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URBANIZATION, GLOBALIZATION AND INSTITUTIONAL LAGS IN PAKISTAN

Abstract

Pakistan is an urbanized society, spatially and materially. Urban modes of living have spread. Globalization is further accelerating the urbanization of the society. While the society is being strung into the urban modes of living, its beliefs, norms and values remain anchored in the agrarian social order. This disparity has spawned wide ranging institutional lags. First; the non-material norms are lagging behind material culture. Second, private interests overshadow the public space. Third, the lived culture is not in sync with the imagined culture. These lags are impeding Pakistan's good governance and development.

Urbanization precipitates four sets of functional imperatives. It necessitates the provision of collective goods and services. It requires redefining property rights. It calls for a moral order based on impersonal mores and formal rules rather than customs. It lays the ground for communities of interest and modernization of values and norms. These imperatives remain unfulfilled. Institutional lags are structural manifestation of these unfulfilled imperatives. A strategy of deliberate urbanism is recommended to overcome this condition.

The issue

Pakistan is now an urban society, spatially and materially. Of its estimated population of 155 million (2006), about 36% lived in cities and towns but adding the population of high density rural areas, representing urbanization by population implosion, the percentage of people living in urban communities would come to 57-58%. [(Qadeer 2006:51)] Not only a majority is living in urban or urban -like conditions, but also the rest of the country classified as rural has been swept by the urban material culture such as radio and TV, vans, cash economy etc. Urbanism as a mode of living is now the defining characteristic of Pakistan.

The material and spatial urbanism is embedded in norms and values of largely rural and tribal origins. This condition has resulted in the material culture being out of synch with the non- material culture and economic and technological institutions being in imbalance with social and moral orders. Pervasive institutional lags characterize the state and society of Pakistan.

These institutional lags underlie the ineffectiveness or what Myrdal long ago called the 'soft' state and myriad of problems that besiege the society [Myrdal 1968:66].

For example, be it the corruption in government or gradual erosion of the writ of the state, the causes of such problems lie in institutions based on the particularistic norms, personalized decision making and privileging of the clan and Biradari bonds. These are the characteristics of rural institutions that undergird the state structure.

Similarly, Pakistani society continues to be organized around the institutions of family and clan, by the ascribed statuses rather than achievement orientation, patriarchal relations, subordination of women and the pursuit of honour, for example. This social order is essentially rural in morality and values, though recent urbanization is eroding its foundations. The result is that the society is full of paralysing contradictions. Later l will discuss with examples these social contradictions, presently l just want to point out that institutional lags are the structural features of contemporary Pakistani state and society.

Material bases of urbanism

An urban way of life encased in rural norms and values has come to define Pakistan. This is a widely acknowledged fact about Pakistani society and culture. It is a common refrain to say that 'Pakistan's problem is feudalism', namely a feudal or rural mindset and ways of life are obstructing the progress of the country. Obviously the incompatibility of feudal ways with the demands of modern living is assumed to be the source of national ills.

How steeped is Pakistani society in urban ways of life can be observed from a few key indicators. I have already pointed out that a majority of population lives in urban areas or under urban spatial conditions Only about one- fifth of Pakistan's national income is now produced by the agriculture sector, namely 22.3% of the Net National Product at constant factor prices came from the agriculture, forestry and fishing-hunting in 2005-06.

Although the modal (35.7%) group of employed persons (10 years or older) in Pakistan's labour force worked in agriculture and fisheries and forestry in 2005-06, yet they were a minority. Almost two-third of the labour force was engaged in non-agricultural occupations. It must also be pointed out that agriculture now is a business requiring inputs of credit, chemicals, skilled labour and commercial savvy. It is only on marginal farms and in remote areas that share-cropping and other customary ways of cultivation are employed. The point is that the division of labour, specialization and cash economy are essentially the conditions of work on Pakistani farms.

Social relations of production have changed over the past half-century with development. Almost gone are the customary exchanges of services and labour for annual shares from the harvest and work specialization by hereditary occupational castes. Circulatory migration of rural labour to cities in Pakistan and abroad has become a source of employment for almost one-quarter to one-third of the rural population. Their remittances are a substantial source of village incomes.

