DIASPORA ORGANIZATIONS AND STRUGGLE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS: A CASE STUDY OF WORLD SINDHI INSTITUTE (WSI)

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A THESIS SUBMITTED IN THE PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS (HUMAN RIGHTS) FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES MAHIDOL UNIVERSITY 2009

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Thesis
entitled

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation is dedicated to my wife Amina Abro and Children Sami and Amun Mangi, whose love and emotional support enabled me to complete my studies and thesis at Mahidol University, Thailand. I am thankful to Dr. Mike Hayes, Lecturer Human Rights Office, who consistently and constantly reminded me to finish my thesis and helped me a lot during the study and research. I am also grateful to my advisor Iljas Baker and OHRSD. This thesis could not have been written without their support and encouragement. They not only challenged me throughout my academic programme, but patiently guided me through the dissertation process. I would like to give special thanks to the members of my dissertation committee, who have generously given their time and expertise to better my work. I thank them for their contribution and their good-natured support.

I would also like to take this opportunity to thank the Swedish International Development Agency for sponsoring my Master's Degree studies at the Office of Human Rights and Social Development (OHRSD), Mahidol University. I have been trying my best to be able to serve the community.

To OHRSD Staff: Ms Chariya Bunto and other staff for their kind support in finishing the requirements for submission of my written thesis.

I must acknowledge as well the many friends, colleagues, students, teachers, archivists, and other who assisted, advised, and supported my research and writing efforts. These names include Krishna P Upadhyaya, Coordinator South Asia-Antislavery International, London, who introduced me to this course and Miss Trinh Khanh Ly , Ediger P Leghaspi ,Imran Khan Leghari, Maqsood Memon and Ali Palh who helped me at every step during the course and stay at Thailand,

Finally, I need to express my gratitude and deep appreciation to Mr Liaquat Thaheem, for editing and formatting my thesis.

Rafiq Ahmed Mangi

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DIASPORA ORGANIZATIONS AND STRUGGLE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS: A CASE STUDY OF WORLD SINDHI INSTITUTE (WSI)

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates diaspora organizations in general and the Sindhi Diaspora in particular. It thoroughly studies the two major Sindhi Diaspora organizations: the World Sindhi Congress and the Sindhi Association of North America and it is the case study of a well-known Sindhi Diaspora organization, the World Sindhi Institute. The study identifies, examines and evaluates the role of World Sindhi Institute in protection and promotion of human rights of Sindhi people.

This study evaluates the Sindhi Diaspora organization's role and how it uses the UN's treaty bodies in their advocacy strategy for the protection of human rights. The focus is on their advocacy strategy and activities that the Sindhi Diaspora organizations are conduct.

This study reveals how the activities and advocacy work at the World Sindhi Institute bring together the Diaspora community living in America and Europe and build contact with Sindhi people who are living in Sindh. Finally, this study suggests that the World Sindhi Institute is a growing diaspora organization that is struggling for the protection of human rights of Sindhi people. It uses different advocacy and lobbying methods to disseminate information and awareness on the human rights issues of Sindh.

KEY WORDS: SINDHI DIASPORA/ DIASPORA ORGANIZATIONS/ WORLD SINDHI INSTITUTE/ WORLD SINDHI CONGRESS/ SINDHI ASSOCIATION OF NORTH AMERICA

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FEELINGS OF ONE DIASPORA MEMBER

Am I a Sindhi?
I was not born in Sindh
I have never been to Sindh
My wife has never been to Sindh
But the simple answer to the question is:
Yes, I am a Sindhi – and a proud one at that.
How would you define a Sindhi? Is a Sindhi a person who was born in Sindh, grew up in Sindh, and was educated in Sindh?
Yes…But a Sindhi is also many, many other people who are physically separate from their ancestral land, but spiritually forever connected to it. Sindhis come in all different forms – we are citizens of the world, entrepreneurs, risk takers, with good souls and Sufi intentions.
Why am I a proud Sindhi?
It is impossible not to be, since I come from one of the oldest civilizations in the world.
My roots are from a place that is rich in culture. My roots are from a place where the people are kind, gentle, and compassionate.
A Sindhi is not a warrior; a Sindhi is not an aggressor. That may be both our greatest strength, and our downfall too.
I am part of the global Sindhi diaspora. My parents were both born in the great city of Hyderabad. My Father grew up in Hyderabad, and my Mother grew up in Sukkur. So yes, I have Sindh in my veins.
In the dark days of 1947, when history was crumbling right before his eyes, when politicians from both sides of the great divide were chasing dreams of personal glory, my Father, a young man of 21, decided not to participate in the mayhem surrounding him. Instead, he chose to seek greener pastures, and boarded a ship bound for Kuwait in the Persian Gulf. At the time, the logic and rationale dictated that all this mayhem would subside in a few months, and then, after making a bit of money, he would return to his homeland. 57 years later, many a Sindhi Sufis are still waiting for the day when they can return to their homeland.

Deepak Mirchandani (currently Canadian National)

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MAP of Pakistan

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADB	Asian Development Bank
AI	Amnesty International
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CERD	International Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Racial Discrimination
CRC	Convention on the Rights of Child
EU	European Union
ECOSOC	Economic and Social Council
FAME Fund	Dr Feroze Ahmed Memorial Education Fund
HR	Human Rights
HRW	Human Rights Watch
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
ICISS	International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty
ILO	International Labour Organization
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organization
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MRD	Movement for Restoration of Democracy
NA	National Assembly
NAB	National Accountability Bureau
NAFTA	North America Free Trade Agreement
NGOs	Non-governmental Organizations
NWFP	North West Frontier Province
OHCHR	Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights
PPP	Pakistan Peoples Party
PMLN	Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz Sharif)

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS(cont.)

SANA	Sindhi Association of North America
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UNOG	The United Nations Office at Geneva
USA	United States of America
UK	United Kingdom
WB	World Bank
WHO	World Health Organizations
WKI	World Kurdish Institute
WSC	World Sindhi Congress
WSI	World Sindhi Institute
WTO	World Trade Organization

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

1.1 Introduction

Of late, the role and value of diaspora organizations for the acquisition and protection of basic human rights have assumed considerable value. Though smaller in number and younger as against some key diaspora organizations, Sindhi Diaspora organizations have contributed to improve the state of human rights in Sindh. This research thesis investigates and interprets the part played by Sindhi Diaspora to help protect the human rights of Sindhi people within the universal perspective of rights. Focusing specifically upon the World Sindhi Institute (WSI), this thesis discusses in detail its role as part of international human rights mechanisms to protect and promote the rights of Sindhi people and the Sindhi Diaspora, as well as the various dimensions of Diaspora in general.

1.1.1 Context of the Research

Pakistan was created in August 1947. It's a densely populated country of about 142 million citizens and covers an area of 796,095 sq km. An ethnically diverse and multi- religious society, the country shares borders with India, Iran, Afghanistan and China and has a long coast on the Arabian Sea. Sindh, Punjab, North West Frontier Provinces (NWFP) and Balochistan are provinces and federating units of Pakistan. The two-nation theory was the driving force behind the creation of Pakistan and its separation from the United India after the exit of British rulers in 1947. The argument of the two-nation theory identified Hindus and Muslims of India as two separate cultures and traditions and advocated that India be halved into two independent countries: Hindu India and Muslim Pakistan. Prior to the arrival of European colonizers in 15th century, this region was governed by a central authority in

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Delhi, having loose influence over the states of Sindh, Bengal, Punjab, Balochistan and other smaller territories. After the Partition of India in 1947, Punjab, Sindh, Balochistan, North West Frontier Provinces and West Bengal clustered to make Pakistan. In 1971, West Bengal (than called East Pakistan) seceded from Pakistan which resulted in a civil war and genocide of three million Bengali people. West Bengal is now known as The Peoples' Republic of Bangladesh.

Pakistan does not posses a laudable human rights protection and promotion record. Imbalance in power sharing among the provinces, denial of provincial autonomy and right to self-rule are areas of serious concern for Sindh, Balochistan and NWFP. Population- wise, Punjab is the largest of four provinces in Pakistan and a convergent point where all major decisions such as revenue distribution, jobs and key positions in army and civil bureaucracy are made. There is a sentiment among the people of the smaller provinces of Sindh, Balochistan and the NWFP that their rights have been violated by Punjab-the largest province. The people of smaller provinces have continuously and consistently been raising their voice in protest against this at a number of local and international forums. This feeling of discontent paved the way for a long drawn out struggle for legitimate rights of smaller provinces just a few years after the birth of Pakistan. Sindh-a major source of revenue tax collection for Pakistan, crude oil and gas, minerals, industry, agriculture and a sea cost which it shares with Balochistan- is at the same time one of the most impoverished regions in South Asia. The continued pressure of immigrants from across the Pakistan and outside the country has contributed to poverty, unemployment and demographic imbalance in the province of Sindh.

The government of Pakistan does not seem to have any willingness to control this unchecked wave of immigrants and settlers in Sindh. "The population of Sindh is now 49 per cent or so non-Sindhi; some believe it to be higher 52 to 55 percent. If the second figure is correct, than Sindh will be second place in twentieth-century history where the indigenous people have become a minority in their own home land – the first being Palestine" (Eqbal Ahmed: 2004). There are some other indigenous communities such as Tibetans and Achinese who are at an increasing risk

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of becoming a minority in their own native lands. Apart from emigrants from provinces of Pakistan, Sindh is receiving immigrants from Bangladesh, Vietnam, Burma, India and Afghanistan. In 2005, the government registered as many as 2 million immigrants in Sindh.

The reports of the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP), Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International (AI) International Crises Group (ICG) and other human rights groups paint a bleak picture. “Pakistan's record of ratifying principal international human rights treaties remains poor. To date, it is signatory to only five international conventions, and has signed neither the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights nor the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights” said Human Rights Watch report in 2005. The Human Rights violations- particularly ethnocentric discrimination against minority or smaller nations like Sindh- has steadily increased over a period of decades in Pakistan. The water rights movement has mobilized a considerable segment of the anti-dam lobby in Pakistan. The former Pakistani government under the administration of President General Pervaiz Musharraf was determined to construct a large dam on the Indus River at a site known as Kalabagh; Sindh and Pashtun dominated NWFP and expressed vehement public resentment at a number of forums against this proposed construction.

In 2003-2004, a bill passed by three out of four provincial assemblies of Sindh, Balochistan and NWFP asking to revoke the proposal of Kalabagh dam. It was, however, snubbed by the influential lobbies in Punjab. Though the current Pakistan Peoples Party-led coalition government has annulled the project, Kalabagh dam still has the potential to threat the water rights of smaller nationalities in Pakistan and therefore, the political parties and civil society organizations are constantly protesting against the construction of large dams- including Kalabagh dam.

Smaller provinces in Pakistan have apprehensions that Punjab will forcibly take more that its due share of irrigation water as it has in past. On March 15, 2005 a large number of Sindhi people living outside Pakistan made a joint call against the

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construction of large dams in Pakistan. WSI, WSC, SANA including other Sindhi Diaspora organizations held protest rallies in London, Washington DC and several of Sindh's cities. During this campaign against the Kalabagh dam, WSI played a vital role by disseminating information and organized several protests against the Kalabagh dam.

Gender based discrimination and violence are widely exercised in larger sections of rural and suburban regions of Pakistan. The country is a signatory to the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1996, and thereby, consented to protect women from sexual and other forms of gender-based violence. "According to Pakistan's Interior Ministry, there have been more than 4,000 honor-related killings during last six years. Non-governmental groups recorded more than 1,300 honor killings in 2003. Proposed legislation on honor killings drafted in consultation with NGOs and the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan was sidelined in favor of a far weaker bill" (Human Rights Watch: 2005).

Rape cases against women and children are also widely registered in Pakistan. "It is estimated that one woman is raped every two hours in Pakistan, yet only a fraction of rape cases in Pakistan result in a conviction," (World Sindhi Institute: 2005). The army enjoys impunity everywhere, including rape charges. The case of Dr. Shazia Khalid, a lady doctor and an employee of Pakistan Petroleum Private Limited in the Sui area of Balochistan province, substantiates this charge as the army officer involved in rape case was defended by then President Musharraf saying that the army officer had not committed this rape. Forced by the security establishment to withdraw the rape charges, Dr. Shazia Khalid left Pakistan and received asylum in Canada in February 2005.

Apart from socio-economic imbalances, gender based gaps are widening the rifts in Pakistani society where even government functionaries are not amply sensitized to recognize the status of women as equal citizens. During a state visit to the USA, former President of Pakistan, Parvez Musharraf said: "Some women of Pakistan

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scandalize themselves in rape cases to get a visa from Europe and America". This or similar types of comments clearly show the insensitivity among the highest level state functionaries which obviously has potential to influence the layman's approach vis-à-vis women rights.

Bonded labour is another complex development issue in Pakistan. According to recent reports published by the Government of Sindh, Pakistan and the Asian Development Bank, there are about 1.7 million bonded *hari* [agriculture worker] in Sindh. Most of these people are living at the Pakistan–India border. An individual borrows from a landlord and the landlord binds them on his own terms and conditions and in course of this informal transaction, that individual and his family works the lands of landlord-most of them for whole of their lives. In the perspective of this poor state of human rights, Sindhi Diaspora has a very responsible role to play in the protection and promotion of human rights. During last two decades, diaspora organizations have been recognized in the course of protecting and promoting human rights at international and local forums. Diasporas like Achenese, Hmong, Burmese, Tamil, Kurdish etc have played an important role for the furtherance of the cause of human rights in the world.

Sindhi Diaspora is also an old phenomenon and has played an important role for the socio-economic and socio-political developments over the past century when indigenous Sindhi people were exploring international markets to expand their trade and businesses. The diaspora that followed the years after 1947 was politically driven; most of the migrant Sindhi Hindus were traders and merchants. These traders and merchants were known as 'Sindworkis' and the type of long-distance trans-local commerce they practiced was known as 'Sindwork'" (Mark-Anthony Falzon: 2003). Sindworkis were continuously leaving the province as their trade expanded across the world and established their business in different countries of the world.

