations that mobilize the faithful in support of the poor and other social groups, and which fund or manage programmes that tackle poverty and social exclusion;

Faith-based socio-political organizations that interpret and deploy faith as a political construct, organizing and mobilizing social groups on the basis of faith identities but in pursuit of broader political objectives or, alternatively, that promote faith as a socio-cultural construct, a means of uniting disparate social groups on the basis of faith-based cultural identities;

Faith-based missionary organizations that spread faith messages beyond the faithful, by actively promoting the faith and seeking converts to it, or by supporting and engaging with other faith communities on the basis of key faith principles;⁶

And finally, **faith-based radical, illegal or terrorist organizations** that promote radical or militant forms of faith identity, engage in illegal practices on the basis of faith beliefs, or engage in armed struggle or violent acts justified on the grounds of faith (Clarke, 2005, p. 12)

The Pakistan research team used this typology as a starting point. However, because FBOs in each of the main religious traditions operate differently, it was modified to accommodate the particularities of the Pakistani context. In particular, the typology used in this study differentiates between the major

religious groups represented: the Muslim majority, and Christian and other minority religious groups, including Hindus and Parsis.

In terms of the scope of the study, information has been gathered about faith-based non-profit organizations that are in one way or another involved in development, charitable or welfare activities⁷, which involve the provision of financial or material assistance to the needy and the provision of social services including education, healthcare, relief, welfare, advocacy and capacity building around various socio-economic issues. As mentioned earlier, political parties are not covered, although their welfare wings and associated charitable trusts are included. The data collected covers four provinces and the capital, and, because of the security situation and the lack of data, excludes FATA⁸ and the Northern areas.

The following types of FBOs are mapped in the study:

a) Islamic FBOs

i) Madrasas

ii) Other Islamic FBOs, which are subdivided into:

- Medium and small FBOs: mostly grassroots organizations with minimal outreach, which work mostly at neighbourhood level and whose maximum level outreach is the town/city in which they operate.
- Large FBOs: organizations serving an area larger than the city or town, and thus classified as large in terms of their outreach.
- The welfare wings of religious political parties.
- Radical FBOs: these may be charities, or welfare and relief organizations, and may be registered or unregistered. Due to their complex and controversial nature, they are discussed separately.
- Non-conventional FBOs: These are generally urban-based FBOs that are non-conventional in that they are involved in development-related processes through the generation of information and engagement in policy-related advocacy; they do not necessarily perform welfare-related activities.⁹

b) Christian FBOs

- i) Organizations formally associated with the Catholic Church and the Church of Pakistan
- ii) Prominent development organizations: These are organizations which may have links with the Catholic Church and/or the Church of Pakistan, but also receive funding from international development FBOs and secular agencies.

c) Minority FBOs: These include organizations run by Hindus, Parsis (Zoroastrian), and the Ahmadi (Qadiyani) and Ismaili communities (but, as noted above, exclude the AKDN).

It is important to note the difficulties in identifying and researching the activities of radical, illegal and terrorist organizations in the Pakistani context, especially in the post-9/11 period. In this paper, the term 'radical' refers to those Islamic organizations that promote militancy, which include both legal and illegal FBOs. The latter distinction is problematic, as some organizations declared to be 'illegal' by the government have subsequently re-emerged with a new identity and are working as non-profit organizations. These FBOs are radical in their ideological orientation and are mainly engaged in relief and rehabilitation work, particularly in the areas that were affected during the earthquake in 2005. Furthermore, researching radical and/or illegal FBOs is complicated by the unreliability of the data available about many of them. They are reluctant to provide information and the information they provide may be biased because of the current tense political climate, both nationally and internationally, with regard to Islamist organizations. Therefore, the scant data that is available about these organizations is often unreliable and incomplete.

FBOs are involved in several aspects of the development process in Pakistan. This study utilizes the aforementioned typology in order to look particularly at their involvement in politics and advocacy, service delivery, economic development, and emergency/disaster relief and rehabilitation, which are the areas in which FBOs were found to be most involved.

2.3 Methodology and major data sources

The research team encountered several problems while trying to gather information about FBOs in Pakistan. Firstly, there is no comprehensive data available on the nature and scale of FBO activities. Various registration offices have records of registered organizations. However, it is difficult to extract information about the exact number of FBOs in operation and their specific activities from these

records. Furthermore, the legal system for registering FBOs complicates the documentation process, largely due to the fact that FBOs are registered with the same offices as other nonprofit organizations and the data is not reported separately for FBOs.¹⁰ Therefore, it is not possible to distinguish in these records between FBOs and 'secular' non-profit organizations. Moreover, the records are not regularly updated and often include organizations that are non-functional or have closed down. Because of the imperfections in the system of registration, both registered and unregistered FBOs were included in this study.

Quantitative data about *madrasas* (number, enrolment, teachers, etc.) have been drawn from the National Education Census of Pakistan (2006) conducted by the Ministry of Education. Additionally, Mercer et al's report (2005), commissioned by the European Commission, entitled *Madrasas in Bangladesh and Pakistan: An Analysis*, proved to be a valuable source of information. Reports of the International Crisis Group Asia provided further information about the operation of *madrasas*, as well as some radical Islamic organizations (International Crisis Group 2002, 2006).

Different sources were used in order to gather information about FBOs from each of the religious groups. Data previously collected by SPDC for the Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project have been used to estimate the number of Islamic FBOs (other than *madrasas*) currently operating in Pakistan. Working papers published under this project provided information about FBOs, including their historical background and development, as well as their relationships with the state. Data provided by secondary sources was further enriched through interviews with key informants who were knowledgeable about the operation of Islamic FBOs in Pakistan.

Both primary and secondary sources have been utilized to collect data on Christian and other minority FBOs, as well as interviews with key informants belonging to the Christian, Hindu and Parsi communities.

A snowballing method was adopted in order to identify key informants for interview. Initially, selected researchers/academicians who were known to have worked on issues related to minority religious communities or civil society in general were identified by the research team. They included:

- Dr. Jaffar Ahmed, Former Director, Pakistan Study Centre, University of Karachi
- Mr. Salim Ahmed, President, South Asia Resource Centre, Islamabad
- Mr. Sohail Javed, Economist, Applied Economics Research Centre, University of Karachi

These informants were asked to identify literature, potential data sources and other potential informants. A list of interviewees is presented in Annexure 1.

Finally, general data on the mission, vision, membership, activities and sources of revenue of each FBO was gathered where possible through information produced by the FBOs themselves, including brochures, annual reviews and official websites, and through personal visits to the most prominent organizations.

3 Political history and religious demography of Pakistan

In order to understand the role played by faith-based organizations in contemporary development processes in Pakistan, it is important to firstly understand the historical development of the country, especially with regard to the relationships between religion and the state. This section will briefly outline the creation and growth of the Pakistan movement in pre-Independence India, discuss the creation of Pakistan as an independent political entity, and end with a brief discussion of post-Independence Pakistan, with a focus on its religious demography.

The idea of a separate nation for Muslims was conceived relatively late in the struggle for independence from British rule. This proposition was first put forward by the All India Muslim League, which was itself established in 1905 with the objectives of protecting and advancing the political rights and interests of Muslims in India and representing Muslims vis-à-vis the colonial government. The call for a separate Muslim state first began to take shape in the 1930s, when Chaudhary Rahmat Ali and a group of his fellow Indian Muslims living in Cambridge at the time proposed a federation of ten Muslim states, including Punjab, North West Frontier Province, Balochistan and Sindh (Cohen, 2004, p. 26).¹¹

The call for an independent state for Indian Muslims became louder during the five years preceding 1947. On March 23, 1940, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, leader of the Muslim League and founder of Pakistan, formally endorsed the 'Lahore Resolution,' calling for the creation of an independent state in regions where Muslims constituted a majority. In June 1947, at the end of World War II and after an extended and diversely constituted independence struggle across the subcontinent, the British government declared that it would bestow full dominion status upon two successor states - India and Pakistan. Consequently, a bifurcated Muslim nation separated by more than 1,600 kilometres of Indian territory emerged, when Pakistan became a self-governing dominion within the Commonwealth on August 14, 1947 (Talbot, 2005). West Pakistan comprised the contiguous Muslim-majority provinces of present-day Pakistan; East Pakistan consisted of what would later become the state of Bangladesh.¹²

The story of Pakistan's birth as a nation explains why, in term of the country's religious demography, Pakistan is largely comprised of Muslims, although this is itself a highly diverse category. The most recent Census figures outline the various religious groups represented in Pakistan (see Table 1).

Table 1: Population of Pakistan by religion (1998)

	Population (million)	Percentage share
Muslim	148.8	96.0
Christian	2.1	1.7
Hindu	2.4	2.0
Others (Ahmadi, Parsi, etc.)	0.5	0.3
Total	153.8	100.0
Source: Population Census Report 1998, Government of Pakistan		

According to the International Religious Freedom Report (2005), the majority of Muslims in the country are Sunni, while approximately ten per cent are Shi'a.¹³

Amongst the Sunni population, there are various ideological schools of thought. The majority Sunni Muslim community in Pakistan follows one of the two major religious movements amongst Muslims in South Asia, Bareilvi and Deobandi.¹⁴ Others follow Ahl-e-Hadith and the socio-political movement, the Jamaat Islami (JI), which has its own schools and mosques. Ahl-e-Hadith followers comprise, at most, five per cent of Muslims, and are concentrated in Punjab. No reliable figures on JI adherents exist. However, most of its followers are found in urban centres. Bareilvi and Deobandi leaders both claim that their schools comprise up to 80 per cent of the overall Muslim population but, according to a number of observers, the followers of the Bareilvi school remain the largest group, comprising around 60 per cent of all Muslims, with the Deobandi at around 20 per cent, although the number of the latter is steadily growing.