City economies have long diversified from being based primarily on trade and administration to include industrial and service activities. Poor Pakistanis have imbibed unprecedented entrepreneurship in eking living out of the meagre opportunities in the informal sector. Poverty is endemic and persistent. Class polarization is widening. The whole population is being strung into a proto capitalist mode of production.

It is on the material base of everyday living that the imprint of modernity and urbanism is striking. For example, in 2004, there were 2.7 million registered motorcycles and 1.3 million cars, which with the national household size of 6.8 persons meant that about 34 million persons had access to the motorized transport. Suzuki van as a means of public transport has penetrated far-flung areas, breaching their isolation and linking them with cities.

The communication revolution is the most recent modern cultural phenomenon to sweep the country. FM radio stations, legal and illegal, have sprouted all over the country. Even the NWFP's tribal areas are reported to have 49 unapproved radio stations, where Mullahs duel with each other orally [(The News 2006)]. There are more than 50 TV channels to choose from on cable television and more are being continually added. Mobile phones have tipped the daily life into the electronic connectivity. Estimates of cell phones in circulation range from 15 to 40 million, so rapid is their spread that in one year, 2004 to 2005, their number increased from 5 to 15 million.[(The News 2005)] Like all other activities, the illicit sector of mobile phones is also thriving; about 1.5 million phones were connected illegally [(Jang :2007)]

Recently a new force that accelerates the spread of urbanism in a society has been sweeping the world. The process of globalization is adding another layer to the urban system of Pakistan. Let us look at this process. How it advances the transformation of the society towards the urban modes of living?

Globalization as a force of change

Globalization is both an economic force and a cultural process. Economically it is the phenomenon of the free flow of goods, services, finance, enterprises and to some extent labour across national boundaries. It is anchored in the structure of free trade and international rules that supra-national bodies (UN, WTO IMF etc.) enact. Culturally, in Stiglitz's words, "globalization encompasses many things: the international flow of ideas and knowledge, the sharing of cultures, global civil society and global environmental movement" [Stiglitz 2006:4]

In practice, globalization is a ticket for corporations to move their operations in and out of countries and to outsource production for reducing labour costs. It refers to the opening of national territories to imports, investments and repatriation of profits as well as the diffusion of common consumer culture. Stereotypically, globalization is equated with the McWorld, namely the spread of McDonalds and CNN.

Although globalization is largely the diffusion of the Western (particularly American) ideas, practices and products in the Third World, but there is also some reverse flow from China, India and even Africa of food, music and entertainment. It is also, sometimes, credited with the spread of Jihadist ideology and human trafficking. All in all, globalization is an accelerated form of cultural diffusion that itself is historically one of the two fundamental processes of social change.

Not all is thought to be well with globalization. Certainly loud discontents are being voiced even in the USA and Europe, presumably the mother countries of free trade and globalization. A recent article in the establishment magazine, Foreign Affairs, raises the possibility that globalization may have passed its peak [(Abdel and Segal 2007)]. From the perspective of this paper, an assessment of the benefits and costs of globalization is not the focus. What l want to show is that globalization is another wrinkle on the on-going process of the spread of urbanism.

Globalization is modern and urban in contents. The ideas, activities, goods and services spreading globally not only carry urban practices and beliefs but also they initially enter a country through its major cities. Globally induced traits and functions settle on the top of the hierarchy of activities in a city. They are located in the fashionable parts of cities and command premier facilities and services. Thus they set a wave of polarization and differentiation in the structure of cities. As they are accommodated in the local culture, they begin to filter down to smaller cities, towns and even countryside. Examine, for example, the spread of Coca Cola, KFC or Internet in Pakistan, these activities began in Karachi, Lahore and then filtered down to Multan or Mund. Following a similar path, the nascent software industry has begun in big cities and it is beginning to filter down to second tier cities such as Islamabad, Peshawar. Each of these items remain the symbols of modernity and prestige compared to their indigenous counterparts. The point is that global influences are essentially a patch on urban cultures, injecting new modernist traits. This is undoubtedly the case in Pakistan.