Even as Gandhi started the freedom movement in South Africa against colonial rule of the English, a group of Sindhi Hindus, traders and merchants settled in South Africa and were at the forefront of the liberation movement. When Pakistan

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separated from India, a million Sindhi people migrated to India due to their Hindu religion. “In case of Hindu Sindhi a diasporic business community dispersed in over 100 countries, partition in 1947 brought about wholesale migration” (Mark Anthony Falzon: 2003).

During the last few decades, a new kind of Sindhi diaspora development has been observed as multiple Sindhi diaspora associations have risen around the world-and particularly in Europe and America. Most of these associations are cultural organizations and traders’ societies. The majority of their members are Hindus who were living in Sindh (presently a province of Pakistan) prior to partition of India and have now settled in India. Hindu and Muslim Sindhis jointly founded some cultural associations and organizations when the Sindhi community spread across the world especially in Europe and the Middle Eastern countries for higher education, expanding trade opportunities and jobs. The Sindhi nationhood facilitated them to forge together and consider themselves as one community irrespective of religion and country of origin. The Sindhi Diaspora can be divided into two key categories pre-partition (Before 1947) and post-partition (After 1947).

Before Partition, the Sindhi Diaspora consisted of Sindhi Hindu traders and merchants exploring business and trade related opportunities across the world. According to some researchers, Sindhi Hindus spread to almost 100 countries contributing to local trade and business. But the post-partition diaspora is of mixed population: Hindus and Muslims, migrating to seek education, employment, and businesses or abandoning their native lands for political reasons and settling down in other countries.

The Sindhi Diaspora settled in Europe and America, formed organizations to fight for the rights of Sindhi people. At present three major organizations: 1) World Sindhi Institute-WSI (based in Washington DC with no offices in London) 2) World Sindhi Congress-WSC (UK) and 3) Sindhi Association of North America-SANA (USA and Canada) are forefront organizations fighting against human rights violations in Sindh. In terms of human rights activities, The World Sindhi Institute (WSI) is

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prominent among these diaspora associations. WSI is one of the most active Sindhi Diaspora organizations playing a role in influencing human rights activities in Sindh. It is committed to achieve human rights protection and promotion of Sindh through nonviolent advocacy, activism and academic campaigning. This research is a case study of World Sindhi Institute (WSI) response to human rights violations in Sindh.

1.1.2 Statement of Research Problem

In recent years, diaspora has been recognized at international forums, international human rights organizations and regional mechanisms like the European Union and UN. Diaspora is becoming a strong institution in spite of criticism at home and by governments. It has good financial resources and improved technical skills like lobbying, advocacy, research and networking.

Diasporas like those of Tamil, East Timorese, Achenese, Burmese, Tibetan, Hmong and Kurdish peoples have used their influence and skills for the furtherance of human rights in their respective countries. Hence Sindhi Diaspora was subject to criticism from governments and other organizations; it was said that it was being exploited by enemy states and their funding is being spent to create shadow governments or for promoting terrorism.

The Sindhi Diaspora is also a growing institution on human rights issues of Sindh Pakistan. It exists in almost 100 countries of Europe and in America in the form of cultural associations and organizations. Currently, apart from cultural societies, a few human rights Sindhi Diasporia organizations are working against human rights violations in UK and USA. The Sindhi Diaspora has grown in terms of strength, financial resources, membership; it is visible at seminars and workshops and continues to help the Sindhi community to identify human rights violations in Sindh.

In the last couple of years, these three Sindhi organizations have continuously lobbied against human rights violations against provincial autonomy, right to self determination, water rights, gender based violations, torture prevention,

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arbitrary arrests and etc. The World Sindhi Institute has regularly protested against human rights violations, prepared petitions against human rights abuses, published human rights education material, conducted research on human rights issues, participated in UN human rights working groups, as well as participating in campaigns, protests and lobbying and advocating for the rights of Sindhi people.

The World Sindh Institute and World Sindhi Congress have received UN awards in recognition of its campaign on the abolition of torture. In collaboration with other diaspora organizations, the World Sindhi Institute has become a well known human rights group advocating democratic and provincial rights, water rights, torture prevention, arbitrary arrest and mobilization against gender based violence.

The WSI is constantly stimulating local networks like the Sindh National Council, (a Sindh based civil society organization), researchers, human rights activists and political workers. There has been a growing response from the diaspora community to WSI activism and equal criticism from government functionaries. The WSI claims to operate under legal bindings of the UNO as their mechanism for the campaigning on human rights in Sindh. The importance of understanding the WSI network and its activities has gradually increased as it has impacted on human rights campaigns in Sindh.

The research is intended to further explore the dynamic relationship of WSI, local networks, human rights bodies like the UN and regional response on human rights. Also, the research is expected to better elaborate Sindhi diasporas, the World Sindhi Institute and the influences that it has had on defining human rights values and perceptions.

1.1.3 Objectives of the Study

1. To evaluate the role of WSI in mobilizing the diaspora community and local networks for protection and promotion of human rights in Sindh

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2. To identify WSI success in international forums in exposing human rights violations in Sindh
3. To identify gaps in WSI human rights advocacy strategy

1.1.4 Research Questions

1. What role is being played by Sindhi diaspora organizations (WSI, WSC, and SANA) in the cause of human rights protection of Sindhi people?
2. What strategies are used by WSI to protect and promote human rights in Sindh?
3. How the Sindhi Diaspora has addressed the question of human rights violations in Sindh?

1.2 Research Methodology

1.2.2 Selection of Study Areas

The key objectives of the research are to investigate the role of Sindhi Diaspora organizations, their contribution to human rights protection and their strategies that they have employed when lobbying against human rights abuses. Apart from these stated objectives, the research also studies other diaspora organizations, originating in different nations. Though some of these organizations have not made a key contribution to human rights in their respective lands, they are respected by UNO and other international human rights bodies.

1.2.2 Tools for data collection

The method applied here to analyze the role of diaspora organizations- especially the WSI- in protecting Sindhi peoples rights was based on qualitative research; a documentary research has also been used. Since the role of Diaspora organizations relies on the UN and international law and their application; in particular, the issues of human rights in Pakistan have been mentioned in some recent research. This information was very advantageous for the researcher.

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The role of WSI in protecting rights is a sensitive topic, especially when identifying the status treaty bodies in the political system. To eliminate the sensitivity and to get adequate information the manner of conducting interviews and the questions set should be flexible. The respondents' opinions and attitudes were openly disclosed. Interview guidelines with open-ended questions and hand-taken notes were the instruments of data collection for this study (a tape recorder was not used to avoid the uncomfortable feeling for the interviewees, especially for those who were living in the Sindh). Hand-written notes were also utilized to record non-verbal information. The interview guidelines (appendix) were reconstructed based on the conceptual framework as discussed earlier.

In accordance with the research methods, the following research tools were employed:

Text analysis was used to review and analyze:

- Historical background of diaspora- the modern concept of rights in the UN and other regional mechanisms
- The implementation of the international standards (especially UN) and domestic laws (women, children and the constitution of Pakistan) to promote peoples' rights in Pakistan
- Specific cases of human rights violations

In-depth interviews were used to enable the researcher to access new information which was not found in available documents. Also, it was used to check the findings from text analysis. Open-ended interviews were conducted with 13 informants who were diaspora leaders (WSI, WSC SANA) and the participants in these organisations' activities. The in-depth interviews were used to acquire a strong understanding on the impact of diasporas and the UNO role on the following issues: 1) The protective role of people under the UN mechanisms, 2) Problems that people of Sindh are facing and 3) Responses of diaspora organizations in protection and promotion of human rights, influencing factors that can enable diaspora organizations to fulfill their protective tasks.

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1.2.3 Case Study

For this case study research, 13 informants were selected as a sample. They were classified into two major groups: one who are actively leading the diaspora organizations such as WSI, SANA and WSC and second the writers, human rights defenders, media persons, academicians and intellectuals who have been participating in diaspora organizations and helping in several ways like research and policy issues.

The leaders and active members of the diaspora included 6 informants who are senior members or staff of WSI, WSC and SANA, having experience in working at different levels for the Diaspora organizations. The participant respondents included 9 individuals who are mostly human rights defenders, journalists, academicians, political leaders and intellectuals. Their point of view was analyzed as per the role of diaspora organizations especially WSI.

WSI is a Washington based human rights NGO working for the rights of Sindhi people. The reason for selecting the WSI as a research target is that it promised to enable the researcher to make an evaluation on the work of WSI in protecting Sindhi peoples' rights, as compared with other diaspora organizations, hence, its claim that the WSI's working strategy is stronger than other organizations' strategies.

The in-depth interviews for the field study were conducted from 2005 to 2008. The interviewees (diaspora senior members) were very busy and were out of the reach of the researcher; mostly living in Europe and America it was not easy to arrange an interview with them. Finally the interviews were conducted either through mail or on the phone. I was able to conduct interviews and observe the working style of diaspora organizations, because of personal relations.

For the people who participated in the events of different diaspora events, the interviews were conducted in Sindh at their houses or restaurants. The interviews were conducted without much difficulty since the trust between each other had been basically established.

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1.2.4 Provisions for trustworthiness

The question of trustworthiness is matter of mutual understanding and confidence in the researcher. Two processes contributed to the trustworthiness in this research. These were:

I. Triangulation method was used in this research to get accurate information. Two categories of subjects were selected: diaspora leaders and participants in their event or people working with them at different levels. The diaspora leaders were senior level officials/ office bearers working at different positions and the participants included human rights activists, journalist, intellectuals, and politicians to ensure a variety of information as well as to compare the differences in points of view of informants. The interviews were only conducted with the acceptance of the interviewees. Their point of view was recorded without any change.

In addition, cross-checking of data generated from documentation analysis, interviews with comparison of data by different categories of informants were also done.

ii. I did seek both positive and negative findings to overcome any research bias in criticizing the diaspora organizations especially my case study of WSI.

1. 2.5 Data analysis procedures

Data analysis was done concurrently with collecting data in the field. At the end of each interview, for which direct interviews were conducted, field notes were synthesized with the researcher's analysis and interpretation of the information collected. Field notes included the following information: date of interview, who was met, in what situation, basic information on personal background of interviewees and their respective organizations; and the context of the interview, including the researcher's feelings and observations during the interview. The interviews, which were conducted over the phone and internet, were also analyzed with information provided by the interviewee. *First*, the interviews were read carefully to catch

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particular opinions and the idea implied behind the statement during the interviews. *Second*, data was divided into smaller categories, for instance: work that the diaspora organizations are doing for human rights issues of Sindhi people etc. *Third*, the data was coded by diaspora organizing and classifying the information. From the coding procedures, a multitude of different data types and their contents could be logically separated out. Afterwards, data was grouped together by similar responses. For instance, almost all respondents who are not directly working with diaspora said the role of diaspora organizations are focused on popular issues of human rights of Sindhi people etc. Each informant's responses were compared to the others before the data was coded. There were two major categories under the conceptual framework that the research concentrated on; diaspora role in protection and promotion of human rights of Sindhi people. Establishing files was the next step of data analysis, which revealed the main themes and summarized statements in the interviews.

1. 2.6 Limitations

This study employed qualitative research as the major method of the study with the use of a small sample size. Furthermore, members of the diaspora who have limited or no role and who are not very close with these organizations were not accessed. Hence, this may have affected the representation of the sample. Since data collection was done at different times (2005 to 2009), despite great efforts made by the researcher, some shortcomings regarding data collection were unavoidable.

Additionally, since the competition between diasporic organizations is a sensitive issue they were, therefore, not very easy to answer, especially for the people who are working directly with the diaspora; sometimes they did not answer or did not air their personal opinion but mentioned general views. Limited awareness of UN mechanisms for those respondents who are not working directly with diaspora organizations also may have affected their comments on role of the diaspora using UN and regional mechanisms for the protection of rights of Sindhi people. Hand notes were used; tape recording was not used since the informants did not want their opinion to be recorded. It was unavoidable that some information would go missing. Hence the

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people who have sent their reply through emails were well analyzed. The websites of the WSI and WSC were blocked in Pakistan, in this regard the researcher faced problems in accessing documents and current reports of the WSI and WSC.

1. 2.7 Ethical issues

This research was primarily based on text analysis, a form in which the ethical concerns mostly focus on the confidentiality of the reviewed documents. In this research the documents reviewed were public from websites, articles, books or newspapers, or other published documents of both international and local organizations. Furthermore, qualitative method-in-depth interviews were used. Before conducting each interview, I explained the purpose of the research in detail to the interviewee and it was only conducted when the approval of the interviewee had been obtained. The respondents were informed that they could withdraw from the study at any time or for any reason. The informants were treated respectfully and the purpose of the interview was explained adequately. To avoid the vulnerability for the interviewees, personal information (names and addresses) of the interviewees would not be revealed in the research except those who allowed the use of their names if required. The interviews were conducted in a friendly way to create a comfortable feeling for the interviewees. Hence, places for interviews were different, as mentioned earlier, to ensure the convenience of the interviewees. Contents of the interviews were conducted under the voluntary acceptance of the interviewees. During the interviews the researcher respected the behavior of interviewees whether they answered or did not answer the questions. As mentioned above the researcher met much difficulty in accessing the interviewees because the interviewees were in different locations. However, the researcher had no power to influence their answers. In addition, to ensure the trustworthiness of the research, no personal opinion of the researcher was involved during the interviews. No guided answers were made. Their statements were recorded without change to avoid the risk of misinterpretation. Additionally, during the interviews the researcher was patient to ensure that the informants were not interrupted in order to provide valid and reliable data. Moreover, the questions were

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arranged and adjusted if necessary to suit the particular atmosphere of the conversation as well as the knowledge of each interviewee.