According to government estimates of the Shi'a population, approximately 750,000 are Ismailis, most of whom are spiritual followers of the Aga Khan. An estimated 80,000 belong to the Bohra community or other schools of thought. The Shi'a population is dispersed around the country, with concentrations in Karachi, Gilgit and parts of Balochistan. Ismailis are found principally in Hunza, Karachi and Baltistan.

The majority of the Christian population is concentrated in Punjab. The largest Christian denomination is the Protestant Church of Pakistan, a member of the Anglican Communion. Catholics are the second largest group, and the remainder belongs to various evangelical denominations.

Hindus are officially 2.02 per cent of the population (2.44 million adherents). Most live in Sindh province. Ahmadis, who identify themselves as Muslims but were declared non-Muslims by the legislature in the early 1970s, are concentrated in the town of Rabwah in Punjab, their spiritual centre.¹⁵ The tiny Parsi community is mainly concentrated in Karachi.

4 History of the faith-based nonprofit sector in Pakistan¹⁶

It is not possible to fully understand the nature of the faith-based non-profit sector without first understanding the history of philanthropy and volunteerism not just in Pakistan but also in South Asia more generally, because of the diverse religious composition of the region, with various religious traditions establishing different kinds of philanthropic and charitable institutions at different points in history.

The history of philanthropic and voluntary activities can be traced to the early recorded history of the region that now contains Pakistan. Religion has been a key motivating force behind these phenomena. Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, Christianity and Sikhism have provided a strong basis for philanthropy and a spiritual motivation for their followers to cater to the needs of the poor, sick and underprivileged in society. Some early examples of philanthropic organizations, which were predominantly religious institutions, include *stupas*, temples, monasteries, *ashrams*, *khanqahs*, and *gurdwaras*, which served as centres for undertaking charity and social welfare activities. In 711 AD, Muslims established their rule in the region and institutions such as mosques and *madrasas* (Islamic religious schools) began to play a role in community development and social welfare activities. Furthermore, in the 15th century, a number of Christian missionaries came to the subcontinent. They introduced a system of western education and provided social services, such as healthcare, as part of their missionary activities. This section briefly sketches the history of religious-based philanthropic activity in the region, beginning with the pre-modern period through to the creation of the Pakistani nation state.

4.1 Origin and early history

Religion has historically been a major source of inspiration for many of those involved in welfare activities in the subcontinent. This is demonstrated in the teachings of the Vedas and other sacred Hindu texts, which encourage acts of charity and community service (PRIA, 2001). Historically, nonprofit activities have focused on three main fields: (a) religious mission and services (b) education and (c) public works and community welfare. In all these, the state and society have both been active players. Kings, merchants, landlords and various corporate organizations vied with one another to advance religion, as well as to consolidate their power. To these ends they founded temples and monasteries and made endowments for their maintenance, constructed residences for monks and made donations to ascetics (Mujundar, 1961). Monasteries, *dharamshalas* and *ashrams* appeared across South Asia during this period. In addition, the emergence of Buddhism in 600 B.C. provided

another layer of religious influence on the practice of social welfare. The Buddhists founded *sanghas* or monastic orders, whose members, besides ministering to spiritual needs, were engaged in service to the poor and needy (PRIA, 2001).

4.2 The era of Muslim rule

The advent of Islam in South Asia during the 8th century brought with it new forms of philanthropy and altered the social welfare system. Mosques, *madrasas* and *khanqahs* emerged as examples of faith-based philanthropic institutions. Although Muslim rulers were largely pre-occupied with defence, empire building and the consolidation of their power, they also played an important role in the development of these institutions, often taking a personal interest in public welfare. Local members of the elite were key players in funding the construction of mosques and *madrasas* and the establishment of *waqfs* in order to make them sustainable — a practice that continues today.

Aside from the efforts of the state, the most striking trend in the field of charity and social welfare emerged from Sufism - a mystical form of Islam that has historically attracted a large following amongst various religious groups in South Asia. Sufism entered the sub-continent from West and Central Asia through the area that is now Pakistan. In particular, southern Punjab and Sindh became centres of the missionary activities of Sufis. The *khanqah* evolved as a faith-based institution and became a centre of spirituality, learning and social welfare, relying on gifts, donations and charity to survive. Usually a *madrasa* was associated with the *khanqah*, where religious education was provided and subjects such as philosophy, jurisprudence and mathematics were taught. *Khanqahs* provided social services such as food for both their inhabitants and the local population, regardless of caste, creed or race.¹⁷

4.3 The colonial period

The period of colonial rule further transformed the social fabric of the region, including the practice of philanthropy and the provision of social services. British rule initiated the institutionalization of voluntary organizations. Various laws regarding the registration and regulation of philanthropic and voluntary organizations were introduced to formalize and legalize their activities.

Although Christianity came to some parts of Western India even before the period of Mughal rule, 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 19th Century, when the British government officially gained control of the region, Christian missions were allowed to work openly and freely.

The regions of Punjab, Sindh and North West Frontier Province (NWFP) became the main centres of missionary activity. Missions established in these areas played an important role in the promotion of education, healthcare and awareness-raising about social issues. Some of the earliest mission schools and convents included Edwardes Church Mission school of Peshawar (1855), the Jesus and Mary Convent of Sialkot (1858) and St. Joseph's Convent of Karachi. The missions also established hospitals, dispensaries, orphanages, hostels, infirmaries and seminaries. They have continued their work in the post-independence period.

One of the greatest impacts of colonialism on religious organizations was the development and growth of religious revivalism. Amongst Muslims, revivalist forms of Islam gained popularity after the failure of the 1857 war of independence. Edicts *for jihad* (religious struggle) were issued carrying the signatures of members of the *ulema* (Muslim religious scholars). This early struggle for independence was unsuccessful and prompted the increased repression of many Muslim leaders by the colonial state. In response to the growing political tension, in 1866 Maulana Qasim Nanautvi established a *madrassa* at Deoband in what is now the state of Uttar Pradesh. This *madrassa* was named Darul Uloom Deoband and became an important centre for religious learning as well as political organizing during the independence struggles (Qasmi, 2001, p.14). Recognizing the religio-political role of Darul Uloom, Qasmi (2001, p. 17) notes:

Darul Uloom Deoband not only played a very important role in saving Muslims from the spiritual and political abyss and discomfiture, but also produced tens of thousands of educated and well-trained freedom fighters who struggled and laid down their lives for the sake of the liberation of this great nation.

This institution helped to forge a network of *madrassas* across the subcontinent under its administrative and ideological guidance. These largely catered to the needs of the deprived sections of society, who could not afford modern education, especially in rural areas.

4.4 The faith-based sector (post-independence)

The period following 1947 saw the spread of *madrasas* across the country in both urban and rural areas. Many of the *ulema* who established them were inspired by the Deoband movement. One of the most prominent *madrasas* was Jamia Ashrafia, which was established in 1947 in Lahore. In addition, Maulana Abdul Haq, who had previously taught at Darul Uloom Deoband, founded Darul Uloom Haqqania at Akora Khattak, near Peshawar. Jamia Uloom-e-Islami was founded by Maulana Yousuf Binori in Karachi. These *madrasas* followed the ‘Dars-e-Nizami’, the curriculum prescribed by the conservative *ulema*, with little or no emphasis on the modern sciences. Institutions established by other religious communities also continued to expand the scope of their activities as part of the process of nation-building.

During the first period of Martial Law (1958-1971), the government took over the *Sufi* shrines and *auqaf* related to them and placed them under the control of the Ministry of Religious Affairs. This may have been a means of controlling any possible threats to the military establishment that could have developed through the congregation of large groups of people at these shrines, as these gatherings provided politicians with opportunities to muster support. Government control of religious institutions had the effect of diminishing the volume and flow of funds to religious charities, due to the public’s general lack of confidence in government officials. It also led to the establishment of a number of faith-based voluntary associations and charities by the custodians and followers of shrines across the country.

Whereas the state and the faith-based sector worked largely in tandem during the 1950s and 1960s, the state assumed a dominant role in the provision of social services during the 1970s. When Zulfikar Ali Bhutto replaced the military government in the 1970s, he nationalized many industries and public services:

Bhutto’s policies of expanding the state’s role in the 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 by religious organizations, especially the Church of Pakistan, was a major setback for the nonprofit faith-based sector. However, this policy was repealed in the 1980s and the majority of these institutions were placed back under the control of religious organizations.

During the period of General Zia ul Haq's military rule (1977-1988), the faith-based sector underwent significant changes, with Islamic FBOs in particular increasing in number and scope. Against the backdrop of General Zia's Islamization drive, alongside the Afghan War (1979-89) and the liberal flow of foreign funds, pre-existing Islamic FBOs flourished. Furthermore, this period saw a rise in the number of FBOs with a sectarian and militant outlook.