Pakistan is weakly globalized .A recently constructed index of globalization, based on weighted values of items such as foreign investments, tariff rates, import barriers and social indicators such as international telephone traffic, number of internet users and McDonald restaurants etc, places Pakistan low on the scale, in the 40-60 range, compared to Canada, for example, at above 80 score [(Dreher 2006)].

The primary agency of globalization in Pakistan is its expatriate labour working in the Gulf countries and Europe, and immigrants in North America and Australia. Through them have come new consumer tastes, mass air travel, modern gadgets, dollars and even puritanical Islamic ideology from Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Iran and Taliban.

Other forces of globalization in Pakistan include international aid, advice and treaties, global NGOs and opening of the domestic markets to imports, investment

and currency trade. A case can also be made that almost 30 years of the spill over of Afghan wars has brought the world into Pakistan.

Altogether these global forces have realigned the social structure of Pakistan. A class of global professionals and businessmen has emerged whose fortunes are tied to external economic opportunities and who command premium earnings, not infrequently in dollars or equivalent rates. They have found a place among the economic elite and are setting examples of conspicuous consumption. What they spend on a dinner in five star restaurants of Karachi, Lahore or Islamabad is more than what their chauffeurs' families spend in a month. Such is the scale of social disparity arising from globalization. Of course their life style defines the aspirations of the emerging middle class. The new face of modernization in Pakistan has global rouge. Undoubtedly there is a veneer of prosperity in the cities of Pakistan attributable to globalization, but it is accompanied by increasing social disparity.

To conclude this discussion, it can be said that globalization is reinforcing the modernizing trends in Pakistan, both diversifying its economic base and sharpening the class polarization. Culturally, it is cast in urban parameters and builds up pressures for adoption of the urban norms and values. This functional requirement brings into bold relief the imbalance between agrarian rooted culture and the requisites of an urban- modern social organization. The following section delves into this issue.

Institutional Lags

A social institution is essentially a set of ideas, invested with the moral force, about the expected behaviours and beliefs in an area of life, be it family, economy, education, community or religion at the macro level or school, cricket team or cousin marriages at the micro level. In the sociological language, an institution is the script for organizing human actions in a particular aspect of living. The social change that has swept Pakistan has precipitated an unusual condition. The patterns of living have changed. The material base has been transformed and the economic organization has been realigned, both in modern-urban ways. Yet the script remains traditional, rooted in agrarian norms and values. This incoherence among different institutions as well as the division within institutions is the phenomenon of institutional lag. Norms and values of one institution are inconsistent with those of others or some elements of an institution are out of balance with the rest.

Three major fissures divide Pakistan's social institutions: 1) The material culture and technology have outstripped non-material beliefs, values and norms. 2) The private interests and kin loyalties trump public interests and collective well-being. 3) The lived culture has outgrown imagined culture. Let us take each of these divisions of Pakistani society and examine their contradictions.

The lag between the material and non-material aspects of Pakistan's cultures

Ogburn long ago defined the phenomenon of 'cultural lag' when elements of a culture that were once in agreement with each other change at different rates, thereby dissociating or misadjusting with each other [(Ogburn 1950)]. Usually material aspects change faster than beliefs and behaviours. This is what has happened in Pakistan.

The lag between material and non-material aspects of institutions is strikingly illustrated by the hazardous and wasteful traffic conditions on Pakistan's roads. The automobile has spread all across, but traffic regulations, their enforcement and particularly drivers' behaviours woefully lag behind. Buses, cars, motorbikes are prestigious possessions that are driven as symbols of honour and power, resulting in a continual one-up-man driving behaviour. Traffic signals are ignored, posted speeds are given scant attention and any opening in the road space invites drivers to muscle each other away. A western traveller observed that Pakistanis drive as if they are riding a horse. This lag of the moral underpinning of the modern modes of driving is exacting immeasurable toll of life, limbs and property for the whole society.

The disparity between the diffusion of the material and non-material cultural elements is reflected in almost all aspects of the social life and governance. TV, videos, hamburgers and even base ball caps or jeans, for example, have spread rapidly but family planning, punctuality, weight watching or mores of efficiency have not caught on as much, despite the persistent media campaigns. The lag of norms and values behind the material and technological advances is a divide that runs across Pakistani institutions.