1.2.8 Significance of the Study

The diaspora is a recent issue especially in terms of the Sindh. So far there has been very little study on this issue, but there is no academic research on the Sindhi organizational diaspora or WSI. Therefore my study is the first academic research on the Sindhi diaspora. It is significant contribution especially for the WSI and diaspora generally. The research will be a basis for the future researchers to explore more on the Sindhi diaspora, especially the WSI. By the understanding of WSI and Sindhi diaspora's current perception on human rights, we can figure out what is the reason that forced them to organize promotion and protection of human rights. Most importantly, the WSI is using UN international legal bindings and forcing the government to ratify the agreements that Pakistan has not signed yet. This thesis will contribute to the Sindhi diaspora generally and the WSI struggle for the human rights particularly.

1.2.9 Organization of the thesis

The Thesis has been divided into six chapters. Chapter Two is dedicated to multiple contexts of Diasporas. Chapter Three provides an elaborate resume of Sindhi diaspora organizations like the World Sindhi Congress (WSC), the World Sindhi Institute (WSI) and the Sindhi Association of North America (SANA). Chapter Four is a case study on the WSI: it evaluates WSI's role as a human rights campaign group and the methodology the group has adopted. Chapter Five presents the problems and dilemmas of the research as faced in pursuance of the study. Chapter Six concludes with recommendations as generated by research findings

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CHAPTER II
HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF DIASPORAS

This chapter is divided into four sections. In the first I will discuss the different contexts of the diaspora and general concept of the diaspora as discussed in the literature and media. In this section I will also discuss how the diasporic development contributed to diaspora. In the second section I will discuss where the term diaspora derived from and how it has traveled from different scholars and writers. The purpose is to understand the origin of diaspora. In the third section I will discuss the diaspora organizations and its foundations. In the fourth I will briefly discuss the role of media in support of the diaspora.

2.1 The term 'diaspora'

According to Roger Brukar: " As the term has proliferated, its meaning has been stretched to accommodate the various intellectual and political agendas in the service of which it has resulted in what one might call a 'diaspora'". 'Diaspora' – a dispersion of the meaning of the term in semantic, conceptual and disciplinary space (Roger Brukar: 2005). R Cheran's paper, "Diaspora circulation and trans-nationalism as agent for change in the post conflict zones of Sri Lanka", discusses the issue of the Tamil of Sri Lanka but it has given some insight on the diaspora history, meaning and its transnational operation. He describes the diaspora as "The term diaspora is derived from the Greek diaspeirein, meaning 'dispersal or scattering of seed'. A typical example of diaspora is given by the new Webster's Dictionary and Thesaurus of English language: 'The dispersed Jews after the Babylonian captivity; their dispersion' (New Webster Dictionary 1993: 264).

Another academician has discussed diaspora as "The term diaspora was initially used to describe the spread of the Jewish people throughout the world,

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however it is now used to describe a people who have been dispersed from their original homeland, have a strong ethnic identity and wish to return to their homeland (Andy Curts: 2005).

Sociologist Robin Cohen's statement that the term 'diaspora' is mostly used in a non-theoretical, or at most vaguely theoretical manner, as for example at the interdisciplinary Berlin Diaspora Congress of May, 1999, subsuming all those communities living outside of their native land. This includes such various groups as migrants, exiles, refugees, and transnational ethnic minorities".

Most authors have agreed that term 'diaspora' was firstly used for the Jews but currently it is a popular term even in the UNO and of course it has recognition and legitimization at many other forums. In case of Africa, almost four million Africans were transported to Europe, North America and the Caribbean Islands in the Atlantic slave trade. Captured from their homeland and separated from their tribes and families they were enslaved in a new world where all familiar customs were absent. But this is a unique case in the history.

The diasporic development is a recent phenomenon in the last two decades. It got strength and recognition in host countries as well as in the country of peoples' origin, either negative or positive, but in both senses is very important to understand the context. Hence the discussion of diaspora is a very old subject, discussed mostly on immigrant's title. Most scholars argue that diaspora as a historical discourse of immigration of the people of the planet from their origin country to another or host country, either on political grounds, natural and man made disasters or due to socio-economic development. There is also a unique diaspora existence as countries were invaded by various forces, they settled there and never went back to their homeland. The most popular example in this regard is South Africa, where the English population lives in large numbers.

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Various scholars have argued diaspora's role. A historical discussion says Jewish displacement is the origin of the world diaspora and it was an academic discussion and scholar's research topic in the world.

But now the term diaspora is widely recognized in world literature and human rights activities and the discussion is not only on the Jewish Diaspora but it has traveled and explored several different meanings. It has assumed new features called human rights. The countless diaspora existence gave weight to the discussion that diaspora is everywhere in the world and no country exits without diaspora, either forced or voluntary. This incident diverts the discussion from Jewish to general terms.

The immigrants who voluntarily left or were forced to leave the country due to natural disasters, local politics or socio-economic conditions, are now popularly known as diaspora. Diasporas occur due to state conditions, however, most of those exiled are willing to go back and take a socio-economic and socio-political role in their home country. The reason to come together and work for the protection and promotion of human rights is one of the living testimonies of their willingness to come back to their country and play a positive role for the development of the country. Hence an expectation of them is involvement in political discussion.

Scholars believe that diaspora population is increasing every year. Every day its figures are changing if you look at immigrant population. The arguments at this stage are: the world is not safe for minorities or that nation or population that could be threat in the future for ruling nation or population, either in power sharing or raising question for exploitation. That situation creates inconstancy and imbalance in majority or minority and the ultimate means and ends are exploitation and pressure or forcing them to leave their country.

That creates reasons for the people to leave the country and secure themselves safe and secure and move to another country. "Worldwide migration has grown significantly, doubling from 75 million in 1965 to 150 million in 2000 (IOM 2000), making diaspora an increasingly relevant phenomenon. While some

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governments consider diaspora as an interference with their authority, others see them as important contributions to social, political and economic development" (Cori A. Brainand and Jennifer M. Btinkerhoff: 2003).

The acceptance of the diaspora is again dependant on the situation and relationship of the country. The conflict torn diaspora prefers to get refugee in bordering countries and voluntarily leaving the country prefers to developed country especially Europe and Latin America. Where they have good chances of asylum and job market is sound to protect them from the vulnerability and hunger threat. Hence diaspora populations have no choice but to flee and save their lives. They live in highly dangerous and poor conditions like the Roma people in Eastern Europe, Iraqi, Afghani and Brumes in bordering countries.

2.2 Context of Diaspora

In this discussion, first I will discus the general concepts, contexts and background of diaspora. My ultimate goal in this context is to build an understanding on the diaspora's dimensions in different views expressed by sociologists, anthropologists, academics, political larders and human rights activists, since the whole focus of the thesis is on the Sindhi Diaspora and World Sindhi Institute (WSI) with a case study of diaspora in general and the Sindhi diaspora in particular.

Diaspora has many dimensions. If you look at the figures of diaspora you will see diverse ethnic nationals and different origin in it living in the world. It is shaping the world with new socio-cultural, socio-economic and socio-political colors. According to my exploration I found of the many diasporas in the world, the prominent among them are: Chinese, Lebanese, Baltic, German, Hausa of Nigeria, Algerian, Bangladeshi, Filipino, Greek, Haitian, Indian, Halian, Korean, Mexican, Pakistani, Sindhi, Pueto Rican , Polish, Salvadoran, Turkish, Kurdish, Albanians, Hindu Indians, Irish, Kashmiri, Kurds, Palestinians, Tamils, Belarusian, Brazilian, Cambodian, Colombian, Egyptian, English, Estonian, Ethiopian, Gypsy, Hawaiian, Igbo, Iranian, Iraqi, Japanese, Javanese, Kazakh, Latvian, Lithuanian, Mayan, Polish,

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Romanian, Senegalese, Somali, Soviet, Sudanese, Syrian, Tutsi, Vietnamese, Burmese, Achenese, Tibetan, Hmong and several other which are tiny minorities or don't have good linkages among themselves. Even the Sindhi Hindus are a tiny population in the world somewhere in the thousands. But due to their strong role in business it became the scholar's attention for study and research.

In last two decades, conflict torn areas have drastically increased the figure of diasporas to the bordering countries especially and the developed countries generally. Consider some recent cases. During the war in Afghanistan in 2001, 200,000 people managed to cross into Pakistan as refugees whereas the number of internal refugees soared to two million. In the Iraq war in 2003, hundreds of thousands of displaced people remained at risk inside the country while only a small number fled abroad. But my purpose is not discussing refugees and migrant workers but my purpose is to discuss diaspora which are playing a role in human rights.

This scenario has given good chance to the researchers, scholars and academics to study on the different subject and prospects of the diaspora.

> " There has been a veritable explosion of interest in diaspora since the late 1980s. Diaspora and its cognates appear as keywords only once or twice a year in dissertations from the 1970, about thirteen times a year in the late 1986, and nearly 130 times in 2001 alone. Diaspora explosion in not confined to academic writings. 'Diaspora' yielded a million Google hits, a sampling suggests that the large majorities are not academic" (Roger Brukar: 2005).

A large number of studies have been conducted on diaspora and its cultural, economic and political role. But the human rights aspect is a very new one and little or no research has been done. Hence, the majority of the diaspora are using human rights as a tool for the gaining of rights and liberty in the home country and building pressure on the home countries to stop violations of human rights and gain access to equality and equity. The effectiveness is also another discussion, but their hue and cry and submissions are effective to draw world attention and they are reporting human rights violations at all levels.

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2.3 Diaspora Organizations

Before discussing diaspora organizations, we need to be clear about the scope for diaspora organizations, because it is very important to understand. The diaspora organizations can be classified as following:

The organizations that are organized for cultural and social activities of people of the same origin

- The organizations that are established to develop relations within same community (e.g.marriages), mostly South Asian: Pakistani and Indian community
- The organizations that are organized for the human rights of the home country people
- The organization that is being developed for political rights or a government in exile

But I will discuss here only the third category which is for the protection of human rights. Since diaspora organizations have recognition by several national and international mechanisms, it can play and are playing pivotal role for protection and promotion of human rights at national, regional and international level. Some diaspora organizations are very effective in terms of addressing human rights violations and reporting the abuses. The diaspora has done a great job too in terms of democracy and human rights; hence some negative aspect of diaspora is also appeared. But I will discuss the negative aspects separately.

There are some agreements, treaties or commissions that also gave strength to diaspora and diaspora organizations to play an active role. The benefits of these agreements are they can get legitimacy and no doubt provide protection that can create effectiveness in their work and develop linkages within and between communities. According to Lori A. Brainand and Jennifer M. Brinkerhoff, they quoted many scholars also " As for human rights, the report of International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) unequivocally promoted "the international responsibility to protect foreign population under threat of mass killing, and ethnic

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cleansing" (Thakur: 2002). This principle builds upon the nation that the International community has a moral obligation to address "responsibility deficit …. If a state proves unable or unwilling, that nation state not only has a right, but also a duty to interfere in the affairs of other nation states, when these violate universal human rights. People are most likely to suffer human rights abuses from their own government or its agents" (Jacobsen and Lawson: 1999) Human rights became a rallying cry not only for trans-national civil society groups, including diaspora communities, but also for other states and inter-governmental organizations seeking to justify interfering in the international affaires of other government (Lori A. Brainad and Jennifer M. Brinkerhoff: 2003).

These agreements, treaties or decisions create opportunities in the diaspora for their own protection and also gave them opportunities to support their nation from the outside. While finding the chance, several diaspora have organized cultural associations of political wings or human rights organizations. But the cultural organization are very safe, the people who cannot play the political role have formed cultural organizations. Some Hindu diaspora formed cultural organizations in Canada, USA, UK, Australia and some other European and African countries. These cultural organizations are only for social activities, eating food together, sharing views but also chance for selecting couples for marriages.

But there are several organizations that find a chance with this opportunity: a chance for democracy and protection of the human rights. Of course working for the human rights from outside is safe and somewhat effective if they have good linkages with country's networks. The basic concept of these organizations is building networks within and support people that are living in the permanent danger in the home country. Even some of the diaspora have even selected in their country's cabinet like Palestine and Tibet. They both had government in exile, but now it is only Tibet with a government in exile. Palestine had recognition in the UN and other regional forum like Islamic Conference or Arab League of other forums. The whole cabinet was working outside until the Oslo agreement between Israel and Palestine.

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As earlier discussed, the diaspora has got recognition in various mechanisms in the host and origin countries and members play their cultural or political role especially democracy, protection and promotion of human rights. This opportunity gave chance to the diaspora to organize them, no matter whether their organization is cultural or social. But it has been found during the research and collecting data that the human rights or political organizations arise with popularity and exposure. They got space and room for dialogue in international and regional mechanisms.

Apart from these moral responsibilities, some countries especially Europe and Latin America to some extent have easy or 'people friendly' asylum laws. The people who are living under threat in their country can seek asylum very easily in these countries. In this context, all of Europe and Latin America became the center of diaspora movements of the world. Almost every nation's diaspora exists in some form in European countries and in America. They are fairly playing their human rights protection role. Hence the diaspora with local people works together with democracy, rights and the freedom of the people. During the Vietnam War or the Latin American issues, London and New York was the center of the activities, the diaspora organizations were shoulder to shoulder with local peoples. In the long rallies, the popular poets, writers, scholars, peace activist and artists moved to the streets and mobilized the people for joint actions. Diaspora has made a great contribution to global issues as well as local issues. In the 1960s, the 80 year old philosopher Bertrand Russell observed a hunger strike against nuclear war and became the attention of lonely rebels that were around the London. The protest against the Vietnam War was the action of diaspora in London more then the local people. The famous Pakistani origin Oxford student leader Tariq Ali with other student leaders organized several rallies, debates and organized moves against the American intervention in Vietnam and Latin America. Being the Secretary of the Oxford student Union, Tariq Ali also had a televised live talk on BBC with Harvard students on the Vietnam War. The Harvard group included America statesmen Henry Kissinger.