4.5 Relationships between religion and the state

Relations between religious organizations and the state have been muted throughout Pakistan's short history. Faith-based organizations have largely shared the state's responsibility for providing welfare services rather than challenging it. Indeed, some would argue that FBOs have helped to maintain the political and social status quo. Interestingly, most religio-political organizations have had especially good relations with the state during the periods of authoritarian and military rule, with the period of General Zia's rule being a case in point. General Musharraf's military regime continued the state's close relationships with religious organizations, although, against the backdrop of the 'War on Terror,' the current government has been increasingly hostile towards them.¹⁸

5 The nature, scale and activities of FBOs in Pakistan

As mentioned earlier, it is difficult to assess the exact number of FBOs operating in Pakistan.

However, a conservative estimate based on various data sources places the total number at well over 16,000, constituting more than one-third of the nonprofit sector.¹⁹ The distribution of FBOs by religion is given in Table 2:

Table 2: Number of FBOs in Pakistan

	Number
Islamic FBOs	15,679
<i>Madrasas</i> *	12,979
Other Islamic FBOs**	2,700
Christian FBOs***	970
Other FBOs (Hindu and Parsi)****	71
Total	16,720

Sources:

* Information on the number of madrasas is taken from the National Education Census, Pakistan (2006) (Ministry of Education, 2006). The number of *madrasas* given in Table 5 (see below) is 12,153 (as compared to 12,979 in Table 2). The Census states that the total number of *madrasas* is 12,979, of which 12,153 provided information about their enrolment, teachers, etc.

** Ghaus-Pasha and Iqbal (2003)

*** *The Catholic Church in Pakistan* (2006) and Zafar (2007)

**** Salim (2006, pp 29-31)

Details of each category of FBO are provided in the following sections, divided according to religious group.

5.1 Islamic FBOs

5.1.1 *Madrasas*

Madrasas dominate the faith-based sector in Pakistan. Teaching at most *madrasas* is centred on the study of Islam. However, most also provide basic education, including the study of language, maths, and sciences. Almost all *madrasas* also contain a mosque within their premises or are themselves attached to a mosque (Mercer *et al*, 2006). *Madrasas* are registered at the district level and are affiliated with one of five *Madrassa* Education Boards, which are responsible for devising the syllabi and the setting of examinations. As mentioned earlier, there are no Islamic apex bodies in Pakistan. However, there is a federation of five the seminary boards called Ittehad Tanzimat *Madrasas-e-Deeniya*, which represents the Deobandi, Bareilvi, Ahl-e-Hadith, Shi'a and Jamaat-e-Islami schools of thought. Four of these boards belong to the Sunni sect, while one belongs to the Shi'a sect (see Tables 3 and 4).²⁰

Table 3: Madrasa Education Boards

Name	Sect	Sub-Sect/ Movement	Political Links	Date of Establishment	Financing
Wafaq-ul-Madrasas Al-Arabia	Sunni Hanafi	Deobandi	Jamiat Ulma-e-Islam (JUI-F)	1959	Private donations* endowments
Tanzeem-ul-Madrasas Alhe Sunnat	Sunni Hanafi	Barelvi	Jamiat Ulma-e-Paksitan (JUP)	1960	Government, private donations, endowments
Wafaq-ul-Madrasas Al Salfia	Al-he-Hadith	Al-he-Hadith	Saudi Arabia	1955	Government, private donations, endowments
Wafaq-ul-Madrasas al Shia	Shia	Shia	Tehrik-e-Islami	1959	Government, private donations, endowments
Rabia-tul-Madrasas Al Islamia	Recognizes All Schools of Thought	Non-Sectarian	Jamat-e-Islami and Saudi Arabia	1983	Government, private donations, endowments

Source: Rahman, K. and S. Bukhari (2002). *Pakistan Religious Education and Institutions: An Overview*, Islamabad: Institute of Policy Studies.

* These are mostly religious donations including *sadqah* (voluntary form of charity) and *zakat* (mandated religious charity)

Table 4: Social base and religious ideology of Madrasa Education Boards

Name	Social Base	Ideology
Wafaq-al- Madrasas al-Arabia	Deoband seminary, upper income groups, state employees	Have anti-colonial roots. Opposed to folk Islam and intercession by saints. Argue that <i>sharia</i> is the path to spiritual exaltation.
Tanzim-al-Madrasas	Rural, peasantry, poor	Inspired by Ahmad Raza Khan of Bareilly. Accept a mediational, custom-laden and mystical form of Islam.
Wafaq-al-Madrasas al-Salafia	Merchants	Reject intermediaries between humans and God, e.g. <i>pirs</i> , saints, canon law. Want to purify, reform Islam. Follow no particular school of law.
Wafaq-al-Madrasas al-Shia	Shi'as	Believe Ali Ibn-e Abi Talib was the rightful successor to the Prophet Muhammad.
Rabita-tal-Madrasas al-Islamia	Lower income groups; recently extending to the professional and intellectual classes	Integrationist, avant-garde. Want to unify all sects and modernize education.

Source: Extracted from the Institute of Policy Studies: Task Force Report (2002) and International Crisis Group, 2002

According to the *National Education Census Pakistan* (Ministry of Education, 2006), there are 12,153 registered *madrasas* in the country (Table 5), about 55 per cent of which are located in rural areas. Almost half have both male and female sections. However, 34 per cent of the total are exclusively for male students and 16 per cent are all-female. The number of male and female teachers in *madrasas* is over 44,000 and 12,000 respectively.

Table 5: Madrasa education in the national context

<i>Madrasas</i>	Location		Gender composition of students			
	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Mixed*	Total
Number of institutions	5,495	6,658	4,178	1,929	6,046	12,153
Number of teachers	33,764	24,627	44,143	14,248	-	58,391
Enrolment	833,383	715,859	962,579	586,663	-	1,549,242
<i>Madrasas as a proportion of all educational institutions (%)</i>						
Number of institutions	9.1	4.0	7.2	4.0	5.0	5.3
Number of teachers	5.0	3.6	6.7	2.0	-	4.3
Enrolment	5.9	3.7	5.1	4.1	-	4.6
Source: Ministry of Education (2006) <i>National Education Census Pakistan</i>						
* The term 'mixed' is used in the data presented in this source. Although the definition for the term is not provided in the report, our understanding (based on prior knowledge) is that 'mixed madrasa' means that while both girls and boys are taught, there are either separate facilities, or boys and girls study in different shifts so as to maintain gender segregation.						

The total enrolment in *madrasas* is reported to be 1.55 million students, of which 62 per cent are male and 38 per cent are female. More than half of the *madrasa* students are enrolled in schools in urban areas, which also have a significant proportion of students who come from rural areas to study.

According to the first official source of detailed information about madrasa education, the Education Census (2006), nationally the share of *madrasa* enrolment in total school enrolment is 4.6 per cent. Earlier, some studies (e.g. SPDC, 2003 and Andrabi, *et. al.*, 2005)²¹ had estimated the share of *madrasa* enrolment in the total to be about 1 per cent. However, due to the unavailability of official data on enrolment at that time, both studies used data from the Pakistan Integrated Household Survey, which was an indirect way of estimating enrolment. The National Education Census (2006), however, provides information collected directly from educational institutions.²²

Table 6: Revenue sources of *madrasas*

	Revenues US\$ (in Millions)	Share of Total (%)
Fees	7.4	16.8
Government grants	2.3	5.1
Donations	30.5	69.1
Others	4.0	9.0
Total	44.2	100.0

Source: Ministry of Education (2006) *National Education Census Pakistan*

According to the figures in Table 6, the major source of *madrasa* revenues comes from donations such as *zakat* (see Box 1), which account for 69 per cent of their funds. About 17 per cent of this revenue is collected through fees, while the percentage obtained through government grants is relatively low, at only 23 per cent of the total.

The basic aim of *madrasas* is to provide religious education, with a limited focus on secular subjects, which has an impact on the worldview of the students. All *madrasas* follow the standard Dars-i-Nizami⁵ curriculum but with some variations. Their curriculum includes teaching and understanding of the Qur'an, interpretation of Qur'anic teaching and *hadith*, logic, Islamic jurisprudence, Arabic literature and Arabic grammar. Some *madrasas* also offer Pakistan studies, mathematics and general sciences. Large *madrasas*, for example, the Wafaq-al- Madrasas al-Arabia (Deobandi Board) provide education from high school to post-graduate levels, offering such subjects as morphology, economics and astronomy (Mercer *et al*, 2006).

5.1.2 Other Islamic FBOs

This category of faith-based organizations is broad, including the welfare wings of religious political parties; larger, medium and small charities; welfare trusts and relief organizations with national and international outreach; and faith-based research and academic institutions.

Estimates based on the survey data of the Johns Hopkins University/CNP study (2002) indicate that there are about 2,700 of these FBOs. Questionnaires asking organizations to describe their primary and secondary activities were distributed during the JHU/CNP study. The total number of FBOs was then estimated by filtering this data so as to extract those nonprofit organizations whose primary or secondary activity is related to religion and who also provide at least one social service. Subsequently,

the number of organisations extracted from the sample was multiplied by their share in the nonprofit sector, which was estimated to comprise 45,000 NPOs,²⁴ not including *madrasas*. As shown in Table 7, most of these FBOs (about 68 per cent) operate in urban areas.