Imbalance between private and public spheres

Social life is divided between the private sphere of individual, family and kin community, namely interests and actions that largely benefit or harm individuals and small groups on the one hand; and the public sphere of generalized interests, collective goods and common welfare of the community at large, on the other. Private interests are appropriable, divisible and largely marketable with little spill over effects, examples of such acts are establishing a family, building home, buying and selling, holding a job, playing games and sports, taking care of personal or family's health, falling in love etc Whereas public interests are indivisible, non appropriable and embedded in interlocking externalities, such as security, defence, water supply, air quality, trust, public health and good government etc.

An agrarian society has few collective goods and the preponderance of private and communal interests. As a society industrializes and modernizes, the individuals' actions interlock, agglomeration economies emerge and the welfare of everyone increasingly depends on the well being of all. This transformation parallels the shift

from rural to urban social order. Pakistan's economic development is also following this path. The need for collective goods is increasing and public interests are defining the quality of life.

Pakistan's development in the past six decades has tilted the balance between the private and public interests. Collective goods are scarce though they are direly needed as the economy and society urbanize. Private interests have proliferated without the corresponding ethical restraints. Witness the everyday phenomenon of housing estates of grand designs but lacking proper sewerage disposal or drainage systems. Garbage swept from homes pile on the streets outside, living up to the Galbraithian phrase 'private affluence and public squalor'.

Over time the private space of home has been secularized and equipped with modern comforts, at least among the middle and upper class households, but public space of streets, parks and the infrastructure is deficient, ill-maintained and neglected. Private clinics have multiplied, but sanitation and preventive medicine remain underdeveloped. Marraiges have become lavish affairs of big feasts and large dowries, while laws and morality restricting such extravaganzas remain dead letters.

Even the nature of property changes with development. Property in an agrarian order is largely self-contained and an endowment of nature. It is usually material and corporeal. Whereas the urban property is primarily the product of externalities and its impacts spill over to others. It is as much incorporeal as material.

With urbanization in Pakistan, the nature of property is changing and public dimensions are increasingly more important. Yet Pakistan's property system continues to be based on agrarian ideologies and rural notions of ownership. This imbalance between the private and public dimensions of the property is a source of the local fiscal crises, haphazard development and community impoverishment.

The imagined culture lagging behind the lived culture of institutions

Another fissure running through Pakistan's social institutions is the chasm between how people live and what they believe is their way of life. The former is the lived and the latter is the imagined culture It is the difference between the reality of life patterns and the beliefs about the ways of living. This divide permeates almost all institutions, be it family, elder care, status of women or employment etc. It has widened as the lived life has been swept by modern-urban compulsions and the imagined life remains stuck to the traditional beliefs. A few examples will illustrate this divide.

Mobility has uprooted people from their traditional roles, activities and abodes. Millions live and work at places far off from where they grew up. Families and kin have been left behind. Elderly parents live alone while grown up children make homes in distant cities and countries. Lonely senior is a reality, but the beliefs about Pakistani elders' life hold that they live happily among caring children. Expatriate

Pakistanis live with the guilt of abandoned elderly as do those migrated to cities. Yet if asked to describe the life of seniors in Pakistani society, most Pakistanis are likely to paint a picture of well cared for elderly, slamming the West where 'they are abandoned'. This chasm between the imagined and lived family life has not allowed new institutions of the eldercare to emerge that will conform to the lived realities.

Similar disparity exists regarding the lived life of women and their imagined roles. Economic pressures, functional requisites of modern living including having to shop, take children to schools or clinics, deal with public officials have impelled almost a majority of women to take responsibilities outside home. Yet the imagined life of women is that of domestic bliss behind the *Chardevari* (four walls). Islamists raise this belief to an ideal. Pakistani society has changed but its mental images of women's daily life remain stuck in its bucolic past.

The structural condition revealed by this lag within institutions is that of lived life being transformed into modern parameters, while the imagined beliefs and norms continue to be mired in traditions.