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It has been found that diaspora organization's activities now appeared with a new face called the human rights movement. When the role of diasporas was recognized by the UNO and its role in protection and promotion of human rights was also accepted. With its recognition different diasporas have formed organization with new thoughts concepts, spirit and struggles called human rights.

A new concept has emerged from immigrants to the diaspora. The main reason to work on the human rights is that it is very easy to get support from international lobbying groups like Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, International Crises groups or Human Rights First.

These groups are transnational organizations; they do not have good influence over governments but have respect and are playing good pressure-groups role and can put some influence on governments. Some governments are taking theirs report very seriously and trying their best to avoid the violations that these transnational organizations have reported.

These reports have weight in UNO and other forums. These organizations have consultation status in the UN and offer a 'stage' to the diaspora organizations, which have reputation and whose cases are genuine. Some Diaspora organizations have also developed good relations with these transnational bodies to take issues such as the human rights abuses of their people to highlight these issues to get world attention.

Some cities of these countries are 'diaspora friendly' when they have inconsistency in affairs or have their own agenda. They also are using diaspora against their country to get their own benefit. The USA and China has inconsistency in relations and affairs; the USA has given relief to the Hmong form Indochina, southern Vietnamese people, Chinese people, Tibetans, Nigerians and several others. Some researchers believe that New York is the social and political hub of diaspora Tibetans after India. Hence Germany and France are the hub of Kurdish diaspora activities.

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According to the Kurdish Institute of Paris "No precise and reliable census of the Kurdish diaspora in Europe has been recently carried out, but the most widely accepted estimates set their number at about 850,000 in Western Europe" (Kurdish Institute of Paris: 2005). Approximately 500,000 to 600,000 Kurds live in Germany and 100,000 to 120,000 in France. "It is estimated that there are about 6.5 million Palestinian refugees worldwide. 3.8 million Palestinian refugees and their descendents displaced in 1948 are registered for humanitarian assistance with the United Nations. 1.5 million Palestinian refugees and their descendents displaced in 1948 are not registered, as they do not require any assistance. 263,000 Palestinians and their descendents are internally displaced inside Israel. 773,000 refugees and their descendents were displaced for the first time in 1967. Descendents of refugees are included in the total population because they are still unable to realize their basic rights.

About 20,000 Palestinians were internally displaced in the Occupied Territories in 2001, some 3,000 of whom were newly displaced during the year. At least 26,000 Palestinians left the Occupied Territories for Jordan and did not return between June 2000 and July 2001, this continues in 2003" (The Palestine Diaspora: 2003). In case of the East Timorese, mostly living in the Australia, Australian Human Rights NGOs had offered them assistance to present human rights abuses in the UN as East Timorese organizations like, East Timor Talks Committee or Voice of the East Timor Action Network does not have membership in UNO and ECOSOC or any other committee.

There are many Diaspora organizations, which are operating in other countries, but the centers of the diaspora organizations are Europe and America. They are working under different banners in the world. Mostly they deal with human rights and some examples of them are:

1. Interim Niger Delta Leadership Group in the Diaspora
2. Coalition in Defense of Democracy and Human Rights in Belarus
3. Kurdish Institute
4. United Macedonian Diaspora

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5. Uyghur Human Rights Project
6. The National Democratic Coalition- Nigeria
7. Rabbis for Human Rights- North America
8. Sudan Human Rights Organization -Cairo Branch
9. The Palestinian Diaspora
10. The Togolese Human Rights League
11. The Togolese Diaspora for Democracy
12. East Timor Talk Committee
13. Youth Activism in Armenia / Eleonora Manandyan
14. East Timorese National Convention in the Diaspora
15. www.freetimor.com
16. Voice of the East Timor Action Network - USA
17. International League for Human Rights Belarus
18. Kurdish Human Rights Project
19. World Sindhi Institute
20. World Sindhi Congress

These diaspora organizations are a few examples of those that are working directly or indirectly on the issue of the human rights and this is only example that I have given in this research. Some diaspora are running 'governments-in-exile' like Tibeta and Palestine.

Three noble Laureates are leading figures of diaspora's human rights movements: Jose Ramos-Horta (in past he worked for the East Timor diaspora), the Dalai Lama and Nigerai are constantly working against Human rights abuses in their homeland. Here I will discus Jose Ramos-Horta because he has closely worked with UNO on human rights as a diaspora leader and currently he is leading the East Timor Government. As a working journalist, he worked for the rights of East Timor people and exiles in Australia.

Eventually Jose Ramos-Horta settled in Sydney, Australia, where he joined the faculty of the University of New South Wales. From that position he

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became one of the primary voices for East Timor in the international arena, becoming East Timor's de- facto ambassador to the United Nations (UN).

He spoke out against human rights violations by the occupying Indonesian military forces and promoted a peace plan to end the violence in his country. In the UN he used all the means of advocacy and lobbying against the human rights violations. He brought women's voices to the UNO treaty body where women said "we were raped by the army". He was the youngest person in UNO history in 1975, where he presented the case of East Timor. His effective lobbying and advocacy contributed to the eventual liberation of East Timor from Indonesian occupation. He also received the Nobel Prize for Peace in 1996 and gave the award and prize money to a program called Micro-credit for the Poor. He returned home in 1999 after the UN Security Council established the UN Transition Administration in East Timor.

The diaspora organizations have fewer threats to their existence than the home movements. This threat makes them lest careful in speaking and highlighting the issues of human rights or democracy or taking any action. I would argue that sometimes their actions are dangerous for the people who are still living in the country and are facing permanent threat of the government or majority. It again depends on the leadership, how the leadership is careful and visionary. Hence the most actions of the diaspora organizations are helpful for the people at home

There are several diaspora organizations which are registered in foreign countries and with the help and support of the people at home, collect information, refine it and highlight the issue at the international level. Some have membership in ECOSOC and other UNO forums and the committees. If they do not have membership in ECOSOC, they also use the other organizations help. They use their stages and present their submissions at the UNO and other international forums.

The study also reveals that diaspora organizations are not only working on human rights but they also initiate development projects. The most prominent are education, including computers and basic literacy, health, scholarships and women's

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development; all are directed towards people suffering in abject poverty or other disadvantages due to lack of attention of the government or the majority groups in the home country. These diaspora organizations are a ray of hope for them, where the people are facing human rights abuses like disappearances, arbitrary killings, torture and other state suppression.

2.4 Role of Media and Globalization

Communication is a major factor that has helped diasporas to organize and get in touch with the activities and cultural practices. The internet, leaflets, newspapers, TV and independent international media have helped them to find and explore themselves from different counties. Some people believe that that London is a city of rebels; people such as Kurds, Nigerians, Tibetans, Achinese, Tamils, Sindhis all a part of diaspora from around the world, find refuge and start political activities. Its asylum law favors the leaders and rebels, who sing songs of liberation and lay down their lives for freedom.

Diaspora is a catch word in the international press and their websites provide good role in attracting the people to become members and also highlighting the issues of their interests. In this regard they focus on the issue of the human rights. The diaspora organizations are inching towards and becoming interests of the media, human rights organizations and the UN.

In the current scenario Diaspora organizations are gaining more popularity and some marginalized nations are founding diaspora organizations and fighting for the rights with UNO and nations that have signed treaties and commitments.

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CHAPTER III
PAKISTAN: SINDHI DIASPORA

This chapter is divided into four parts. In first part I will discuss the background and evolution of Sindhi diaspora. In second part I will discuss SANA; the first vibrant diaspora founded in North America and in third I will discuss WSC, which introduced the human rights aspect of a diaspora and participated in UNO treaty bodies and then I will discuss its limitations. My purpose to investigate these organizations is only to establish an understanding of main purpose of my thesis and Sindhi diaspora role for human rights.

3.1 Background of Sindh

Sindh is located in the southern part of Pakistan and has a history of more than 5000 years with a population of more than 40 million people. It has geographical advantages compared to other provinces of Pakistan. Sindh is rich in resources: oil and gas, deep port, industry and agriculture. Moreover, due to the richness in resources, this large province has poured resources into other areas of Pakistan's development, with the result human rights defenders and political activists have raised their voices against abuses created by this inequality. Hence, it is obvious that Sindhi people have attracted substantial diaspora populations of the peoples of Sindh out side the Pakistan.

Sindhis have long history of trade, in this regard the Sindhi people moved from one place to another. Some researches say that, Sindhis were the first merchants to move around the globe; even in prehistory Sindhi traders thousands of years ago visited East Africa and South-east Asia. When Gandhi had started the protest movement in South Africa against the English rule, Sindhi merchants and diaspora were on the forefront and played a pivotal role with other Indian peoples in South Africa.

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The great Sindhi poet of the 15th century, Shah Abdul Latif ,also dedicated his one Sur (volume of poems) to the people who were involved in trade and leaving the country to foreign counties for trade and business. In his poetry he expressed the feelings especially of the spouse or beloved when their spouse left them alone while they carried out their trading business for years and in some cases for decades.

Among them some were settled around the world hence the number is tiny. These stories and available material gives strength to the idea that Sindhi Diaspora has historical background and it is an old phenomenon. It also depicts the account of the Sindhi people's movement from one place to another. Hence the mode of movement and manner of work is entirely different from the advocacy groups, which are operating nowadays. My purpose in quoting these stories and literature is only to establish the thought of different researchers that the Sindhi diaspora has a long history and I want to uncover the roots of diaspora.

The major flow of the Sindhi diaspora is one and half centuries ago. According to Mark Anthony Falzon "there are two major waves of population movement out of Sindh. The first, which originated with the British annexation of the province in 1843, was confined to a group of merchants form the small town of Hyderabad (to be distinguished from the city in central India), who leaving their families behind, struck out in search of business opportunities to places as for apart as Panama and the straits settlements (today's Singapore). Because the wares they sold and traded in originally were the handicrafts of Sindh (Sindh works), these migrants were known as 'Sindhworkis' and the type of long distance trans-local commerce they practiced as 'Sindhwork'. This first significant population movement therefore was centered solely on trade and may be described as a trade diaspora (See Cohen 1971). The second migration on the other hand was a direct result of political and social strife that came with the partition of India in 1947. Sindhis left their homes in the fledgling Pakistan on masse and moved to India or to locations such as Malta where they already had considerable business interests" (Mark Anthony Falzon: 2001).

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This tragedy became a driving force especially behind the Hindu Sindhis to come in the status of Sindhi diaspora after migrating to India. Some researchers say that, “Sindhis were among first ethnic groups to be globalised. There are now at least 3.2 million outside Pakistan. In Singapore, the community numbers about 18,000.” (Arti Mulchand: 2007). Soon after the partition some sizeable groups of Sindhis from Sindh moved to different parts of the world especially to Europe and America.

Some Sindhi intellectuals, academics working in North America and old activists, have felt that there should be a united front of Sindhi people out of Sindh. In this regard, an organization named Sindhi Association of North America (SANA) was founded. The founders of SANA were mostly old political and human rights activists.

I have discussed separately in this chapter on SANA. The main purpose of this organization was to develop a database of Sindhis living in North America and develop a common platform. After SANA some other organizations like World Sindhi Congress (WSC) and World Sindhi Institute (WSI) developed. The objectives of WSC and WSI are different. Both these organizations are working for the promotion of political and human rights while SANA has cultural and educational objectives. In this chapter I will only discuss the role of SANA and WSC. The World Sindhi Institute is my case study. I will analyze the role of WSI in protection and promotion in the 4th Chapter.

Currently at least three Sindhi Diaspora organizations are operating from outside the country as human rights advocacy and lobbying groups especially in the UK and USA. Apart from advocacy groups, a number of cultural organizations are also operating for the promotion of Sindhi cultural activities round the world. These organizations are registered according to existing laws and cultural organizations are not necessarily registered but their aim is to keep a united Sindhi people. The human rights or political diaspora organizations have good links with international human rights lobby and advocacy groups. This chapter is investigating the origin and operation of the Sindhi diaspora organization especially SANA and WSC in protection and promotion of the human rights in Sindh. The focus of this chapter will be the

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organization's development in the human rights field and how the Sindhi Diaspora is operating their advocacy work to support human rights issues in Sindh.

Already there were some associations and organization of peoples settled in Europe and America, but there role was limited and their objective was to organize lunch parties and receptions. Hence, when the political strife became cause for some of the diaspora organization leaders to leave the country and settle in Europe and America, they organized SANA, WSC and WSI.

The major violations such as inequality of power among the four federal units (Sindh, Punjab, NWFP and Baluchistan) arbitrary detention and torture by police are common in Pakistan, especially to the political dissidents and the human rights defenders.

3.1.1 Political Context of Sindh

Sindh is second largest province in terms of population. It lies in southern part of Pakistan, bordering with Pakistan's Baluchistan and Punjab provinces and India. It is a major revenue producing province and its indigenous population is culturally sufi and peaceful. The Pakistan Peoples Party, Pakistan Muslim League, Muttahida Qumi Movement and some Sindh based nationalist political parties and pressure groups share the power politics of Sindh.

Being a home province of former Prime Ministers, Mr. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and Ms Benazir Bhutto Sindh, it is also the home of the Pakistan Peoples' Party. The long rule of the military over Pakistan's smaller provinces, NWFP, Baluchistan and Sindh, has had adverse effects and the large populous province gained the most benefits due to its dominance within the military.

Pakistan has long history of military rule: "The history of the Pakistani regime makes the military's overwhelming presence within the Pakistani government blatantly clear: from 1958 to 1969, Pakistan was under the rule of Gen. Ayoub; from

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1969 to 1971, under Gen. Yahya; from 1971 to 1976, under Civil Martial Administrator Mr. Bhutto; from 1977 to 1988, under Gen. Zia; from 1990 to 1999, under a military-supported two-party rule; and from 1999 to the present, under Gen. Musharaf. The past five decades have seen near-constant military domination over state affairs" (Dr. Saghir Sheikh: 2005).