Box 1: *Zakat* as a source of revenue for Islamic FBOs

Zakat is a form of religiously mandated charity and is considered to be the third of Islam's five pillars. As a traditional religious institution, *zakat* involves both the payment of an alms tax by Muslims who enjoy some surplus and its distribution to the poor. According to the Hanafi school of religious law, *zakat* is to be paid once a year on wealth held for more than a year. The rate is generally 2.5 per cent. Recipients of *zakat* can be individuals or organizations working for the welfare of people.¹

As stated in the Qur'an, "*The alms are only for the poor and the needy, and for those employed in connection therewith, and for those whose hearts are to be reconciled, and for the (freeing of) slaves, and for those in debt, and for the cause of Allah, and for the wayfarer – an ordinance from Allah. And Allah is All-Knowing, Wise.*" (Verse 9:60)

Given the importance of *zakat* and alms in Islam, many Muslim FBOs attempt to motivate people to give *zakat* and other charitable donations to Islamic organizations. This is generally done through religious sermons in mosques and other fundraising campaigns. Thus *zakat* and other forms of religious donation serve as the major source of revenue for Islamic FBOs in Pakistan. For instance, according to the National Education Census (Ministry of Education, 2006), 69 per cent of the revenues of *madrasas* come from such donations (see Table 6).

In Pakistan, there are two major forms of *zakat*—official and private. Under the official system, *zakat* is collected by the Ministry of Religious Affairs and spent on the poor in various ways through local *Zakat* Committees. Under this system, *zakat* is deducted compulsorily once a year from Sunni Muslims at the rate of 2.5 per cent of the value of specified financial assets. A large portion of the *zakat* fund is spent on the poor in the form of providing monthly subsistence allowances and rehabilitation grants. However, the government also provides small grants to

madrasas from the *zakat* fund. In 2005-06, government grants given to *madrasas* were about 8 per cent of the total *zakat* collection. According to GoP (2006), government grants constituted over 5 per cent of the total revenue of *madrasas*.

Zakat is deducted by the government from savings accounts in banks and other specified financial assets on the first day of the month of Ramadan (9th month of Islamic Calendar). Therefore, it is a common practice for people to withdraw their money from savings accounts just before the first day of Ramadan and to redeposit it afterwards. According to a survey conducted by AKDN (2000), only 10 per cent of the respondents reported paying official *zakat*. However, the state-sanctioned *zakat* system represents only a small portion of *zakat* donations. People generally give *zakat* donations individually rather than through the government system, mainly because of their lack of trust in the government machinery.

Other major forms of Islamic charity include *ushr*, *sadqah*, and *qurbani*. *Ushr* is a 5 per cent tax paid on the produce from land. *Sadqah* is a voluntary act of giving alms by Muslims who want to contribute more than their obligatory *zakat* payment. *Qurbani* (the ritual slaughtering of animals) is performed during a religious festival called *Eid-ul Adha*. The skins of slaughtered animals are generally donated to Islamic FBOs. In this way, *zakat* and other forms of religious charity provide a sustainable source of revenue for Muslim FBOs in Pakistan.

¹ Sources: <http://www.pakistanrelief.com/zakat.htm> ; <http://www.islamicaid.org.uk/islamicinfo2.html> ; Benthall, 1999.

Table 7: Area of operation of Islamic FBOs

	%
Urban	67.7
Rural	24.1
Both	8.3
Total	100.0

Source: Pasha and Iqbal, 2002

Table 8: Outreach of FBOs

	%
Neighbourhood	75.2
City/Town	12.0
District	7.5
Province	2.3
International	3.0
Total	100.0

Source: Pasha and Iqbal, 2002

FBOs other than *madrasas* can be divided into two broad categories on the basis of their outreach: 1) Small/medium FBOs and 2) Large FBOs. As shown in Table 8, 87 per cent of these FBOs operate at the local level in neighbourhoods or cities/towns. The rest have been classified as large FBOs whose outreach ranges from the district to the international level. They receive private philanthropic donations and also charge nominal fees for their services, which together constitute more than 80 per cent of their revenues. The target groups of these organizations are presented in Table 9. Nearly two thirds have no specific target groups. The second largest category is students (17 per cent) while other important groups include children and women.

Table 9: Target Groups of FBOs

	%
Children	9.0
Women	5.3
Students	16.5
Patients	4.5
Youth	1.5
Unemployed	0.8
Unspecified	62.5
Total	100.0

Source: Pasha and Iqbal, 2002

a) Medium/small FBOs

There are around 2000 FBOs in Pakistan that are working as small and medium-level charities and welfare organizations. As mentioned earlier, they serve at the level of communities, neighbourhoods and cities/towns. These FBOs are involved in activities like providing financial and material assistance

to the needy, organizing religious ceremonial activities and providing other forms of social welfare at the grassroots level.

b) Large FBOs

These organizations are registered as nonprofits under the same laws as other (secular) NPOs. We have adopted two criteria to classify them as FBOs: a) the organization is explicitly linked to a *madrasa* or any other type of religious entity or b) the organization is not explicitly linked to any religious entity and works independently but identifies itself as an FBO in its manifesto.

The first group of large FBOs include organizations that are associated with *madrasas*. Many prominent *madrasas* in Pakistan undertake philanthropic and social welfare activities through associated charities, trusts and relief organizations. Numerous *madrasas* have established welfare trusts or relief organizations which are run separately but complement the welfare agenda of the *madrasas*. In this way, *madrasas* combine educational with social and charitable work, e.g. shelter for orphans, alms for the poor and medicine for the sick. Mosques and *madrasas* are thus the focal points of individual and corporate philanthropy in Pakistan, addressing many needs of their communities and serving an important humanitarian role. For example, religious scholars and clerics are frequently called upon to perform rites and rituals of prayer on auspicious occasions such as marriage, birth and death. They are also called upon to act as local mediators in conflict situations, often in remote areas that fall out of the ambit of the state justice system. Such services may have the potential to perform a socially integrative function (Mercer *et al*, 2006)

One example of such a *madrasa*-related welfare organization is the Binoria Welfare Trust, which is a sister organization of a renowned *madrasa*, Jamia Binoria in Karachi. Its activities include providing material and financial assistance to the needy, dowry assistance, and scholarships for students. It also runs a medical centre and an ambulance service in Karachi.

The other category of large FBOs operating in Pakistan includes independently run charities and welfare groups, which are not formally associated to a *madrasa* or a religious political party. They can be classified as FBOs because, in addition to performing development-related work, they are also engaged in certain types of religious activities, such as providing religious education and organizing

ceremonial services. They also associate themselves with particular Islamic schools of thought (Deobandi, Ahle Sunnat, etc.). A few examples are the Alamgir Welfare Trust International, Saylani Welfare International, and the Al-Mustafa Welfare Society.²⁵

c) Welfare wings of religious political parties

According to the International Crisis Group (2006), there are 58 religious political parties in Pakistan, many of them with both welfare and militant wings. These political parties represent the five Islamic schools of thought, sects and sub-sects. They also have strong links with *madrasas* and the Ittehad Tanzimat Madrasas-e-Deeniya (Islamic Education Board).

The foremost objective of the Islamic parties is the implementation of Islamic laws in the country and they therefore have both close linkages with *madrasas* engaged in religious education and preaching, and welfare wings that provide social services and undertake relief work. With the Jamaat-e-Islami taking the lead, some of the prominent Islamic political parties have formed an alliance called the Mutahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA), which includes politically powerful parties such as Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam, Jamaat-e-Islami (JI) and Jamiat Ulema-e-Pakistan.

Almost all these parties have welfare wings, but the Al-Khidmat Foundation (the welfare wing of the JI) is the most prominent. Development activities of Al-Khidmat include education, health, emergency relief and providing various forms of assistance to the needy. It claims to serve all in need, irrespective of their religion, nationality, caste or creed.²⁶

Table 10: Institutions run by the Al-Khidmat Foundation

	Punjab	Sindh		NWFP	Baloch- istan	Total
		Urban	Rural			
Madrasas	13	97	20	24	18	172
Regular schools	26	12	161	8	1	208
Vocational training centres	11			4		15
Library	1					1
Dispensaries	45				3	48
Clinics	1	21		24		46
Mobile clinics	3			6		9
Hospitals	13	6		1		20
Laboratories	9			15		24
Ambulance services	7			12		19
Medical camps	1	20				21
Blood banks	5					5

Source: <http://www.al-khidmatfoundation.org>

The welfare wings of most of the religious political parties focus mainly on welfare activities, such as providing primary health services, material assistance to the needy, relief work, and religious education. In contrast to most other such organizations, Al-Khidmat, along with its sister organizations, is also engaged in providing mainstream educational services and organizing professional associations (see Box 2).

Box 2: Sister organizations of Al-Khidmat Foundation

The **Ghazali Education Trust (GET)** is a not-for profit organization that is primarily involved in the provision of primary education in the rural areas of Pakistan. Since its formal establishment in 1997, the organization has extended its activities to include college education for girls, teacher training and curriculum development. The primary education component, the Pakistan Rural Education Programme (PREP), is the first and largest activity of the organization, with schools operating in 23 districts. A network of 267 schools, PREP employs 1,400 teachers and has a total enrolment of around 30,000 students. It does not provide free education. However, children of poor parents are subsidized in various ways, for instance, through an 'adopt a child' programme. The organization provides mainstream education, with an emphasis on 'value-based education', and training. Private donations, largely from individuals, constitute the major source of funding (75-80 per cent). The organization has developed contacts with 1,500 individual donors residing both in and outside Pakistan, who support GET's philosophy and objectives and provide regular financial assistance. GET also receives assistance from international organizations, including Helping Hand (USA), ICNA Relief (Canada), Muslim Aid (UK), and the Pakistan Education Foundation (London) (Ghazali Education Trust, 2006; Iqbal and Khan, 2004).