Modernity and urban life

Institutional lags are indicators of Pakistan's arrested social development. Undoubtedly the structure of society has changed, but cultural norms, values and beliefs as well as morals have not evolved in parallel. This incompatibility of the cultural and structural elements is contributing to the under development, disorder, corruption and inefficiency. A deliberate programme of social reforms and cultural development is needed in the contemporary Pakistan; a process that though continuous came in two major waves in the Western countries. First in the social legislation of the early 20th century and second in the urban reform movement of 1930s.The social legislation of 1860s in Germany and 1900s in Britain are examples of the first wave. The urban reform legislations in North America, the USA and Canada of 1930s, are the second wave.

What will be the scope of social reforms? To answer this question, we have to probe the requisites of urban living that has come to characterize Pakistan. The sociological literature has long maintained that the transformation from an agrarian-rural mode of production to an industrial-urban economy promotes a different social and moral order. Ibn Khuldun recognised the difference between the culture of a city and tribe as far back as the 14th century. Durkheim contrasted the rural social organization of mechanical (unity of similarities) solidarity with the urban community of organic (interdependence of the diverse) solidarity [(Durkheim 1893)]. Simmel pointed out that the cash economy of cities fosters individualism, blasé attitude and secondary relations.[(Simmel 1902)] Wirth's essay, "urbanism as a way of life" is a seminal work on the culture of cities[(Wirth 1938)]. He linked the large size, high density and heterogeneity of population of cities to anonymity, impersonalization and segmentation of social relations in a city.

Although Wirth has been partially refuted by, in particular, experiences of 'urban villagers' and ethnic enclaves in the North American and European cities [(Rex and Moore 1967: Gans 1962)], not to mention the persistence of tribal, sectarian and caste communities in the Third World cities, yet the general direction of the cultural change from rural to urban societies are well captured by his formulation. That urban social life is relatively more formal, impersonal, based on rules and secondary relations is an experience observed universally. This line of reasoning has been incorporated in the theories of modernization.

Modernization is a process of social transformation whereby a society moves towards relatively more reliance on technology and science for production, division of labour and specialization, universalistic rather than particularistic modes of dealings, status based on educational and economic achievements rather than ascription on the basis of birth and family, social mobility , emphasis on rational decision making, formal institutions, communities of interest and values such as punctuality, efficiency and equality. I have not traced the evolution of the concept of modernization but summarized the near consensual set of its attributes. For a review of the theories of modernization see Lerner and Kumar [Lerner 1958: Kumar 1996].

The process of modernization is neither monolithic nor linear. It proceeds in circular ways; traditions are resilient adapting to new challenges through realignment. Their forms may change but functions and meanings remain in tact and vice versa. That is why Wallerstein maintains that "we are required to universalize our particulars and particularize our universals" [Wallerstein 2006:49)]

Modernity must not be looked as a set of absolute characteristics, but as attributes of institutions that fall along a continuum of values. It takes different forms in different cultures, such as Russian or Japanese modernity is qualitatively different from the American modernism. Yet in each culture there is a discernable tendency towards the above listed attributes in the social, economic and political institutions.

I am aware of the post-modernist critiques of modernization and urbanization. They tend to raise epistemological objections to these notions. Recently environmental crisis has been blamed on the rise of modernity and urbanization. My argument is based on the demographic and technological drivers of these processes. I begin from the empirical fact that the world has more than six billion people and more are being added everyday. A majority of the world population now lives in cities. They are spinning out institutions of modernist attributes. Moderernization has natural affinity with urbanization. The two processes end up producing a similar social order that has the same requisites to be effective.

Functional imperatives of modern-urban social order

The attributes of modern-urbanism exist as universal tendencies but the forms they take in a particular society is affected by its culture. For example urbanization stimulates mobility in occupational, educational and geographic terms. Yet in the

Western countries it uprooted women in large numbers to move to cities to work in factories and offices. The female secretary became the anchor of an office in Europe and North America. In the Third world, mobility is drawing young men away from villages who earn their living largely in informal sector and congregate in squatter settlements. The point is that mobility as a driving force unleashed by modernization and urbanization is universal but its expression varies according to the cultural norms and values. Similar examples can be cited about the forms taken by achievement – orientation, secondary relations, division of labour and other attributes of urbanism. The functions of these attributes are universal but the forms they take vary from society to society. What are the functional imperatives of urbanization? Let us examine those.