In this regard the imbalance of power sharing and bitterness among four provinces have become the main political issue of Sindh. Sindh is a large revenue producing province but received little by way of development, hence, the distance from the federation. The political power always remained with Punjab and Punjab controls the federation's centre.

The most recent dictatorial rule of Army General Pervez Mushrraf that was only created to save his political regime has created more distance and sense of alienation to the Sindhi people from the federation. He has developed a new idea to empower the districts through district governments. In its essence it is very good and very practical, but the way he created new districts and created powerful families and gave power to the family oriented politics has created a worse situation in Pakistan and Sindh in particular. Because of his wrong policies especially his main role in the "war against terror", the country rolled back with the rise of religious fundamentalism, suicide bombings and the unrest in north. The flow of migration to Sindh and an increase in the size of ethnic groups in the big cities of Sindh province like Karachi and Hyderabad and the martyrdom of democratic leader Benazir Bhutto (a Sindhi leader) has created a new kind of hatred politics in Sindh.

3.1.2 Human Rights Context of Sindh

A state rich in resources, but poor in development has created a sense of alienation among the Sindhi population. The Sindhi people have a feeling that their rights are being confiscated by the larger Punjab province or federation/center which is also dominated by Punjabi establishment. The continuous flow of immigrants from Punjab and NWFP and other countries have created a fear among Sindhi people of

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becoming minority and a loss of basic rights. In this regard, Sindhi people have continuously struggled for their right to self determination so as to protect their basic rights and freedom in decision making especially control over resources and governance. The Sindhi diaspora and home-based human rights organizations are working for the protection of rights.

The Sindhi language is ancient, rich in literature and poetry. “In the 19th century, the British granted official status to the Sindhi language, requiring that bureaucrats posted in Sindh learn the language. Pakistan denied any official status to the language after ‘dissolving’ the province of Sindh in 1954” (Dr. Saghir Sheikh: 2005). In the 1960s the language rights movement began and still Sindhi people are fighting for education in Sindhi language.

The Sindhi people are struggling for their right to control the natural resources of Sindh, like: oil and gas, minerals, sea food and agriculture, but in human development index, most of the Sindhi districts lie in poverty. The rights to self-determination remain one of basic human rights issues of the Sindhi people since Pakistan’s inception.

Honor killing is also a human rights issue in Sindh. There has been new legislation in the form of “the women bill” that protects the rights of women, and an international commitment in the shape of CEDAW, but still the women are being killed in name of honor in Sindhi. A Sindh based human rights NGOs, Pirbaht Women Development and Root Work claimed that women are not benefiting from the law. Decisions of honor-killing cases are not being resolved in courts where the law can protect women, but are resolved at Jirga (tribal councils). Gender based violence exists in Sindhi society, where women are not treated equally.

Due to poverty and poor governance, bonded labour and child labour are also human rights issues in Sindhi. Pakistan is a State party to the CRC and ILO laws, but Sindh is large bonded labour producing and child labour producing province. Even

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though both human rights issues have legal cover, due to a weak judicial system and weak governance, it remains a serious issue in Sindh province.

Freedom of thought, conscience, religion and expression are serious issues of Sindh. The religious minority Hindus, Christian, Sikh, Ahmedis, Zikris and Ismailis do not enjoy complete freedom of assembly or expression due to the current wave of religious fundamentalism and weak state protection. The Hindu population has been targeted in kidnappings for ransom.

The social and economic rights such as education, health, housing, sanitation, water and environment are also weak. The current wave of hepatitis is a new 'tsunami' for Sindhi people. Current statistics of hepatitis show that out of a population of some 40 million, 10 million of the Sindhi people are facing hepatic virus. This situation poses a bleak situation for social and economic rights.

3.3 Sindhi Association of North America (SANA)

In the 1980s, the people of Pakistan, especially in Sindh, strongly protested against the military dictatorship of General Zia and overwhelmingly participated in the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD). In response, the military government lashed out at political forces in Sindh with the result that many pro-democratic Sindhi academicians, political workers and activists were forced to leave Pakistan and seek refuge in foreign countries especially in Europe and America. Exiled politicians, writers, civil society members and academicians founded Sindh Association of North America (SANA) in 1983 in America.

The role of SANA was to unite Sindhi people living in North America and then to advocate the Sindhi peoples' rights and unite them for a common cause. The members of SANA are mostly academicians, doctors, engineers, businessmen/women, students and other people living in America and Canada. A critic says the people who have earned enough money now want to contribute or socialize themselves with Sindhi

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people. Initially it was small group but now it has grown with many members and is divided into five zones within America and Canada.

SANA is the first Sindhi advocacy group formed outside the territory of Sindh in 1983. Dr. Feroz Ahmed, a professor in the School of Social Work at Howard University Washington D.C. as well as a progressive, left-oriented political activist and a prolific writer encouraged Mr. Javed Leghari, Khalid Hashmani, Altaf Memon and others to organize Sindhi Association of North America (SANA). The constitution of SANA was framed by Mr. Altaf Memon, former Vice Chancellor of Sindh University Dr. Nazir Mughal and Irshad Qazi were also among its founding members. Khalid Hashmani became first President of SANA and served for almost six years.

Having academicians, writers and political people on board, it started publishing a quarterly news letter “Sangat”. The mains purpose of the newsletter was to raise a voice against the military rule of General Zia-ul-Haq and disseminate reports of the political and social activities from Sindh for Sindhis in North America. Mr. Altaf Memon, who used the pen name “Adarsh Sindhi”, was its first editor. Another community newsletter by SANA Canada named “Malir” was first published in April-June 2003. SANA also started its youth division named Sindhi Youth Association of North America (SYNA) in April 1998. To commemorate the contribution of Dr. Feroz Ahmed, SANA awards the Dr. Feroz Ahmed Memorial Educational Fund (FAME Fund) scholarships to deserving Sindhi students studying in the educational institutions in Pakistan. The FAME fund is helping poor Sindhi students in Sindh who are unable to complete their education. These scholarships continue to be awarded to Sindhi students in Sindh.

The turning point in SANA’s history came in 1989 when Mr. Allah Wadhayo Bhatti won the seat of SANA President in a very keenly contested election against Mr. Javed Leghari and a new leadership emerged led by a ‘doctors group’ under the leadership of Dr. Mazhar Lakho and Dr. Abdul Wahab Qazi. From here on the old leadership of SANA which included Altaf Memon, Javed Leghari, Khalid Hashmi and some others became inactive, though they are still members of SANA.

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This same leadership later on encouraged Munawer Leghari, a young student leader of Jiye Sindh Tarqi Pasand Party (Jiyey Sindh Qadir Magsi group) to establish WSI.

SANA is basically a cultural group which provides a common platform to Sindhi immigrants living in the USA and Canada. The biggest achievement of SANA is that it has given the Sindhi diaspora of North America the identity of 'American Sindhi'. The community development within the Sindhi community of US and Canada is the top priority of SANA. To achieve this end, SANA arranges different gatherings, creates a network within Sindhi community by keeping a record of Sindhi diaspora living in Canada and the US, Sindhi language preservation by promoting speaking Sindhi language in homes and encouraging marriages within the Sindhi community. In this regard two other initiatives which SANA has recently undertaken are the launching of a Sindhi Radio Program "Mehran Rang" and a web link for teaching Sindhi language. People living anywhere in the world can access these two services through internet.

SANA holds its Annual Convention in the month of July, which is considered a large cultural event for Sindhis outside Sindh. After attending the 15th Convention of SANA in July 1999, famous Sindhi writer Amar Jaleel gave his sentiments in his weekly article "Mystic notes" in following words: "A few among them had sought refuge and political asylum there during the barbaric dictatorship of General Ziaul Haq. He cultivated Kalashinikov and heroin cultures in Pakistan, and destroyed the democratic institutions forever. It was during his rule that we saw unprecedented disappearance of Sindhi youth. They either went into exile, or vanished into eternity, and never surfaced again. It was an emotional reunion with the survivors of the holocaust in a distant land." (Daily Dawn:1999).

The affairs of the Association are conducted by an Executive Council, elected and/or approved by the General Body for two years. The Executive Council Officers are to hold offices for two years and for a maximum of only two consecutive terms. The President heads the executive council. The Advisory Council consists of 20 members. The members of the outgoing Executive Council automatically become

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members of the Advisory Council. There are five categories of SANA membership. Life members and regular members are the main source of SANA funding.

SANA claims to be a non-political, non-profit humanitarian organization but as most of its founding members consist of the people who were forced to leave the country during MRD movement against General Zia, therefore, their sympathies were clearly with the Pakistan Peoples' Party (PPP) of Benazir Bhutto which was leading this struggle for democracy in Pakistan. But the leadership of SANA has never accepted this blame and they maintain its independent identity as a cultural and social organization of Sindhi immigrants living in the USA and Canada.

3.4 World Sindhi Congress (WSC)

World Sindhi Congress (WSC) was the second Sindhi advocacy group, launched by Mr. GM Bhurgari in 1988. This was initially a London based group and its purpose was to provide a common forum to Sindhi immigrants living in UK and other parts of Europe and raise issues of Sindh on an international platform. The need for the WSC was felt on two grounds: one because SANA was restricted to North America only and secondly it did not represent the ideology of G.M. Sayed, the supporter of Sindhudesh (separate homeland for the people of Sindh).

WSC, though initiated in 1988, was organized and registered by Mr. Munawer Halepoto in 1991. But later in 1997 young leadership under Saghir Shaikh, Safdar Sarki and others charged Halepoto with maintaining secret links and financial mismanagement; he was forcibly removed from office. They elected Mr. Safdar Sarki as the new President of WSC but Munawer Halepoto was not ready to step down and he kept on working as a President of his own faction. Thus WSC was divided into two factions though the Halepoto faction is completely marginalized and it consists of just a few members.

WSC has its chapters in UK, USA, Canada and Sindh. It holds an Annual General Meeting (AGM), which is the biggest event of the year along with an

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international conference on a Sindh related theme. Presentations made in the conference are later made available on their website. WSC also runs e-campaigns on water issues and the human rights situation in Sindh. WSC publishes its quarterly newsletter named “The Sindh Perchar” which highlights WSC activities and Sindh’s political issues. A new program is recently launched by WSC which is named “career abroad 4 Sindhi- Study and Career for Sindhi around the globe”. This program is still under formative phase. It is meant to provide Sindhi students and job seekers abroad with all kinds of information from visa to admission and funding.

The thirteen member Executive committee is the governing body of WSC, which is elected for two years term. Executive committee decides by the majority vote and its policy decisions are ratified by the AGM. The operational duties are delegated to the cabinet headed by a Chairperson and six other office-bearers. All four chapters also have their organizing committees which run their local day-to-day business.

Unlike SANA and WSI, WSC is very vocal in its political affiliation. Even a cursory look on the home page of its website will confirm that this organization allies itself very closely with G.M. Syed’s ideology of Sindhi nationalism and his political mission. The birthday of G.M. Sayed is celebrated with great fervor and it is widely reported on the website and in the quarterly “The Sindh Parchar”. Every year WSC along with G.M. Sayed Memorial Committee (GMC) presents the G.M. Sayed Memorial Award to one or three activists or scholars who have made a significant contribution in research or activism on Sindh issues. The writings of G.M. Sayed and research work done on him are also available on the WSC website (WSI: 2008).

The WSC is also one of the vibrant diaspora organizations that regularly participate in the different groups of UNO and submitting its submissions, hence it has not applied for the consultation status in ECOSOC. It is using other organizations’ forum as WSI.

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3.5 imitations of SANA and WSC

Both SANA and WSC are voluntary organizations and don't have permanent staff that can carryout activities and create innovations. It has limited its activities to press releases, petitions and participation in UNO working groups. After the new leadership like Aziz Narejo in SANA and Dr Saghir Sheikh in WSC some vibrancy has been observed in the form of organizing regular annual events and sending press releases to different national newspapers of Sindh, Pakistan and loading yahoo and Google groups with current issues of rights in Sindh. They post the policy on different issues of human rights violations. The annual event for both organizations is jubilant and they openly express their views and invite human rights defenders, writers, politicians in these events.

WSC and SANA do not have enough funds to mobilize more Sindhi diaspora; hence its members do support the events and hosting the speakers when they visit to their events. "In few cities some Sindh Diaspora organization are unsuccessful in reaching out to new immigrants from Sindh" (Dr. Saghir Sheikh: 2005). These two organizations can be good forums for Sindhi diaspora living out side especially in UNO and North America; hence they have to do a lot to be a good representative of Sindhi diaspora organization.

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CHAPTER IV
WORLD SINDHI INSTITUTE: A CASE STUDY

In this chapter my aim is to discuss in detail the World Sindhi Institute (WSI) in protecting the rights of Sindhi people and its practices of advocacy by using various tools and techniques. The chapter contains the field findings mainly the interviews and documentation research. The discussion as organized in this chapter is: chronology, initiation of World Sindhi Institute, practice of advocacy, strengths, weakness and legitimacy in UN/INGO/National. The purpose is to deeply analyze WSI, its contribution to the protection and promotion of human rights of Sindhi people.