READ Foundation is a not-for profit organization that also focuses on providing education-related services in rural areas. Like GET, the foundation provides mainstream education to over 60,000 children in 323 schools. It has also been involved in the rehabilitation/reconstruction of schools in areas affected by the 2005 earthquake in Kashmir. It also receives financial assistance from international Islamic organizations and international donors such as UNICEF (<http://www.read.org.pk>).

The Al-Khidmat Khawateen (women) Trust focuses on providing various social services to women. Its work is in the areas of education, health, providing industrial homes, and organizing informal religious teaching (<http://www.alkhidmatkhawateen.org/>).

Pakistan Islamic Medical Association (PIMA) is an organization of Muslim doctors that focuses on various aspects of the medical profession. It has a total membership of 3,500 doctors throughout Pakistan and runs a pharmaceutical company and a medical college (<http://www.pima.org.pk>).

d) Radical FBOs

According to the International Crisis Group (2006), there are 24 known militant groups operating in Pakistan, which draw their ideology, links and funding from prominent *madrastas*, religious political parties, Islamic sects and in certain cases, the state. Some of these militant groups also have links with local and regional *jihadi* networks. It is reported that several of these groups have been involved in the Kashmir conflict and the Afghan War fought against the USSR during the late 1970s and 1980s. Alongside their militant activities, these organizations are involved in relief work.

However, many have been placed under increased scrutiny or even banned outright as part of the Pakistani government's involvement in the War on Terror. Two of the most prominent *jihadi* organizations banned by the government under the Anti-Terrorism Law and listed as terrorist by the UN—Jaish-e Mohammad and Lashkar-e-Tayyaba—continue to conduct relief operations under changed names or through front organizations. Others active in relief, such as the Al-Rasheed Trust, were not banned but were placed on the Pakistan government's terror watch list and designated as terrorist by the UN.

Thus many of these organizations provide social services and relief, which are appreciated by state agencies. One example is Jamaat-ud-Dawa (JD), which was praised by the government for its swift response and sustained relief efforts during the first few weeks after the earthquake. Jamaat-ud-Dawa was formerly known as Lashkar-e-Tayyaba, which was declared a terrorist organization and banned by the government in January 2002. Headed by Hafiz Mohammad Saeed, JD belongs to the Ahle Hadith sect. It has been active in Indian Kashmir since the early 1990s and has a significant presence in Pakistan-administered Kashmir through its training camps.

Al-Rasheed Trust has also been very active in relief work. According to the International Crisis Group (2006), Al Rasheed Trust is a Deobandi organization that is closely associated with Jaish-e-Mohammed, a *jihadi* group active in Indian-occupied Kashmir:²⁷

Although the UN Security Council included Al-Rasheed Trust on its list of sanctioned organisations for links to al-Qaeda, the government has not banned it but only placed it on the terrorist watch list. The Trust was one of the first groups to reach Balakot, the worst hit subdivision in the NWFP (*ibid*: p. 10)

Groups such as Jamaat-ud-Dawa and the Al Rasheed Trust highlight the government's ambivalent relationship with many radical FBOs, shifting between aggressive suspicion, reliance on them and praise for their provision of social and relief services.

e) Non-conventional Islamic FBOs

This category of FBOs is comprised of those organizations that draw part or all of their inspiration from more than one Islamic school of thought or sect. They usually operate above sectarian divisions and are involved in welfare activities. These organizations generally operate at the national or international level rather than being involved directly in the affairs of local communities.

Examples of this category of FBOs are given below:

- The **Centre for Islamic Economics** is an institution whose objective is to propagate an Islamic economic system by undertaking research to enable the economic, financial and banking activities in Pakistan and other Muslim countries to conform to *sharia* and to extend training facilities to personnel engaged in economic development activities in the Muslim world. It was set up by Justice Taqi Usmani, a Deobani Islamic scholar (<http://www.cie.com.pk>).
- The **Institute of Policy Studies** (IPS) is a private, independent political think-tank based in Islamabad. It was established in 1979 under the patronage of JI. The Chairperson of IPS is a prominent economist and Jamaat-e-Islami leader, Dr. Khurshid Ahmed. The main focus of IPS is research on Pakistani society, specifically looking at politics, education, economics, foreign policy and security issues, regional and global developments related to Pakistan and 'the Muslim World' and issues related to Islamic studies and Islamization. It has produced around 200 publications and over 1,000 unpublished reports and regularly conducts seminars and conferences. Besides research activities, the institute has a training programme for both the corporate and social sectors. It also works on the institutional development of religious education in the country (<http://www.ips.org.pk>).
- The **Isra Islamic Foundation** is an independent Islamic foundation set up by a group of professionals with the objective of serving underprivileged people in the province of Sindh in particular and in Pakistan and the developing world in general in the fields of education, healthcare and social welfare. Its projects include Isra University Hyderabad, Isra Blind Control Program, Iqra Quran Academy, the *Madrasas* Support Programme, and the Rural Community Support Programme (<http://www.isra.org.pk>).

- **Al-Huda International** is an education and welfare organization set up by Dr. Farhat Hashmi, a prominent Muslim woman scholar. It is based in Islamabad and Karachi, mainly targets the middle class population and focuses on women's religious education. To this end, it has set up the **Institute of Islamic Education for Women**. It is also engaged in social welfare activities. (<http://www.alhudapk.com>).²⁸

Although none of the aforementioned organizations neatly fit into a single category because of the combination of functions each performs, they are important players in contemporary processes of development in Pakistan. All undertake activities related to the promotion of particular religious ideologies as well as being concerned with social and political issues.

5.2 Christian FBOs

Christian FBOs comprise a significant portion of the faith-based sector in Pakistan, despite the relatively small Christian population. A large number of these organizations focus on providing education. However, Christian FBOs provide a range of social services across the country.

5.2.1 Apex Bodies

There are two apex bodies of Christian organizations in Pakistan: the Catholic Church and the Church of Pakistan.

(a) The Catholic Church

The Roman Catholic Church in Pakistan is part of the worldwide Roman Catholic Church, under the spiritual leadership of the Pope and curia in Rome. According to the Catholic Director, Pakistan has two archdioceses and four dioceses, all Latin Rite. The Church's relationship to the Holy See and Catholics worldwide started in 1950 with the opening of the apostolic delegation (*The Catholic Church in Pakistan*, 2006; Zafar, 2007).

The Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Lahore was founded in 1886, having previously been the Vicariate of Punjab. The current archbishop is Lawrence Saldanha. The Archdiocese of Karachi, originally the Diocese of Karachi, was established on May 20, 1948 under the Metropolitan Archdiocese of Bombay, India. It was elevated to the Archdiocese of Karachi on July 15, 1950. The seat of the Archdiocese is

St. Patrick's Cathedral. In 2004, the Catholic Church was estimated to have 145,000 members out of a national population of 14 million. The Christ the King seminary, the major seminary of the country, is located within Karachi Archdiocese.

b) The Church of Pakistan

Protestant missions in Pakistan trace their origin to initiatives of the Church of England and Presbyterians from the United States. The Church of Pakistan was inaugurated in 1970, bringing together Anglicans, Methodists, Presbyterians, Lutherans and other Protestant denominations. It is also the only United Church on the subcontinent that is affiliated with the Church of Scotland, although, it is mainly Anglican in orientation. It has about 800,000 members and is organized in eight dioceses: Lahore, Raiwind, Sialkot, Faisalabad, Multan, Karachi, Hyderabad and Peshawar.

5.2.2 Christian FBOs

A number of Christian faith-based social service organizations are operating in Pakistan. They range from large and medium to small organizations in terms of their outreach and operate at local, district, national and international levels. They perform various development-related functions, including providing education, healthcare, and various forms of assistance to the poor.

According to the Catholic Directory (*The Catholic Church in Pakistan*, 2006), there are about 500 Catholic educational institutions in Pakistan, which provide education through the English, Urdu and Sindhi mediums to more than 150,000 Christian and Muslim students. Most of these institutions were established during the past 25 years.

Apart from education, the Catholic Church has been active in providing care for the sick, physically disabled and destitute population. Such services are provided through health centres, hospitals, rural dispensaries and homes for orphans and disadvantaged and disabled children. Recently, a number of centres to combat drug addiction have also been opened by the Church. The total number of such charitable institutions is 224. There are also 39 health institutions working under the auspices of the Catholic Church. Diocese-wise distribution of these institutions is presented in Table 11.

Table 11: Catholic Church institutions in Pakistan

Diocese	Education	Health	Charitable and social institutions
Archdiocese of Karachi	101	3	14
Diocese of Hyderabad	51	7	22
Diocese of Quetta	8	-	3
Archdiocese of Lahore	104	11	42
Diocese of Multan	77	4	72
Diocese of Faisalabad	77	9	45
Diocese of Islamabad-Rawalpindi	80	5	26
Total	498	39	224

One of the most prominent among these organizations is the Catholic FBO, Caritas Pakistan, which is a member of Caritas International, with outreach across Pakistan. It also acts as the National Commission for Human Development of the Catholic Church (one of 14 such national commissions). Caritas' outreach is in seven districts, and its activities include solid waste management, micro-finance, agriculture, emergency relief and rehabilitation, and health-related services.

The distribution of Christian FBOs by type of institution, including all those associated with the Catholic Church and some associated with the Church of Pakistan, is presented in Table 12.