The functional imperatives of modern-urbanism can be categorized in four sets.

Collectivization (group based production) of utilities and services

Urbanization concentrates large number of people in a small area and pools their welfare. They may not be intimate or even overtly interact with each other but they are tied together through interdependencies of common services and interests. What is either not needed or provided privately in rural settings, be it water supply, waste disposal, street cleaning, security or transport, becomes largely a collective goods in urban milieu. Thresholds for the collective provisions of many goods and services are precipitated requiring public organizations, taxation, rules and regulations as well as bureaucracies. The need for collective goods is precipitated but they may not be provided. That is the situation in Pakistan.

Restructuring of property

Modernization and urbanization realign the nature of property. First they extend the rights of property to incorporeal objects such as patents, ideas, processes and objects. Second, externalities begin to affect the property rights and values, even in real estate. One site's use and value depends on what goes on the neighbouring properties, quality of neighbourhood, transport and access, zoning and infrastructure, all attributes originating from the actions of others and not from an owner's investments. Property in urban setting is one element in a system of interrelated uses, rules, facilities and services. The property market is encased in public laws, regulations and investments. A private property derives its value and use from streets, roads, traffic laws, drainage, water supply, police and other collective goods, mostly publicly provided. Flats carve property in the air rights requiring common ownership of stairs, roofs and equipment. Yet property laws and practices are largely based on rural land laws and *Patwar* system of administration. They do not have the sophistication to deal with modern problems of joint ownership, interdependent uses, reciprocity of collective and private rights and an equitable distribution of the property values. Similarly they offer little protection to owners of intellectual property. An agenda of urban property reforms await to be implemented in Pakistan.

Formal civic order

Customary laws and informal social control do not regulate urban life, which is not self-regulating but requires formal institutions such as a local government, bureaucracy, representation of public opinion, accountability, codified laws and regulations, police and judiciary etc. All of these institutions may bear imprints of a community's culture, but functionally they partake of some universal qualities. Again urbanization precipitates the need for such a civic order. In any city, an urban civic order may or may not exist in an effective form, but is direly needed. Pakistan has the shell of this order but it is inadequate structurally and ineffective functionally. Institutional lags have obstructed the emergence of an effective civic order of the urban provenance.

Urban culture and moral order

Urban living involves encountering, visually and interactionally, hundreds of persons, if not thousands, everyday. This calls for the modifications of everyday behaviours and gives rise to new forms of social relations and cultural norms and values. One cannot greet every body one sees in a street, as is often the case in villages. One has to learn to avert gaze despite recognizing a face, the proverbial blasé attitude. This is an example of how secondary relations, mutual trust without intimacy, impersonal dealings, formal norms and even punctuality are needed for the functioning of urban life. A new moral order with its own sense of right and wrong, including for example business ethics, underpins urban life. It has to be cultivated if it does not emerge sociologically. Rapid urbanization, as in Pakistan, results in the moral order not keeping up with changes in economic and spatial organizations. This is the situation in Pakistan, which requires a process of deliberate fostering of urban culture and moral order to promote social development.

The foregoing discussion points out that the institutional lags have inhibited the realization of the imperatives of urbanism in Pakistan. The persistence of agrarian mores and ideologies (feudal ways of the common parlance), the lived reality outpacing beliefs and perceptions, public interests overshadowing private concerns together have resulted in the ineffectiveness of the state and social and moral disparities in the society. Social development is lagging behind economic and material progress. Yet any agenda of reforms depends on the state as the agency for action. It has both to lead and to create space for social movements to fulfill the imperatives of the emerging modern-urban order. What could be the strategy for such development? l will conclude this article by briefly sketching the contours of such a strategy.

Strategy of deliberate urbanism

A deliberated attempt to promote modern-urban norms and practices is needed to overcome institutional lags. Myrdal recommended 'Improved attitudes and

institutions" for all countries of South Asia almost 50 years ago [Myrdal 1968: 60-2] Sen has recently examined the role of culture in development [(Sen 2004)]

Included among the norms and practices to be promoted are an emphasis on objectivity in public discourse and decision –making, a relative impersonalization of dealings through the rule of rules, particularly in the public realm, the guaranteeing of the freedom of expression within the bounds of moral and social values, transparency and accountability of the political and administrative authority, enforceable citizens' rights and responsibilities and cultural values such as efficiency, equality, orderliness, integrity etc. This is the agenda of social reform.