4.1 Initiation of World Sindhi Institute: The Background

In 1980s, harsh military rule was imposed by dictator General Zia-ul-Haq on Pakistan after capturing power from the popular Pakistan Peoples' Party (PPP). Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, PPP founder and first elected Prime Minister was hanged on the false accusation of assassination. The lawyers and jurists called it judicial murder. After the hanging of Z.A Bhutto, all major political parties united and started a strong movement to restore democracy called the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD). It took strong roots particularly in Sindh. All the opposition parties gave boost to the movement and country's leftists, writers, intellectuals, artists, academicians, human rights activists and civil society members were united on this platform. The movement became very strong in Sindh and people from all walks of life jointly opposed the military and dictatorial rule of General Zia. In Sindh people challenged the army rule and organized protests, rallies and published literature against the military rule. Women, elderly, labourers, tenants, writers, artists, teachers and students raised their collective voice against the military. The movement became bloody and the army opened fire on many protest rallies and killed many people in

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Sindh. Some writers, academicians, human rights activists and civil society activists were forced into exile in Europe and other parts of the world. Due to relaxed immigration laws in Europe and America some of them got asylum over there.

While intermingling with people of the world especially diaspora working for human rights in the West, these emigrant Sindhis thought of a common platform for Sindhi people living in North America. Like minded people living across the USA and Canada firstly founded the Sindhi Association of North America (SANA) with the idea to share common views and unite Sindhi people scattered in North America. As the concept of Sindhi diaspora organizations already exited, World Sindhi Institute was founded in 1997 with an aim to focus human rights of the Sindhi people and highlight it in the UNO and other international institutes, forums and regional mechanisms.

It is registered as non-profit organization "(501(c) 3-certified nonprofit organization based in Washington, DC)" (WSI: 2008) under USA law. Its mission statement says:

> "The World Sindhi Institute (WSI) is committed to achieving human rights for the Sindhis of Sindh in southeastern Pakistan through a nonviolent advocacy, activism and academic campaigns. WSI brings together Sindhis of all religious and geographical backgrounds and their supporters in a proactive, progressive movement whose purpose is to inform others of the human rights and environmental atrocities occurring in Sindh. WSI initiates and welcomes collaborative projects with other governmental and non-governmental organizations and individuals seeking positive, nonviolent change in South Asia and elsewhere."(WSI: 2008).

Its focus is on following subjects:

- Secularism (separation of 'Church and State')
- Democracy (vs. Military Rule)
- Demilitarization (Civilians, rather than the army, should rule)

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- Decentralization (Each Province should be "autonomous & sovereign", according to the 1940 Pakistan Resolution)
- Nuclear Disarmament (Pakistan must rid itself of Nuclear weapons)

Mr. Munawar Laghari is acting as Executive Director of WSI with support of volunteers. The major source of inspiration to form WSI is spirit of old politicians, writers, academicians and social workers who have worked with other overseas diaspora organizations. The group has been actively involved in politics of Sindh with nationalists and leftists aspiring to develop an organization that can defend the rights of the people of Sindh. In Sindh they have already experienced developing different forums like Sindhi Adabi Sangat (Sindhi Writers Organizations) and have been the leaders of the student politics. They intermingled with different human rights organization such as the Washington based Washington Kurdish Institute (WKI), this in turn reinforced their networks with their counterparts of Sindhi Diaspora organizations such as World Sindhi Congress and Sindhi Association of North America. Therefore, it is refreshing to find the new ways that Sindhi organizations in USA, Canada and UK are not only good in number but they are much more socially and politically active. Though politically motivated, these organizations do not claim any direct link with any particular nationalist or democratic political parties working in Sindh and Pakistan.

They consider themselves as non-profit, human rights advocacy groups, just as the World Sindhi Institute defines itself as a human rights and advocacy, non-profit NGO working for the rights of Sindhi peoples. The term advocacy group is used because they say they are an advocacy and lobbying organization, fighting for the rights of deprived Sindhi people living in the Southern province of Pakistan named Sindh. These groups provide a common platform for Sindhi immigrants and members of the diaspora living abroad in different parts of the world to meet, dine and talk.

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Interestingly, most of these so-called advocacy groups mainly consist of the Sindhi diaspora but they seldom talk about the issues relating to Sindhi diaspora, rather they claim to strive for the rights of Sindhis living in Sindh.

> The reasons behind establishing WSI were to internationalize issues of Sindh as human rights issues on the one hand, and acquaint the international communities with Sindhi life, art and culture through advocacy and academic campaigns, events and conferences. While primarily focusing on Sindh, the WSI's second most important reason for launch was to reach out to the Sindhi diaspora to be organized to raise concerns on human rights violations in Sindh. Munawar Laghari Executive Director WSI.

The WSI is the only Sindhi diaspora, non-membership organization, whereas WSC and SANA discussed in the 4th Chapter are membership based organizations. WSI has initiated membership and invited people to become members of the WSI but the role of members are limited as it is in other two counter part organizations. Its leaders especially Munawar Laghari, a former student leader has also been in jail in Sindh, has written on the rights of Sindhi people in Sindhi magazines and journals and is the author of a number of books. Altaf Memon and Khalid Hashmani are teaching in American universities and are very active with Sindhi networks in the USA, Sindh, Pakistan and around the world. They have also been active in SANA but now they have reorganized the WSI as a think tank, lobby and advocacy organization. Political and human rights activist Zahid Makhdoom has been a journalist and student leader in Sindh. He is a well-known writer on political and rights subjects; currently he is a sitting judge in Canada. Humaira Rehman is an architect and teaches in Canada and Qadir Bux Jatoi is a well known student leader of 1970s. He earned capital punishment for attacks on army when an army major was involved in alleged rape case of a Sindhi girl studying in medical college Nawab Shah, Sindh. When a Pakistani aeroplane was hijacked and landed at Kabul, Afghanistan, the hijackers demanded to release all the political prisoners. Qadir Bux was one of them. He went first to Kabul but then he got asylum in Sweden. Qadir Bux Jatoi is

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heading the WSI European Chapter and its London office. The main purpose of the organization is to advocate for the right of Sindhi people living in Sindh. Initially WSI had a Washington office but now it has spread its role and established one small office in London and Canada and has nominated some focal points in Sindh (Pakistan).

It is using UNO and regional mechanisms for the protection of human rights of Sindhi people and regularly participates in UNO and US government's events, Amnesty International, Human Rights, European Unions and other regional and civil society forums.

In Washington DC, WSI has an office and professional team to run the business of the organization and a Board of Directors to manage the business of creating goals as well as run the organization and set directions. WSI was a non-membership organization but now it has started membership. The role of members is limited though. The funding sources are tax and donation money and a magazine, Sindh Watch, generates little funds and attracts members.

Its counterpart, SANA, focuses upon community development, coordination among Sindh families, cultural activities, public gatherings, organize lunches and dinners to create coordination among families and friends. It is also doing some advocacy and lobbying for Sindhi people but maintains a low profile.

> As opposed to SANA, the focus of WSI is not community development, rather it works with the UNO agencies, human rights organizations, US Congressmen, US State Department, NGOs, think tanks and World Bank officials, and to apprise them of the grave political and humanitarian situation in Sindh (as they perceive it) through a nonviolent advocacy, activism and academic campaigns. Hence we can say WSI is more an advocacy group and a lobby than a mass based community organization. (Saeed Rid: 2005).

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WSI regularly participates in different UNO advocacy and working groups meetings and presents their submissions on the human rights issues in Sindh. WSI has applied for membership in UN ECOSOC but the Pakistan government has opposed and said that WSI is working against Pakistan.

> The major achievement of WSI is their professional approach, financial strength and lobbying power among the international agencies, US centers of power, Human Rights organizations and NGOs. The quarterly "Sindh Watch" which was launched by Munawar Laghari in 1995 later became the mouthpiece of WSI and its activities since its creation in 1997. (Saeed Rid: 2005).

Apart from the UN treaty bodies working groups' participation, the WSI also participates in other forums "All International networks … approached by the WSI including Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, TASSC, UN, and EU, US State Department and the Senate and the Congress" says Munawar Laghari, Executive Director in his interview.

The WSI is mainly aimed at using UNO conventions and covenants which Pakistan has ratified by summiting submissions at UN working groups, organizing seminars and conference. In seminars and conferences international human rights activist and UN representatives are invited to discus human rights violations in Sindh. Pakistan has ratified the following conventions and covenants:

- Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC)
- International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD)
- Convention on the Elimination of all form of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)
- International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid
- Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide
- Slavery Convention of 1926 as amended

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- Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery
- The Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery
- Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic of Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution or Others

The aim of the WSI is to develop pressure on the government to comply with what Pakistan has committed to with international community. Being a state partner, Pakistan is represented in meetings and develops periodic reports, cooperates with UN Special Rapporteurs working on different procedures like thematic, country etc and careful work on the recommendations of Special Rapporteurs. Up to date two Special Rapporteurs have visited the country discussing isuess concerning international law, met with state partner officials, police, NGOs and critically reviewed Pakistan's promise to comply with several recommendation.

4.2 Practices of Advocacy

Being a lobbying and advocacy diaspora organization, WSI is using different tools and techniques. I will discuss WSI advocacy practices in detail.

4.3 Annual Conventions and seminars

WSI annually organizes a convention and invites a large number of writers, intellectuals, human rights activists, advocates, political figures, civil society members, media and US government senators and parliamentarians, Amnesty representatives, Human Rights Watch representatives, UN representatives etc from America, Europe, Sindh and around world. It is a major event of the WSI which attracts diaspora living in the USA and other parts of the world, where they highlight the human rights, political and social issues of Sindhi people.

WSI uses major resources on these annual conventions and each convention has different themes. Besides convening conferences, WSI organizes small talks and dialogues, but I will discuss in detail its annual conferences where they

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discuss human rights and wide-ranging political issues. WSC and SANA also organize annul conferences as well but the difference is: WSI conferences have a variety of speakers such as politicians, academicians, writers, journalists and human rights activist and professionals.

The effort to get such a diverse range of speakers is made because they are trying to highlight the issues of human rights of Sindh. The purpose of organizing this large event is to develop strong network with policy makers and intellectuals and also sensitize to major political parties working in Pakistan. WSI is still fighting to get membership in ECOSOC but due to resistance and opposition of Pakistan's representative in the UN, it has not got membership. It has attracted major political parties to WSI seminars and protest rallies.

In each annual event the representatives of PPP and PML-N regularly participate. This is creating legitimacy for WSI and Pakistan. Currently, PPP and PML-N are in power and it will definitely help WSI in creating a better image as some quarters say it is against the country and are working for disintegration of Pakistan. In one annual conference, the former Prime Mister and Pakistan’s most popular leader the late Benazir Bhutto sent her message to the conference (WSI: 2008). It is really good sign for WSI image in Pakistani political parties.

Since initiation of the WSI (1997 to 2007) it has organized annual conferences and discussions ranging from topics of human rights and political issues of Sindh and Pakistan. The major issues of Sindh are focused on by WSI; they also highlight the other smaller nations whose rights are being denied like, Balochistan or human rights issues as well. Ms. Makhtaran Mai is a well known human rights activist of Pakistan. She was gang raped at the orders of a Jirga (extra-judicial decision, done by tribal heads). WSI took this case of Mukhtaran Mai very seriously and organized protests and issued several press releases to highlight the issue at human rights organizations.

In this part, my focus will be the larger issues which WSI is addressing and thus I will touch upon some issues which WSI highlights, but will discuss more popular issues as

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well. If we analyze WSI conferences from 1997 to date, you will feel in each conference the water issue in Sindh has been focused upon, hence the conference topics are different.

A major issue of Sindh and the Sindhi people is the survival of Sindh and Sindhis. Due to the burning issues of Sindh and Sindhi people rightly rejecting the water accords of Pakistan and feeling that every accord is based upon Punjab dominance and not properly consulting specialists or Sindhi civil society. Hence WSI is focusing on this issue. It is receiving support from Sindhi people living in Sindh and the Sindhi diaspora working with WSI as well as others. A listing of WSI conference details follows:

- World Sindhi Institute, First Gathering Celebration, August, 1997, New York City
- United Nations Association – National Capital Area, Blue Ribbon Award Ceremony, October 1999, Washington DC
- International Conferences: Sindh The National Question in Pakistan and Peace in South Asia, May 2000, Washington DC
- International Conference, Sindh and its Right to self determination, May 2001, Washington DC
- Sindh: The Water Crises and Future of Pakistan, November 2002, Washington DC
- International Conference: The impact of Pakistan's State Fundamentalism on Civil Society and Sindh's resistance to it, September 2003, Washington DC
- Annual Conference: Militray Rule in Pakistan: Challenge to democracy, Human Rights and Peace in Sindh, October 2004, Washington DC
- Annual Conference: Language, Ideology and terrorism: The Sindhi struggle in Pakistan, September-October, 2005, Washington DC
- Annual Conference: Militarism and Fascism in Pakistan: Challenge to Freedom of press in Sindh and Baluchistan, November 2006, Washington DC

Apart from these international conferences WSI has also organized some small conferences and seminars in USA, UK and Canada such as:

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- Shah Jo Raag: The Music of Shah, Celebration, October 1997, Washington DC
- World Conference on Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and related intolerance, September 2001, Durban, South Africa
- Rhythm of Love festival, November 2002, Chicago
- Inter-community Sindhi Dialogue, September, Washington DC
- WSI first London Seminar: Human Rights of Pakistan, Focus on Sindh, July 2003, London
- Her Voice from Sindh, slide show presentation and discussion on women and girls of Sindh, March 2003, Washington DC
- Her Voice form Sindh, June 2004, Atlanta
- Sindhi Seminar and Celebration, June 2004, Toronto
- Her Voice from Sindh, Texas at Dallas
- The World Sindhi Institute Celebrates the new Canada Chapter and International Human Rights Day, December 2005, Washington DC
- Human Rights in Focus: The Baluchistan Example, March 2005, Washington DC
- Seminar on Disappearance in Pakistan, February, 2006, Washington DC

The topics of the annual conferences and seminars are mostly denial of rights, major internal conflicts of small and big provinces and establishments. The center (Pakistan government) always remained in conflict with oppressed nations of Pakistan especially Sindh and Balochistan.