Table 12: Christian FBOs in Pakistan

Educational institutions	601
Health institutions	122
Charitable and social services	224
Publication houses	17
Forums and associations	2
Associations of Christian journalists	4
Sources: <i>The Catholic Church in Pakistan, 2006</i> and Zafar, 2007	

5.3 FBOs run by other minorities

5.3.1 Hindu FBOs

According to Rochi Ram,²⁹ a Hindu activist/lawyer from Sindh, Hindus live in all parts of Pakistan, but it is in Sindh province that they form a significant minority. Hindus actually form the majority in Mirpur Khas and Tharpar Kar districts. In other districts of Sindh, Hindus live in Karachi, Hyderabad, Sanghar, Dadu, Larkana, Nawab Shah, Thatta, Badin, Ghotki, and Jacobabad. Pakistan's other cities (Sialkot, Lahore, Bahawalpur, Multan, Peshawar, Quetta, Mardan, Sawat and Gilgit) also have sizeable Hindu populations.³⁰ Consequently, most Hindu FBOs are also located in Sindh.

Some of the most prominent Hindu FBOs include the Hindu Gymkhana, the Pakistan Hindu Panchayat and the Pakistani Hindu Welfare Association. The Hindu Gymkhana (now known as the National Association of Performing Arts) has been involved in the promotion of social development for Hindus in the city of Karachi. The Pakistan Hindu Panchayat and the Pakistani Hindu Welfare Association are the primary civic organizations that organize and represent Hindu communities on social, economic, religious and political issues. The exact number of Hindu FBOs is not known. However, from discussions with those involved in or familiar with the Hindu community, it appears that most are relatively small organizations working at the grassroots level and involved in community welfare activities. According to the information provided by Mr. Salim Ahmed,³¹ Hindu FBOs include eight educational institutions, five health clinics, and 22 spiritual and community welfare organizations.

5.3.2 Parsi FBOs

The Parsi community (Zoroastrian) has a long history of philanthropy, welfare and social service in Pakistan (Golwalla, 2003). According to Toxy Cowsjee,³² ex-President of the Banu Mandal,³³ Parsis are mainly concentrated in Karachi and were at the forefront of maintaining the civic and social welfare of the city even before Independence.

Parsis settled in large numbers in Karachi for about 120 years prior to the creation of Pakistan. During the early 1900s, various affluent members of the community made significant contributions to the establishment of community housing and healthcare centres. These residential colonies are home to the majority of Parsis, and include a range of social groups, with only about 400 living in other parts of

the city. Also established within each colony are community centres designed to engage the residents in various social, recreational and welfare activities.

According to Ms. Cowsjee, the health sector has been one of the prime focuses of Parsi social welfare activities. The Bomanshaw Minocher Homji Medical Association, located in Karachi and popularly known as the Parsi General Hospital, has been catering to ailing Parsis since its inception in 1935. Originally a hospital with just eight beds and one dispensary, it is now well-equipped with numerous beds, a small laboratory, X-ray machines, physiotherapy equipment and an infirmary. Other health trusts have also been established over the years by members of the Parsi community in order to provide funds for the treatment of the ill within and outside the community.

Another well-known hospital set up by Parsi community in 1894 is the Lady Dufferin Hospital, which has grown significantly over the years, and serves underprivileged communities residing in its vicinity.³⁴ Similarly, Dr. Kaikshrow N Spencer, a renowned ophthalmologist of his time, founded the Spencer Eye Hospital in 1940 to provide treatment to the poor.³⁵

Apart from health-related services, Parsi FBOs are important actors in the education sector. There are two reputable Parsi academic institutions in Karachi. Bai Virbaji Soparivala Parsi High School began as a small elementary school in 1859. Today, the institution is one of the most progressive schools for boys in Sindh. Similarly, in 1918, The Mama Parsi Girls' Secondary School was established in order to provide education to women. Today, The Mama Parsi School has about 2,000 students, of whom only 80 are Parsi. Similarly, the Parsi community founded the Nadirshaw Edulji Dinshaw Engineering College (NED Engineering College), in Karachi in 1924 (Salim, 2006). Parsi organizations are listed in Table 13.

Table 13: Parsi FBOs in Karachi

Community banks, trust organizations and parks	18
Educational institutions	5
Health institutions	10
Practising Mebeds (places of worship)	3
Source: Salim, 2006	

In areas other than education and health, Parsi associations like the Karachi Zarhosti Banu Mandal, which is a women-run organization, works towards providing for the less fortunate and elderly members of the Parsi community. Funded by private donations and trusts set up within the association, the Banu Mandal was founded in 1912 and has programmes in the areas of education, health and providing for the basic needs of the poor and elderly.

5.4 Summary

An overall mapping of the activities of all FBOs in Pakistan is presented in Table 14.

Table 14: Overall mapping of activities of local FBOs

Activities	Islamic FBOs				Christ-ian FBOs	Others
	Mad-rasas	Medium/Small FBOs	Large FBOs	Indep-ent FBOs	Church-related FBOs	Hindu & Parsi FBOs
Education	•		•	•	•	•
Health	•		•	•	•	•
Food	•	•	•	•	•	
Shelter	•	•	•	•	•	•
Relief/emergency	•	•	•	•	•	
Advocacy	•		•	•		•
Material assistance		•				•
Income generation programmes			•	•		
Income support			•			•
Research				•		
Drug rehabilitation					•	
HIV/AIDS					•	
Inter-faith Dialogue			• *		•	

* One organization engaged in promoting women rights and inter-faith dialogue, Meraj-ul-Quran, has been identified.

5.5 Role of international FBOs

In Pakistan, international FBOs mostly operate as development, relief and rehabilitation organizations either directly, through their regional offices, or through partnerships with local organizations.

International FBOs working in Pakistan include Muslim and Christian organizations. They are fewer in number than local FBOs but have relatively greater outreach.

Most are engaged in disaster response. During recent years Pakistan has been hit by a number of natural disasters, including severe drought, floods and storms in different areas of Balochistan and Sindh, and a devastating earthquake in NWFP and Kashmir in 2005. In all these cases, the response of international FBOs has been quite visible in relief and rehabilitation activities in the affected areas. Unlike many local FBOs, these organizations are able to mobilize resources from private donations, international foundations, corporations, and most importantly, from international donor agencies such as UNDP, UNICEF, and USAID. Thus their sources of revenue include both religious and secular sources. It is important to note that local partners of these FBOs also include both faith-based and secular nonprofit organizations. A sketch of the activities of some prominent international FBOs is presented in Table 15.

Areas of Work	Catholic Relief Service	Norwegian Church Aid	Action by Churches Together	Caritas	Church World Service	Muslim Aid	Islamic Relief
Emergency relief/disaster response							
Earthquake relief	●				●	●	●
Earthquake rehabilitation		●	●		●	●	●
Drought			●		●	●	●
Flood emergency	●		●		●	●	
Livelihood assistance to Afghan refugees	●						
Health				●		●	●
Education						●	●
Non-formal education				●			
HIV/AIDS				●			
Community development					●		
Income generation					●	●	
Food security				●	●		
Agriculture (livelihood)				●			●
Approach to work							
Work directly through country Offices	●			●	●	●	●
Work indirectly through Local Partners	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
Sources: http://crs.org/pakistan ; http://english.nca.no/article/view/7130/1/458 ; http://act-intl.org ; http://www.caritaslahore.org/ ; http://www.cwspa.org ; http://www.muslimaid.org.pk ; www.islamic-relief.org.pk Sites visited on March 10, 2008							

6 Conclusion and emerging trends

The evidence from the data collected suggests that faith-based organizations constitute a significant part of the non-profit sector and are key players in the development process in Pakistan. Many of these organizations are committed to addressing the needs of the poor and destitute population, providing assistance in various forms and thus playing an important role in local processes of development. The evidence provided demonstrates that the faith-based sector in Pakistan provides an additional mechanism for social security and social welfare, often filling in where the state has failed. These organizations have also played a major role in nation-building and shaping public opinion, both before and after the creation of Pakistan.

6.1 FBOs: a source of informal social security

Faith-based organizations constitute about one-third of the non-profit organizations in Pakistan. Most have a preference for social service provision, particularly in the areas of education and health. Their role in terms of advocacy-related processes, on the other hand, appears to be limited. At least in part, this focus may be because of the state's failure to meet the basic needs of the population. Many Islamic, Christian and other religious groups have for a long time been engaged in education, health and relief services and are an example of the informal social security system that has developed in the country, which is comprised of both secular and faith-based organizations. In fact, the state has encouraged the non-profit faith-based sector to take an increased role in providing social welfare.

The dominance of NPOs in general and FBOs in particular in the provision of social services has many explanations. Firstly, the public social welfare system in Pakistan is inadequate, and state services rarely reach local communities. Many members of academia and civil society have indicated that substandard government planning and delivery has resulted in a lack of trust in state-run social sector programmes and has therefore, increased the momentum of FBOs in areas where the government has failed. Secondly, religion is often a source of inspiration in Pakistan, providing values that support social welfare initiatives, and thus prompting individuals to contribute to religious philanthropy as part of their religious duties. Also, the work many FBOs have accomplished in terms of providing for the physical, material and spiritual wellbeing of under-served populations has led to a relationship of trust between many communities and the faith-based sector, a feat which has not been accomplished by the state.