The overall objective of such an agenda is to promote beliefs and behaviours that are functional in the emerging urban social order. This objective cannot be pursued by some feat of social engineering. It has to be realized by creating favourable social conditions in which modern ideas and values thrive. Ultimately it is the state that is the primary agency for fostering suitable conditions through social legislation, political ideologies, administrative practices and public education. That is why public policies and actions are at the centre of the strategy to promote desired norms and practices.

Following is a brief recap of policies and practices that are widely held to be the instruments of social development and change in modern societies.

Social legislation

Historically states and societies that were in transition from agrarian to urban-industrial order had enacted a raft of legislation establishing citizens' rights, social security, old age pensions, child welfare measures and administrative reforms. Pakistan has been long in need of such legislation. Its social legislation may not include a comprehensive welfare provisions for lack of resources, but it has to institute wide ranging social reforms, such as a charter of citizens rights and responsibilities and enabling acts for child welfare, elder care, women's rights, property reform, access to information, human rights, environmental protection and urban planning, for example. Not only such legislations have to be enacted but also they have to be enforced in fair and efficient manner. Undoubtedly this is a tall agenda, almost a wish list. Yet without such radical rebuilding of social institutions, both the state and the society will continue to be besieged by crises.

Systematizing collective goods

Urban ways of life precipitate the needs for collective goods and communal provision of service, such as water and sewerage, roads and public transport, public health, social welfare, emergency services and copy rights laws etc. Collective goods may be publicly produced or communally provided by private producers. One way or the other, they require a sophisticated and professional administration. Not all are hard infrastructural goods requiring public investments. Many collective goods are

soft in nature consisting of laws, regulations and programmes. They can be instituted with little financial resources, though a caring administration is a prerequisite. The provision of collective goods not only improves the quality of life, but also promotes awareness of common interests and a mind set of civic responsibility.

Creating space for community actions and social movements

Not all levers of social development lie in the public realm. Forging new norms and values and restructuring social institutions are processes shrouded in obscurity. When new situations arise, people improvise ways of dealing with them, building on their traditions and knowledge. Overtime through recurrent interactions, these improvisations are institutionalized into new values, norms and morals. Such social processes are also deliberately promoted in the form of community actions and social movements. Pakistan has witnessed many such community initiatives in its 60 years history, such as, VAID, Green Revolution, Islamic revival and women's rights movement that have catalyzed social change.

Public policies can facilitate or hinder community development and even social movements. A democratic system of governance, constitutional guarantees for the freedom of association and expression, legislations facilitating the formation of NGOs and CBOs as well as small public investments in community organizations and public interest advocacy are some of the tried instruments of promoting social reforms. The point is that social change is not an altogether mysterious and spontaneous process. It can be deliberated and planned even in the realm of civil society. Pakistan's agenda of institutional restructuring calls for unleashing people's energies for self-help and social reorganization.

These are some of the elements of a strategy to overcome institutional lags and realize an urban moral order in Pakistani society. Of course there is an overriding precondition for the fulfillment of this strategy. It assumes peace, order and good government, particularly a government that is fair, effective and responsive. The absence of this precondition is the big elephant in the room that l have not touched in this paper. Yet almost every measure discussed above potentially can contribute to the realization of a good government. The implementation of most of these measures will increase the effectiveness and fairness of the government. The issue of the quality of governance is a topic that continues to receive close attention from social commentators, journalists and researchers.

Also the agenda of modern -urban order comes into conflict with the orthodox wing of the Islamisation movement in Pakistan. That agenda certainly is different from what is now happening in the NWFP with the creeping Talibanization. The value- premises of the orthodox Islamic movements and the urban moral order are widely divergent. What path Pakistani society chooses depends on the outcome of the political and social struggle between the liberal-modern and orthodox Islamic

ideologies. This struggle is beyond the realm of social policy planning within which this paper has been conceived.

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