The conferences and seminars are not the only way to spotlight the issue and mostly the speakers are not major policy makers from Pakistan, but are enlightened people, politicians, writers and intellectuals. They reflect the issues where they have influence. But WSI gets enough support from them. Normally they come with research reports, new ideas and networking for the WSI. Some critics say that the WSI can do much more effective work in smaller events rather than at one annual event.

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But I think the WSI is getting good benefit from these events. Generally the people have some suspicions concerning the activities of diaspora organizations. As WSI is unable to get membership in ECOSOC, it is establishing good linkages with political parties and intellectuals who will help WSI with advocacy and lobbying as well as image building.

4.4 Advocacy With UN Working Groups

Since its initiation, the World Sindhi Institute has constantly been participating in the UN Commissions of Human Rights and ECOSOC working groups. WSI doesn't have consultative status in ECOSOC but it has applied for the membership, but due to Pakistan, comments on the WSI application is still pending.

"The Council upheld decisions by the NGO Committee to reject applications by the World Sindhi Institute and the Jewish National Fund." (UNOG, the United Nations Office at Geneva: 2008). Hence WSI is able to re-apply after two years "Munawar Laghari reaffirmed the Institute's principled opposition to the lack of democracy in Pakistan and expressed that the country has suffered most at the hands of its myopic usurper military rulers", he said. "While the Institute respects the decision of the NGO Committee, we shall reapply for the consultative status after two years as per the ECOSOC policies." (WSI: 2008). Due to non consultative status it is using other organization's forums and putting pressure on major issues of human rights of the Sindhi people.

WSI is participating in following forums and presenting its submissions on different issues of human rights abuses of Sindhi people:

- World Conference against racism, racial discrimination, Xenophobia and related intolerances
- ECOSOC
- HR Sub-commission on prevention on discrimination and protection of minorities
- UN Working group on indigenous people

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- UN Committee on NGO

Putting pressure at the UNO forums is good and governments are taking it very seriously. But this is not the only forum which is very effective; in my interviews with different people they admitted that UNO is not only a forum where human rights organizations can put pressure, but local forums and press are also effective tools.

While searching the different submission I can say that WSI is not strong enough to plead its case and develop very effective submissions that can develop pressure on the government to meet their obligations that it has committed to with various UDHR and UNO conventions. Being a young organization in the field of human rights and having no consultative status, it has been difficult to make significant changes.

But again it requires resources to strongly present the cases of human rights issue at various forums. In an interview, Munawar Laghari, Executive Director of World Sindhi Institute admitted a lack of resources at the WSI. WSI is also unable to develop a shadow report, however, it is good chance for WSI to get itself recognized at human rights forums. The key question and my analysis shows it has not only a scarcity of resources, but also have scarcity of human rights professionals that can boost the WSI work in human rights field.

4.5 Women Rights and Child Rights Issues

Issues concerning women and children are focus issues of WSI and also mandatory for the Pakistan to comply with as Pakistan has ratified CEDAW and CRC. WSI has often taken issues of women's and child rights to different working groups and also highlighted issues at “Sindh Watch” filling petitions and organizing protests.

WSI took up the rape cases of Dr Shazia Khalid and Mukhtaran Mai. It highlighted these cases at the UNO working groups, organized protests and helped in getting asylum for Dr Shazia Khalid in Europe. Dr Shazia was posted at Sui (Gas field

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in Baluchistan) and was raped by an army major. Due to army rule, the army declined to admit the rape occurred as they thought it would create a bad image for them.

But the case took a serious turn as all the political parties, civil society organization and human rights defenders took it very seriously and highlighted the case at various forums and mechanisms.

Dr Shazia was pressured to admit the rape case but she took a bold step and didn't succumb under pressure. In this regard the army has come under the fire of Balochistan political parties. A major protest was staged against the Pakistan army by Balochistan's main political parties, Jamhori Watan party, Balchistan National Party and others. She was pressured by the army to drop the rape case. Along from other organizations and political parties, WSI has worked very hard in her support. It has organized several protests in the USA and London with other counterparts. Due to army involvement, her life was in danger and her family was pressured to oppose the rape case. WSI London office worked hard and helped her in getting asylum in Europe. The Chief of the Army Staff and President of Pakistan Parvez Musharraf openly said in his speeches that the officer in question was innocent and it was politically motivated case.

In the same way, WSI has taken Mukhtaran Mai,s case very seriously and organized several protests in USA and UK and highlighted the case at several national and international forums. The victim got some relief as the culprits were punished. Apart from these cases, WSI has taken women and children's issues very seriously lodging submission, petitions and highlighting cases in its magazine.

4.6 Rights to Self Determination and Democratic Rights

Democracy and the right to self determination are the main reasons for the existence of diaspora organizations. WSI representatives, members and supporters have a common goal that Sindhi people should have democracy and self determination

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rights. UNO member countries have moral and ethical obligations to give rights to the people under in UDHR and treaty bodies in which the government is a party.

Democracy is a fundamental right of the people. For 61 years Pakistan has been governed by military dictatorships. WSI supports democracy and determines it to be a basic right of the people. Since the inception of the Musharraf regime, WSI has constantly been opposing them through submissions, protest rallies and press releases. It has organized several protest campaigns for the democratic rights of Sindhi and Pakistani people. The WSI has organized the following rallies for democratic rights:

- Peaceful protest rally for the democracy and human rights of Pakistan on June 18, 2007, Washington DC
- Protest rally to condemn Karachi Massacre, call for democracy on June 3, 2007, Washington DC
- Press release on oppressed nations of Pakistan for right to self determination and sovereignty, March 7, 2007
- Peaceful demonstration against the military rule and human rights, September 22, 2006, New York
- Participation in peaceful rally for Human Rights of Pakistan, organized by Asian American Network Against Abuse of Human Rights, September 18, New York
- Rally against the Military operation in Balochistan and assassination of Nawab Akbar Bugti, September 8, Toronto
- Protest Rally against the human rights violations and atrocities in Balochistan, August 14, Toronto

WSI has continuously opposed dictatorial rule and supports democracy and the right to self determination.

4.7 Working against torture

WSI executive director is one of the survivors of torture in Pakistan. Other members are mostly political and human rights workers who are victims of torture.

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The Institute is an active partner of UNO Association of the Capital Area's Blue Ribbon and received at least 3 awards in 1999, 2000 and 2001. The Executive Director is the founder member on Capital Area Blue Ribbons which is home to a number of rights defenders, political activists and ordinary people who have experiences as victims of torture in Pakistan.

4.8 Disappearances

Pakistan is an active partner in the current so-called war on terror. Hundreds of people have disappeared over the period of these years. .

There are two types of the victims of disappearance a) Islamic Militants/Taliban and their associates and b) democratic workers and human rights defenders who have worked for democracy and opposed the military. When the war on terror started in Afghanistan, the people living on the border with Afghanistan were also victimized because of it. It is to be stressed here that people from NWFP and Balochistan who live in the border areas of Afghanistan are part of same race and religion and have strong links of religion and race.

When the so-called war on terror started in Afghanistan, it greatly affected the bordering areas of Pakistan. Western countries left Pakistan at the mercy of military dictatorial rule to suit their interests. There are hundreds of disappeared Islamic militants and their associates in Pakistan. The dictatorial government has arrested people without any charges. Most of the disappeared political workers are from Balochistan and Sindh provinces who opposed the military government and stood for the right to self determination.

"According to report received by Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP), at least 600 people have disappeared in Balochistan. The number of missing persons in Balochistan could run into thousands, according to some political organizations in the province" (Human Rights Commission Pakistan: 2007). These are

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the only people arrested in Balochistan province. Political opponents in Sindh have also been arrested.

The political opponents, especially nationalist, were also disappeared and some of them were murdered. The case of Dr Safdar Sarki became more prominent when he was arrested and disappeared. Dr. Safdar Sarki is a dual national of USA and Pakistan. He was arrested at his residence in Gulistan-e- Jouhar on February 24, 2006.

He was beaten and blindfolded and for a year and half he was missing. After denying his arrest, the security agencies produced him with Mr. G.M Bhaghat and Mr. Cheetan Bajeer in October 200 in a court under false charges. There are so many Sindhi opponents of the military regime and some of them died in custody.

The WSI has constantly protested against the disappearance of people and have posted some pictures of the disappeared political workers.

> "Those who witness the arrests report that it is the government authorities, sometimes disguised in civilian clothes, conducting the unjustified pick-ups. However when confronted the government denies any involvement. So the question remains unanswered: wWhere did these people go? No one, not even their friends or family know. They are held captive in secret prisons, and tortured daily until death. Majority of the captives never even has charges brought against them or gets a chance at a fair trial" (WSI: 2008).

The WSI has organized several protest rallies and seminars. It has organized seminars on "Disappearance in Pakistan" in February 2007 in Washington DC and has invited human rights defenders to support the disappeared and increase pressure on the government of Pakistan. Apart from seminars it has organized several rallies and protests in the USA, some of them are:

- International day of Disappeared, August 30, 2007, Washington DC
- Rally in front of Pakistan Embassy on Human rights abuses including disappearances, Washington DC

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The WSI has also sent letters to different leaders of the world and human rights organizations sending them facts and figures on the disappearances.

4.9 Linkages at Home

Being an advocacy and lobbying diaspora organization, WSI is working outside Sindh. Although it has good linkages with human rights defenders, politicians, writers, academicians, layers and civil society members, as well as senior intellectuals of Pakistan like Dr. Pervez Hoodbhoy, intellectual and politician Rasool Bux Paleejo, Sindhi journalists, Manzoor Mirani, Anwar Pirzado, Hasan Mujtaba, academician, Rafiq Chandio, intellectuals like Jami Chandio and Zulfiqar Halepoto. But it has been felt during the field research that most of them are activity oriented participants but do not have good linkages with WSI. Also it has weak linkages with masses of Sindh. A group of political and human rights activities are aware of their activities, but most of the people even don't know the roles and responsibilities of diaspora organizations.

4.10 Publications

WSI publishes a quarterly magazine "Voice of Sindh" which covers a range of human rights and political issues of the Sindhi people. WSI invites intellectuals, writers, researchers and politicians to send their research and political theses on human rights and political issues of Sindh. It contains figures, data and thoughts.

WSI regularly publishes annual reports which contain WSI activities such as: participation in seminars, talks, dialogues, workshops of UN, international forums etc. WSI also reports details of the seminars and protests conducted that year. Apart from these activities it also reports the financial expenditure and revenue generation figures.

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CHAPTER V
DILEMMAS AND PROBLEMS

This chapter is divided into four sections. In first section I will discuss general dilemmas of diaspora organizations and WSI in particular. In the section 5.2 I will discussion the problems the diaspora organizations are faced with. In section 5.3, I will give my analytical assessments on WSI.

5.1 Dilemmas

One of the goals of my thesis has been to incorporate qualitative analysis of diaspora in protection and promotion of rights. Human rights defenders, human rights experts and UNO member countries have struggled with the dilemma of determining how much qualification and space should take place. One of the issues involved was what portion of legitimacy should be devoted to qualification of the diaspora organization. At the moment, the dilemma is even greater with ratification of major conventions and covenants. Diaspora organizations are getting consultation status in ECOSOC. It also gives power and authority and legitimacy to the diaspora organization to raise their voice more loudly. Diaspora leaders and governments face three problems: legitimacy of diaspora organizations, pressure of diaspora organizations and coordination with government and diaspora.

a. Firstly, diaspora movement is a confusion of interpretations by diaspora leaders, UN and human rights movements. Home country residents believe the diaspora movement is anti-government and has only a defaming and disintegration purpose. The organizations are selecting only the worst, weak subjects of the country and try to demoralize and defame it. In this regard diaspora organizations are facing serious allegations while filling applications for ECOSOC or in other UN working group memberships.

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The World Sindhi Institute also failed to get consultation status due to opposition of Pakistan representatives in the UN. Dictatorial governments or militaries are opposed to this type of organizations. Two other organizations, WSC and SANA, are preparing themselves for same case with scores of diaspora organizations applying and were being rejected by the host countries. Hence Chairman WSC Dr. Saghir Sheikh, said during an interview regarding the submissions at the UN that "submissions are not that effective at the UN" and these are effective only for putting pressure on government. But any way it provides linkages with several networks and UNO forums.

b. The diaspora organizations understand that they are the only organizations which have moral obligations to pressurize the host countries to admit or meet the commitments. In this regard it has power to speak out what they are really thinking for the nation.

c. UNO is an organization of governments, so it is trying to push governments to comply with commitments made by them, either in the shape of UDHR or different covenants and conventions or treaty bodies. In this regard it gives a good platform to both parties. For governments to save face at international community, they must develop local remedies and have good record in human rights issues and for diaspora organizations to spotlight on the progress of the government either its claim is right or just rhetoric and their commitment is only for show.

During the research, the researcher also learnt that host governments are very careful in ratification of conventions and covenants as already discussed (see Chapter 5). Pakistan has only ratified 3 conventions. It has comments on CEDAW and CRC but later it also ratified these as well. There are many countries investing lots of funding on human rights education and advocacy but lacking full ratification of all the conventions and covenants and other agreements. The powerful countries have also avoided ratifying all the treaties. But here I don't want go into details of the whole UN system and analyze other countries, but I will discuss Pakistan as my case study. The major objective is to develop an understanding on it

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5.2 Problem

Working inside host country and having threats from the host country, diaspora organizations are really a security concern for the country. In this regard, it is meeting enormous problems in working smoothly and with right direction and support of people. Most of problems which I observed in this research are:

- It is away from the host country where contact with people is a problem. Apart from contacts, the selection of right people is really a matter of concern for the diaspora organizations. The same problem is also with the people who are living in host country in extending support to the particular organization. Mostly the diaspora organizations are working outside and their links and connections with different forums, people and countries are helping them to achieve their desired objectives. But the people living in the host countries are unaware what is happening outside and sometimes feeling suspicious about the leaders and organizations.
- Fund generation is also a problem for the diaspora organizations. The diaspora organizations are claiming themselves to be human rights defenders and acting on each human rights abuse and suffering within a host country. While filing submissions at UNO or regional mechanisms, high quality research is required on the case as well subject. In this regard, young diaspora organizations or those which have limited membership size or tough competition within diaspora is limiting fund generation.
- High standards of skills for human rights and politics have remained problems for most of diaspora organizations. They have highly skilled people, but most are part timers and are providing their services in their free time. Hence it requires highly skilled full time staff or volunteers that can provide his/her vital role. Less-skilled leadership also creates hindrances in setting the right direction and outside high people are dominating it.