Religious identity is also an important factor in understanding the popularity and influence of FBOs in Pakistan. In *madrasas*, students are not only provided with education, food and shelter but also a sense of spiritual and psychological fulfilment in relation to their religious identity. For those belonging to destitute and socially excluded populations, this identity can help build a stronger sense of self, giving them confidence to act as citizens and members of the community, in the context of an often-disempowering social and political atmosphere.

6.2 The changing nature of Muslim FBOs

The nature and role of Islamic FBOs has evolved historically. In the past Islamic organizations were involved in providing education, health and relief, often taking an active role in political and social issues. *Madrasas* and Sufi *khanqahs* were the most prominent such organizations in the subcontinent. After independence, *madrasas* remained active in social service provision, but there has been a gradual decline in the role of Sufi *khanqahs*, despite the fact that a large percentage of the rural population of Sindh and Punjab are still devotees of Sufism. One of the reasons for this decline could be that in the late 1960s, the government took over the Sufi shrines and *auqaf* related to these shrines. This led to a decrease in donations to such organizations, due to the lack of public confidence in the state. On the other hand, *madrasas* have continued to have a strong influence in society, at times even receiving patronage from the state in order to fulfil its own political agenda.

The focus of most *madrasas* has slowly been shifting over the years in response to wider political and economic changes. Many large *madrasas* have responded to the job market needs of their target populations by incorporating subjects related to science and information technology in their curricula in addition to religious education. For example, Jamia Banoria Karachi has started several new programmes and colleges geared towards providing practical training and skills. The Binoria Public School, for example, provides Islamic education alongside the teaching of practical subjects. This organization also runs the Binoria Medical Complex and Medical College, the Binoria Computer Institute and Technical Centre and the Binoria Degree College. The main aim of the establishment of the latter is to provide an opportunity for *ulema* to get a 'traditional academic education' and eventually to join the Pakistani Civil Services (<http://www.binoria.org>).

Furthermore, in many urban centres, a large number of schools have been established that promote Islamic and secular education under the same roof. The Yaqeen Model School System and Iqra Roza-tul-Atfal are examples of such institutions, where students are introduced to both branches of education. Some of these schools are also affiliated with the UK Cambridge Examinations System.

6.3 The engagement of FBOs in public discourse

FBOs, most of which are Muslim or Christian in origin, are increasingly becoming key participants in public debates around pressing social and political issues. They have differing opinions about issues such as interfaith dialogue, women's rights, health, reproductive rights, and family planning.

Generally speaking, Islamic organizations have failed to address interfaith dialogue and sectarian issues explicitly as part of their agendas.³⁶ In comparison, the Christian clergy have been addressing interfaith dialogue and promoting religious harmony for many years. Organizations such as the Christian Study Centre, for example, have initiated training programmes for people belonging to all faiths in order to promote interfaith peace and harmony. In fact, since the late 1960s, the Christian clergy in Pakistan have emphasized the importance of interfaith dialogue as a crucial aspect of development.³⁷

Many Christian FBOs have also engaged in advocacy and public debates surrounding such controversial issues as HIV/AIDS, contraceptive use, and drug abuse. For example, Caritas Pakistan has national-level programmes on health, drug reduction and HIV/AIDS. Similarly, the Church World Service Pakistan-Afghanistan has community-awareness programmes on HIV/AIDS as well as on gender-related issues.³⁸

On the other hand, few Muslim FBOs have publicly addressed the issues of HIV/AIDS, although there have been efforts by international agencies to involve the religious leadership in this discourse. For instance, in 2005, religious leaders were assembled for the First Meeting of the Inter-Religious Council of HIV/AIDS in Islamabad, which was sponsored by UNICEF, in order to discuss how to create a caring society free of HIV-related stigma and discrimination. Here, religious leaders reportedly agreed to 'break the silence' by talking about the HIV virus in Friday sermons and community meetings.³⁹

However, the focus of Islamic FBOs is still largely on issues related to the provision of basic social services such as education, health, rehabilitation, and relief. In fact, many of these organizations argue that the discourse on women's rights, reproductive health, and on HIV/AIDS is part of a 'Western agenda'. According to Dr. Khalid Rehman,⁴⁰ director of the Institute for Policy Studies, a Jamaat-e-Islami affiliated think-tank, Islamic organizations are generally opposed to the promotion of 'women rights' and to those organizations based in Pakistan who are working on such issues. He argues that 'the West' and many NGOs are unaware of the 'Islamic' and cultural values of Pakistan and hence are confused. Moreover, using the declining birth rates of Western countries as evidence of the negative implications of such policies, he asserts that the promotion of family planning and reproductive rights has been imposed on countries like Pakistan by Western countries.

Nevertheless, Muslim FBOs have frequently been active commentators on political and social issues, contributing to public discourse around key debates. For example, several Islamic organizations commented publicly on the imposition/repeal of laws related to women's rights, reproductive rights, and social justice from a religious perspective. For example, in 1979, the government introduced the Hudood Ordinance (an Islamic Law⁴¹) that created a series of new offences based on a regressive application of *sharia*, the most controversial of which related to *zina* or adultery. This law blurred the legal distinction between rape and extramarital sex, resulting in the imprisonment and/or physical punishment of numerous women who had come forward with charges of rape without witnesses (Kennedy, 1988).⁴² The Hudood Ordinance was widely condemned by Christian groups, as well as other liberal and more secular-minded segments of society as well as the international human rights community. In 2006, the government made certain changes to the law through the Women's Protection Bill, which brought rape under the Pakistan Penal Code, which is based on civil law, not *sharia*. However, this was fiercely criticized by several Islamic groups.

6.4 The lost momentum of Hindu and Parsi FBOs

Whereas Christian and Muslim FBOs have been increasingly active in delivering social services, performing missionary work and providing relief, Hindu and Parsi organizations have lost momentum over the years. As discussed above, the Parsi community in Pakistan has a long history of philanthropy, welfare and social service, but their role in development is on a decline. There are two prime reasons for this: firstly, there are no conversions in the Parsi faith, and most Parsis have either

married into other faiths or have migrated to other countries, which has led to a decline in the population of Parsis. According to the Banu Manda, there are only 1,900 Parsis living in Pakistan.

While Parsi FBOs have declined as a direct result of a decreasing population, the role of Hindu FBOs in development activities has declined despite the fact that their population has not decreased. In spite of the secular leanings of Jinnah, Pakistan was largely created as a homeland for Muslims in 1947. Since this time, Hindus in particular have frequently been the targets of abuse and discrimination. The communal violence of the 1940s and subsequent incidents of religious persecution have resulted in the destruction of thousands of Hindu temples, although the Hindu community and the Pakistani government have preserved and protected many prominent ones. In addition, the wars between India and Pakistan over Kashmir and Bangladesh have damaged relations between Hindus and Muslims and have often placed the Hindu community in a position of increased vulnerability and insecurity. For this reason, Hindus may be less inclined to organize formally, and if they do, they are less likely to publicize their activities.

6.5 Future areas for research

This study only begins to highlight the historical significance and growing role of FBOs in development processes in Pakistan. The review of available literature and field observations suggest a number of potential areas for future research, including:

- Mapping the development activities related to Sufi shrines
- Studying the emerging trend for urban FBOs to provide both religious and modern education
- Examining the effect of curriculum changes in *madrasas* on the job opportunities of students
- Studying the factors behind the lost momentum of Hindu FBOs as compared to Christian FBOs

These are but a few of the areas in which further research could be conducted. However, there are countless other issues that arise when looking at the role of FBOs in Pakistan's development. This study has touched on some of these, but more importantly, it has demonstrated the need for such research to continue, as religion and religious groups are increasingly at the forefront of development-related discourse and activities in Pakistan.

Annexure 1

LIST OF KEY INFORMANTS/INTERVIEWEES	
Dr. Jaffar Ahmed, Director, Pakistan Study Centre, University of Karachi	16 th of January 2007
Mr. Salim Ahmed, President, South Asian Research Resource Centre, Islamabad	26 th March 2007
Mr. Sohail Javed, Economist, Applied Economics Research Centre, University of Karachi	16 th of January 2007
Mr. Khalid Rehman, Director General, Institute of Policy Studies, Islamabad	26 th March 2007
Mr. Dominic Gill & Mr. Mansha Noor, Caritas Pakistan-Karachi	7 th February 2007
Ms. Anila Fernandes, National Executive Secretary, Caritas National Office-Lahore	30 th March 2007
Mr. Cecil Chaudray, Principle, St. Anthony's College, Lahore	28 th March 2007
Mr. Mehboob Sada, President, Christian Study Centre Islamabad	26 th March 2007
Ms. Romana Bashir, Programme Officer, Christian Study Centre Islamabad	26 th March 2007
Audrey Fernandez, Assistant Project Officer, Capacity Building Programme for Peoples Organisation, Church World Service Pakistan-Afghanistan, Karachi	22 nd November 2006
Ms. Sunnu Golwalla, Secretary, Karachi Zarhosti Banu Mandal (Parsi) Karachi	17 th October 2006,
Ms. Toxy Cowsjee, Ex-President, Karachi Zarhosti Banu Mandal (Parsi) Karachi	13 th April 2007
Mr. Rochi Ram, a lawyer and human rights activist	4 th April 2007

Notes

- ¹ For the purposes of this report, 'development' is used broadly to include social as well as economic development. Developmental activities include providing services to the community related to education, healthcare, material assistance and emergency relief, as well as advocacy.
- ² In this report, the terms 'civil society sector' and 'nonprofit sector' are used interchangeably.
- ³ Details of this project are available at www.jhu.edu/~cnp
- ⁴ '*Madrassa*' is the Arabic word for 'school', which in Pakistan generally refers specifically to an Islamic school. The plural of '*madrassa*' is '*madrassas*'.
- ⁵ In Pakistan, apex bodies only exist for the Christian faith, in the form of the Catholic Church and the Church of Pakistan. In the case of Islam, there are no apex bodies as such. There are five *Madrassa* Education boards representing various Islamic *fiqh*, but their role is limited to curriculum development and overseeing examinations. There is no apex body amongst the Hindu community.
- ⁶ Although missionary organizations play a key role in development in Pakistan, gathering information about these organizations can be problematic. Most Christian missionary, Islamic *dawah* and Ahmadi organizations are reluctant to talk about their activities, because of the political climate, which has been particularly hostile to missionary organizations, especially those of minority religious groups.
- ⁷ In general, the term 'charity' is used to indicate activities that are inspired by religious values. Welfare organizations may or may not be inspired by religious values. For the purposes of this report, 'welfare' and 'charity' are used interchangeably and both types of activity are viewed as contributing to wider processes of 'development'.
- ⁸ Federally Administered Tribal Areas
- ⁹ Although they have not been included in this study, it is important to note that mosque committees are also often involved in development and welfare activities.
- ¹⁰ There are several different laws under which nonprofit or charitable organizations may register. These include, for instance, the Societies Registration Act (1860), the Companies Ordinance (1984), the Voluntary Social Welfare Agencies (Registration and Control) Ordinance (1961) and the Trust Act (1882).
- ¹¹ It is important to note that not all Muslims supported the creation of a separate state for Muslims. Many prominent Muslim intellectuals and public figures, in fact, opposed the creation of Pakistan and opted to support a secular and united independent Indian nation.
- ¹² The partition of the subcontinent and the creation of Pakistan spurred 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. Accompanying this migration was large-scale violence, in which between 500,000 and one million people were killed and millions more were injured, raped and abducted (see Butalia, 2000).
- ¹³ The two major sects of Islam are Sunni and Shi'a. The division between these sects occurred during the decades following the Prophet's death, when there was a dispute over the succession to the Caliphate. Shi'as believe that Ali, the Prophet's son-in-law, was the rightful heir, while Sunnis believe that Muhammad appointed Abu Bakr as his successor. The majority of the world's Muslims are Sunni, while approximately 10-15 per cent are Shi'a.
- ¹⁴ The four major Sunni schools of law are: Hanafi, Shafi'i, Maliki and Hanbali. The majority of Muslims in Pakistan follow the Hanafi school, within which there are two movements % Deobandi and Bareilvi. The Deobandi is an Islamic revivalist movement which started in India and has more recently spread to other countries. The Deobandi movement developed largely as a reaction to British colonialism in India (see Metcalf, 1982). The Bareilvi practice of Islam places less emphasis on doctrinal issues and is more inspired by *Sufism*. This movement was founded by Ahmed Raza

Khan of Bareilly, India. Bareilvis comprise a sizable portion of the Hanafi Muslim communities in South Asia (see Talbot, 2005, p. 28).

- ¹⁵ Ahmadis have also frequently been the target of religious-based violence as well as government-led persecution. The declaration that Ahmadis are ‘non-Muslims’ is only one aspect of the long term persecution of this group (see Zaman, 1998).
- ¹⁶ This sub-section has been adapted from Ghaus-Pasha and Iqbal (2003).
- ¹⁷ For this purpose a regular open kitchen (*langar*) was established, which at times fed thousands of people.
- ¹⁸ However, it is interesting to note that, contrary to their rhetoric, in December 2003 religious political parties played a deciding role in legitimizing the authority of General Musharraf by voting in Parliament for a constitutional amendment allowing him to continue his rule.
- ¹⁹ Ghaus-Pasha and Iqbal (2002) estimate that the nonprofit sector in Pakistan consists of about 45,000 organizations.
- ²⁰ Each *Madrassa* board has a particular social base and ideology. Although these sects share the desire to establish an Islamic state, each has a different opinion about the exact nature of this state and the means by which this goal should be pursued (see Table 4).
- ²¹ SPDC (2003); Andrabi *et al* (2005).
- ²² Although the possibility of over-reporting remains, the Census data becomes more plausible if understood in context. For example, the number of institutions reported by the Census is close to the estimates of the Johns Hopkins study (Ghaus-Pasha and Iqbal, 2002). Moreover, the Census estimates the average number of students per *madrassa* to be 127, which is lower than the national average of 147 students per institution.
- ²³ Dars-i-Nizami was evolved by Mulla Nizam Uddin Sihalvi (d. 1748) at Farangi Mahal, a famous seminary in Lucknow. The Dars-i-Nizami emphasized human reasoning (*maqulat*), while at Deoband, the traditional sciences, which were transmitted unchanged to the learner (*manqulat*), were emphasized. Thus, Deobandi teaching placed a greater emphasis on the *hadith* as compared to the Dars-i-Nazami (see Rahman, 2004).
- ²⁴ On the basis of a sample of 2,000 organizations, the study estimated that the total number of NPOs is 45,000. 120, or 6 per cent, out of 2,000 sampled NPOs are FBOs, so the total number of FBOs, at 6 per cent of 45,000, is likely to be about 2,700.
- ²⁵ The Alamgir Welfare Trust is associated with the Deobandi school of thought, while both Saylani Welfare International and the Al-Mustafa Welfare Society are associated with the Ahle-Sunnat school. They perform similar functions: providing assistance to the poor as well as providing medical services. They also perform religious functions such as providing burial services, maintaining mosques, and assisting people to perform the Hajj (<http://www.alamgirwelfaretrust.com.pk/awt/?referrer=dawn2>; www.saylaniwelfare.com; www.almustafa.net/)
- ²⁶ The Al-Khidmat Foundation runs 395 educational institutions in Pakistan including *madrassas* and regular schools, in which over 40,000 students are enrolled. It also operates more than 90 dispensaries/health centres/clinics, 24 medical laboratories, 5 blood banks, and ambulance services in 19 cities. Moreover, Al-Khidmat runs 20 hospitals, where more than 300,000 patients are treated every year. Sister organizations of Al-Khidmat include the Ghazali Education Trust, Hira Schools, Al-Khidmat Welfare Society Karachi, Alkhidmat Khawateen (women) Trust Karachi, Read Foundation, Pakistan Islamic Medical Association and Pakistan Engineers’ Forum (<http://www.al-khidmatfoundation.org>) (see Box 2).

- ²⁷ Banned by the Musharraf government in January 2002, the Jaish was renamed Khuddamul Islam.
- ²⁸ According to Dr. Jafar Ahmed and other observers, this movement represents a regressive force amongst middle class women. Furthermore, many Islamic scholars are hostile to Dr. Hashmi, as she has not been educated in traditional religious educational institutions but received her PhD from the University of Edinburgh.
- ²⁹ Interview with Mr. Rochi Ram at his residence in Karachi on 4th of April 2007. He provided background information about the Hindu community and the type of activities in which Hindu FBOs are involved.
- ³⁰ The Hindus of Sindh are largely traders, bonded labourers and small farmers. There are roughly 70,000 Hindus living in Karachi, where they are mostly merchants, servants and employed in the service industries. Most of the Hindu community in Karachi is part of the economic elite, in contrast to the large number of Hindu scheduled-caste members and bonded labourers in rural Sindh. Pakistani Hindus include Sindhis, Gujaratis, Balochis, Punjabis and Urdu-speaking populations.
- ³¹ Mr. Salim Ahmed is Director of South Asian Research Resource Centre and has worked on minorities. This information is based on an informal survey he conducted of Hindu FBOs in Sindh. However, as this survey did not cover all the districts of Sindh, there are presumably more Hindu FBOs than were covered.
- ³² Interview with Mrs. Cowsjee, a notable Parsi journalist, was conducted at her residence on April 13th, 2007.
- ³³ An association of Parsi women.
- ³⁴ The hospital began with 25 beds and currently has over 200 beds. It carried out over 7,000 operations, including 4,000 deliveries, in the year 2001.
- ³⁵ The management of the hospital was eventually handed over to the Karachi Municipal Committee. Today, about 600 major and minor eye operations are performed every month, and 6,000 cornea transplants have been done to date (Salim, 2006).
- ³⁶ However, Meraj-ul-Quran is one organization that claims to be engaged in interfaith dialogue.
- ³⁷ Reverend Chaman Sardar is an example of one such clergy member. He has not only helped in building 120 churches but has also played an important role in constructing mosques in his local village.
- ³⁸ Sources: Caritas Pakistan Lahore <http://www.caritaslahore.org/> ; Church World Service <http://www.cwspa.org/cbp.html>
- ³⁹ Source: UNICEF http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/pakistan_26113.html
- ⁴⁰ Dr. Rehman is Director General of Institute of Policy Studies.
- ⁴¹ It is important to note that the term 'Islamic Law' is used here to denote laws introduced by the military government of General Zia-ul-Haq under the umbrella of the Hudood Ordinance. Many would argue that these laws do not truly reflect the spirit of Islamic teachings.
- ⁴² The Hudood Ordinance made it mandatory that four male witnesses be presented in order to prove any charge of rape. If such witnesses cannot be produced, the accusing party would herself be liable to charges of extramarital sex (Human Rights Watch, 2006).

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