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5.3 Analyzing of WSI

- **Offices:** Office space is one of the basic pre-requisites that enhances the potential of the organization. A number of diaspora organizations do not have offices. WSI counterparts WSC and SANA don't also have offices.
- WSI has a well established office in Washington DC and has smaller offices in London and Canada. These three offices are coordinating with Sindhi people living in the UK, Europe, Canada, America and other parts of North America.
- WSI also has a small staff that is coordinating and managing WSI work with different organizations, universities, UN, USA department, World Bank, different diaspora organizations and international human rights organizations like Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International etc.
- Their offices have good relations with the U.S. universities. WSI is continuously working with George Washington University and organizing its annual programme and other smaller programmes with the University. It is also updating the submission, policy document, research paper, annual report and "Sindh Watch".

- **Skilled members:** The WSI has a high profile and highly skilled members and supporters, its President is a working Judge in Canada and a number of its board members are professors and lecturers at U.S. universities. These are all working closely with WSI and helping them participate in UN working groups, developing high quality papers and developing strong strategies for protecting human rights. Unfortunately, WSI is unable to produce shadow report on Pakistan. Hence, while a developing shadow report, it can boost the WSI from its present status. While Pakistan is mostly falling to produce a country report, in this regard it WSI can gain an edge when highlighting human rights issues of Pakistan, especially of the Sindh.

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- **Fund Raising:** WSI has good fund raising skills compared to its counterparts. It generates US$100,000 annually from different sources to meet its advocacy activities and events. It is also publishes its annual report showing funds generated and expenses.

- WSI collects most of the funds from donations, membership fees and its magazine's "Sindh Watch" circulation. The WSI can generate more funds from the members of the worldwide Sindhi diaspora and it has recently introduced membership, but for unknown reasons, it has not attracted members as the other two fellow diaspora organizations have done.

- **Linkages:** It has established good linkages with other diaspora organizations such as WSC, SANA, Kurdish Institute, George Washington University and other human rights organizations. Though WSI has no consultation status at ECOSOC, it is using others organizations to present submissions and is constantly putting pressures and raising the issue of human rights abuses and violations of Sindhi people and Pakistan.

- **Reports and publications:** WSI publishes regular annual reports and shares them with the cross sections of people and highlights their activities and progress with the board members, members, supporters, partners and the general public. The report is also available at WSI's website. Apart from these reports it also publishes a quarterly magazine called "Sindh Watch". Sindh Watch is a good source to disseminate WSI thoughts and opinions to the diaspora members of North America, Europe, Sindhi people and from other walks of life. The "Sindh Watch" magazine has subscription fees and the fees go to support WSI publication expense and for other activities.

- **Struggle to get consultation status in ECOSOC:** WSI consultation status with ECOSOC was not materialized, but it is putting pressure and working hard to get membership in ECOSOC. The other two counterpart

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organizations are still planning, or not prepared to put application in ECOSOC. Due to its weak strategy in getting membership in ECOSOC, WSI is facing blockages from the home country due to its active role in addressing issues of the Sindhi people. WSI's image has developed as anti-state in this regard. Membership of ECOSOC has been blocked. WSI should change its policy especially in developing good linkages with the home country.

- **Internship Programme:** WSI internship programme is a good sign for the students who are completing their degrees and trying to get work experience. Each year two to three internees work with the WSI. The internees are helping WSI in different ways such as: organizing protests, assisting in administration, developing reports, communicating with different organizations and developing linkages with U.S. universities and institutions.

- **Submissions and petitions in UNO working groups:** Submission is a major component of the advocacy and lobbying of WSI. Every year it participates in UNO human rights conferences in Geneva and different treaty bodies' working groups. It presents its report and participates in group deliberation.

- **Linkages with major political parties of Pakistan:** Diaspora organizations have least recognition at home. In this regard it has struggled to legitimize itself. It has developed good linkages with the most popular parties of Pakistan such as Pakistan Peoples Party and Pakistan Muslim League- Nawaz Sharif (PML-N); both big parties always support WSI in protests against the military dictatorship, and its transgressions against rule of law and other human rights. Their representatives are permanent participants of WSI programmes.

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- **Press Coverage:** The WSI has good press coverage in local and international media. Local Sindhi news papers, Daily Kawish, Daily Ibrat, Daily Awami Awaz, Daily Dawn and Daily Times publish news of events and protests. Some writers also write on their activities. Some Indian newspapers have also published their reports. The Voice of America radio program invites WSI Director Munawar Laghari for talks on different issues.

- **Organizing Protests and Rallies:** The WSI uses protests and rallies as non-violent forms of struggle. It organizes protests on the issue of the human rights and political rights of Sindhi and Pakistani people. It drags the Sindhi diaspora and the Pakistani community living in the USA together. Due to linkages with the Pakistani and Sindhi community, WSI organizes protests whenever any major issue occurs. It is continuously organizing rallies and protests at the Pakistan embassy against the dictatorial rule of Musharraf.

- **Response from Sindhi Community:** The WSI has received many responses from the Sindhi community especially writers, intellectuals, journalists, human rights defenders and politicians. They actively participate in the WSI events and have good will with WSI and its team.

- **Close contacts:** It has also close contacts with global academia, policy makers and intelligentsia. They participate in WSI programmes and send their deliberations in support of WSI.

- **Rapid Reaction on Human Rights Issues:** WSI always has a rapid reaction on issues of human rights whenever they come to know of any human rights issue. WSI organizes press releases, contacts its stakeholders, organizes seminars or talks and also organizes protests and rallies.

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CHAPTER VI
CONCLUSION

6.1 Conclusions

In conclusion, this thesis argues that diaspora is an old phenomenon, and peoples' movement from one place to another occurred over centuries for the trade or other purposes. When some like minded human rights defenders and intellectuals got together and founded diaspora organizations at various levels, positive changes occurred along with the adoption of UNO treaty bodies and also UN Commission on Human Rights; all have strengthened the diaspora organizations. The UN Commission on Human Rights, considered an important actor in protecting rights of the people under the international standards, has given grounds to the diaspora organizations to develop pressure on states to protect the rights of the people.

However, according to findings though the treaty bodies, UNO working groups and other mechanisms have potential and strength to ensure the rights of people and it also has the capacity to develop pressure on the state to fulfill its commitments. Hence it is up to the diaspora organizations lobbying and advocacy strategies, how much they use tools and techniques to protect the rights of the people with innovative ideas and mobilizing all the resources and using all the means lobbying at UN treaty bodies and states for the protection of human rights.

The most negative aspect of the diaspora organizations is that host state and local populations have suspicions of diaspora organizations in many cases. In this regard some diaspora organizations have been blocked when trying to get consultation status in ECOSOC. Consultation status is symbolic and it can only work if other means of lobbying and strong pressure have not been developed. But it can legitimize

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the diaspora organizations and diaspora organizations can raise their voice more loudly when they have consultation status in ECOSOC.

The Sindhi diaspora is an old phenomenon; the people of Sindh started their movement many years ago for trade and commerce. In this regard they settled and contributed to economies and trade and settled in different countries or states. Currently Sindhi people are living in almost 100 countries. But in most countries the role of Sindhi diaspora is limited or only trade related. In North America and Europe especially in the UK, Sindhi diaspora have learnt from others and formed three major organizations: Sindhi Association of North America, World Sindhi Congress and World Sindhi Institute. There are a few more diaspora organizations but their role is very limited and only contributes to social and cultural activities. The politicians, academicians and human rights activists who were forced to leave country in 80s during the military dictatorial rule of General Zia, had to seek asylum in different countries especially in the west and this incident became the driving force in the formation of active diaspora organizations in Europe and North America.

The two diaspora organizations: Sindhi Association of North America and World Sindhi Congress have a very limited role in human rights promotion and protection as compared to World Sindhi Institute. They do not have consultation status or they still have not tried for the consultation status. Both these organizations often participate in UN treaty bodies' and other working group's activities, but they normally use other organizations; stages to present their submissions and advocate for the rights of the Sindhi people; they actively live in 'Yahoo' and Google' groups through petitions and email communications. Both the organizations regularly organize annual events and invite large numbers of human rights defenders, politicians, writers and journalists from Sindh, Pakistan and around the world. But mostly they attract people who are living and working in the North America and Europe especially the UK.

WSI was established in the 1990s as a think tank and is providing the leadership to the Sindhi diaspora in protection of human rights of Sindhis living in the

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Sindh. WSI is more active in human rights advocacy and lobbying than the other two organizations. It covers almost all human rights issues of Sindhi people at the UNO treaty bodies, UNO working groups, U.S. department and has good linkages with other international lobbying organizations such as Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International and U.S. universities.

It also attracted the major political parties of Pakistan such as the Pakistan Peoples Party and Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz Sharif), intellectuals, writers, journalists and human rights defenders of Sindh and Pakistan. Its annual conference is well organized and invites large numbers of policy makers, intellectuals, human rights defenders and civil society organizations of the world and across Sindh.

The WSI addresses a range of human rights issues and organizes rallies and protests. WSI sends petitions to UNO treaty bodies and other working groups and attracts human rights defenders and politicians, writers, journalists and civil society organizations to their rallies, seminars and workshops, but it has not attracted the mass of the Sindhi people on human rights issues, especially those living in Sindh.

Furthermore, according to the findings, it is active in rallies, protests and petitions but WSI has not brought good research on different human rights issues that can help WSI as well as other human rights groups. In its websites mostly news reports, press releases, petitions and activity reports are available. In many cases even WSI is not updating its websites; hence, it needs additional resources. It requires high quality research reports and counter report like shadow reports etc. The WSI publishes a magazine “Sindh Watch” but it has not much research or updated material. It mostly carries lifted material from other journals or newspapers and publications. WSI has not updated its magazine and annual reports at its website.

Being a think tank diaspora organization, it has not developed shadow reports and other human rights atrocities reports. WSI is promptly responding to the human rights violations of Sindhi people and Pakistan but it has a weak strategy to

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develop strong pressure to ensure Pakistan's commitment to conventions and covenants.

6.2 Implications of the Research

The research has implications on Sindhi diaspora organizations generally and WSI in particular. The research has developed an overview of diaspora organizations and has presented ample knowledge on diaspora and its historical context that enables the Sindhi diaspora organizations to gain knowledge from this thesis.

The thesis thoroughly studies the Sindhi diaspora and develops a good document for the organizations that are working on the issue of human rights protection and promotion. Similar organizations can gain knowledge from the thesis or get experience on the working style. The thesis has extensively covered the WSI. Moreover, WSI can compare its work to two similar Sindhi Diaspora organizations: WSC and SANA and can improve its working style.

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APPENDIX

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INTERVIEW GUIDE

A List of interviewees

1. Mr. Munawar Leghari, Executive Director of WSI
2. Dr. Saghir Sheikh, Chairman of WSC
3. Iqbal Tareen, Sr, VP, SANA
4. Ms. Suraiya Makhdoom, WSC
5. Mr. Rafiq Chandio, Academicians and Board member of WSC
6. Mushtaq Mirani, Academician and researcher
7. Mr. Ayaz Latif Palijo, Advocate
8. Mr. Manzoor Mirani, Journalist
9. Mr. Sikandar Baloch, Journalist
10. Mr. Adam Malik, Civil Society activist
11. Mr. Jami Chandio, Political analyst
12. Mr. Mushtaq Rajper, Writer
13. Nasser Memon, Development professional and researcher

B. Structure of the WSI

The following structure of the WSI was created to run the business of the organization.

WSI Board of Directors

Zahid Makhdoom ***President***
Maqbool Aliani ***General Secretary***
Sohail Ansar ***Treasurer***
Humaira Rahman

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Kadir Bux Jatoi

Munawar Laghari

Sunita Mukhi

Ramesh Tharwani

WSI Board of Advisors

Omar Abbasi

Erum Ahamadani

Ayesha Aliani

Harold Gould

Dr. Maqbool Halepota

Jamal Hasan

Anwar Khowaja

Kumar Lakhavani

Walter Landry

Sobia Nawaz

Haider Nizamani

Diana Ortiz

Pravin Pania

Lata Parwani

Emma Reinhardt

Dr. John Salzberg

Shafique Siddique

Fiaz Soomro

Shahnawaz Soomro

Mala Pasha

C. Annual Reports

The WSI is publishing its annual reports since following years

- Annual Report 2001
- Annual Report 2002

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- Annual Report 2003
- Annual Report 2004
- Annual Report 2005
- Annual Report 2006
- Annual Report 2007

D. Newsletters

The WSI is publishing its quarterly newsletters Sindh watch since following years. Hence WSI is not regular in publishing newsletter and after 2005, it has delayed the newsletter for unknown reasons.

- **Year 1995**
  - May August
  - September – December
- **Year 1996**
  - March – May
  - June – September
  - October – December
- **Year 1997**
  - January – April
  - May – July
  - September – December
- **Year 1998**
  - January – April
  - May - October
- **Year 1999**
  - January - March
  - April – June
  - July – November
- **Year 2000**
  - January - March
  - May December

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- **Year 2001**
  - January – June
  - July – September
- **Year 2002**
  - January – March
  - April – June
  - July- September
  - October – December
- **Year 2003**
  - January – March
  - April – August
  - September – December
- **Year 2004**
  - Summer / Fall
- **Year 2005**
  - Summer / Fall

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